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Between assimilation and transnationalism: A socio-cultural *case study* of Spanish migration to *Hampshire and Dorset (1950s-1970s)*

By

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the socio-cultural experiences and modes of incorporation deployed by Spaniards who settled in the South of England between the 1950s and 1970s, assessing the motivations behind their decision to migrate and the impact that long-term settlement in the United Kingdom has had upon their identifications and sense of belonging.

In addition, since this migration substantially overlaps with a dictatorial regime in Spain, the thesis problematises the presence of the 'political' with regards to a migratory episode that has traditionally been explained in mere 'economic' terms.

Adopting a migration systems' approach to situate this migratory episode within the wider historical contexts of Spanish and European migrations, I examine the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in Spain and Britain as countries of origin and destination, paying particular attention to their respective migration policies. I then concentrate on the issues, processes, and events that have shaped the migrants' individual and group experiences, focusing on their patterns of integration and identification behaviour. I do this by examining two social interactional spheres: Spanish associational practices and language use, using a triangulation method that contrasts data emerging from migrant oral history interviews with participant-observation of local Spanish associational life and archival information relating to Spanish presence in Britain during the 1970s and early 1980s.

I argue that the pattern of integration adopted by first-generation Spanish migrants has been predominantly assimilationist and often determined by pragmatic considerations and personal choices. From a socio-cultural perspective however, migrants have preserved certain Spanish cultural attachments and social practices which would point in the direction that certain transnational forms of identification, linkages, and practices coexist with a considerable level of acculturation into the host society.

Contents

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My decision to embark on postgraduate migration research was inspired in the course of my work with detainee asylum seekers at the Oakington Immigration Reception Centre in Cambridge in 2000. To them, and to the extraordinary team of committed individuals I had the pleasure and privilege of working with, this study is dedicated. We remain united in our alien inconformities and unfettered desires to push the boundaries of nation-states.

Introduction

This thesis analyses from a historical perspective the socio-cultural experiences and modes of incorporation deployed by Spaniards who settled in the South of England between the 1950s and 1970s, assessing the motivations behind their decision to migrate and the impact that long-term settlement in the United Kingdom has had upon their identifications and sense of belonging.

From a British perspective, immigration during this period is linked to Western Europe's demands for foreign labour triggered by the post-war industrial reconstruction and economic recovery process. From a Spanish standpoint, emigration is linked to the gradual opening up of Spain to the international community in the 1950s and to the later part of Franco's dictatorial regime (1960-1975), a period commonly known as *desarrollismo* (developmentalism) and characterised by a series of socio-economic transformations fuelled by the regime's implementation of neo-liberal economic policies, which combined with the desire and determination of Spaniards to improve their living conditions after decades of autarkic stagnation. The result was the opening up of the Spanish economy to foreign investment, liberalisation of trade, and industrial acceleration, leading to levels of economic growth often referred to as 'miraculous' and to the emergence in Spain of an enthusiastic consumer society. The stunning transformations and developments that Spain underwent during this period relied heavily on two processes that involved population movements and cultural exchanges, that is, the emergence of a strong tourism sector and the emigration of thousands of Spaniards abroad, which not only facilitated Spain's access to foreign currency but also fuelled significant changes in social attitudes and mentalities.

Despite the images of progress and modernization that the above economic changes suggest during this period, from a political perspective, Spain continued to be marked by repression, censorship, and the absence of concrete freedoms until the late 1970s, when following Franco's death in 1975 a gradual transition towards democracy became possible. Given the inherent significance of this period in Spain's recent past, in its analysis, this thesis problematises the presence of the 'political' with regards to a migratory episode that, like the historic period in which it is inserted, has traditionally been explained in mere 'economic' terms.

In this thesis I adopt a migration systems' approach (Kritz, Lean Lim, and Zlotnik, 1992; Castles and Miller, 2003) and draw on the review of secondary literature on contemporary Spanish migration to situate this migratory episode within the wider historical contexts of Spanish and European migrations, examining, at the macro-structural level, the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in both Spain and Britain as countries of origin and destination, and paying particular attention to their respective migration policies, cultural links, and previous migration connections. I then focus on the micro-structural level to examine the issues, processes, and events that have shaped the migrants' life experiences, focusing on their patterns of integration and identification behaviour. To achieve this I concentrate on the close examination of two social interactional spheres: Spanish associational practices in the host country and language use. These spheres are explored using a triangulation method that contrasts data emerging from migrant oral history interviews with participant-observations of local Spanish associational life and archival information relating to the Spanish presence in Britain during the 1970s and early 1980s.

In view of the findings emerging from the analysis of the chosen interactional spheres, I argue that, from a socio-economic and linguistic perspective, the pattern of integration that first-generation Spanish migrants have experienced over the three to five decades that followed their arrival in Britain has been of a predominantly assimilationist nature, something that was often determined by pragmatic considerations and personal choices on the part of the migrants. From a socio-cultural perspective however, migrants have preserved certain Spanish cultural attachments and social practices that they articulate in various ways in both their private and public spheres, which would point in the direction that certain transnational forms of identification, linkages, and practices coexist with a considerable level of acculturation into the host society.

At the same time as migrants claim a successful integration into British society and reject the existence of a 'Spanish community', a notion that they often associate with the very antithesis of a successful integration, many Spaniards in Britain have maintained a symbolic form of ethnicity that can be detected in various ways, e.g. through the display of objects deemed to be representative of Spain or through the re-

enactment of certain traits considered to be Spanish, e.g. cooking a Spanish meal, conserving one's Spanish passport, or trying to make sense of Spain's historical past.

In the public sphere, the preservation of essentialised forms of what is perceived as 'Spanish culture' has traditionally been articulated through the activities of Spanish migrant clubs and associations. Over the last thirty years these associations, which were created during the initial stages of migration and settlement, have experienced a series of transformations that closely mirror the socio-economic and linguistic assimilation processes that migrants themselves have undergone, resulting in their redundancy and progressive disappearance. Meanwhile, surviving and newly formed Spanish associational entities have moved away from the traditional migrant supportive roles and have widened their membership to incorporate new audiences that integrate British hispanophiles and South American participants. The ultimate result of this process is that, far from contributing to the forging of a Spanish ethnic community within Britain's so-called multicultural society, Spanish associations have become intercultural 'hinges' or platforms that link the migrants not only with their hosts, but also with other migrants, all of whom share and promote a common cultural interest in the Spanish language and in the Spanish-speaking world.

The duality that arises from the successful integration that migrants claim to have achieved at the socio-economic level and their continued attachment to certain Spanish cultural practices and manifestations results in ambivalent identification patterns and behaviours which point in the direction that assimilation, on the one hand, and transnationalism, on the other, are not mutually exclusive models to frame the migrants' adaptation experiences in the host country. As the case studies presented in this thesis illustrate, migration is a dynamic and multi-dimensional social process that spans the lifetime of its protagonists with far reaching consequences not only for the second and, possibly, third generation, but also for the members of the host society.

With regard to the classical categorisation of migrants as either 'economic' or 'political', I argue that the distinction is not always clear when migration originates from countries with repressive regimes, such as Spain had at the time of the migrants' departure. Even though, from an administrative and legal viewpoint, most of the participants of this study did not enter Britain as 'political refugees' but rather as

'labour' migrants, 'skilled workers', or 'students', we cannot categorically deny the relevance of political contexts at the time of their arrival, as these may have influenced the decision to leave Spain in the first place. On the contrary, as this thesis proposes, the political situation of Spain at the time of departure not only informed the initial stages of the migratory process but also significantly impacted upon the ways in which migrants have later remembered, and forgotten, their past migration histories, and upon the ways in which they position themselves today in terms of identifications and affiliations.

The Spanish political context played a significant part in the trajectories of Spanish migrants especially during the 1970s and early 1980s, a period when many Spaniards became politically active through the activities of migrant associations that projected abroad the voices of opposition to the Francoist regime that were being heard inside of Spain whilst demanding democratic participation in the Spanish migration institutions abroad. From a distance, the transition to democracy was initially followed with relative interest and enthusiasm. However, the fragility of Spain's young democracy and the persistent failure of the representative Spanish authorities in Britain to effectively address the migrants' specific problems and to facilitate their participation at institutional level led to considerable political apathy and disinterest, and to the eventual re-orientation of the migrants' citizenship aspirations and identifications towards the transnational frame that was to be provided by Spain's incorporation into the European Community from 1986.

Structure

The thesis is structured in six chapters. The first chapter provides a critical overview of existing historiography on Spanish migration followed by a synthesis and evaluation of the main theoretical frameworks on migration and integration that inform my analysis of Spanish presence in the UK. The second chapter outlines the methodology used to gather data, justifying the choice of multiple methodologies. The third chapter analyses the macro-structural contexts that surrounded Spanish migration to the UK in the post-war period, focusing on migration policies in both countries and on the intermediate meso-structures used by migrants to carry out their migration projects. Shifting the focus towards the micro-structural level, the fourth chapter examines migrant networks

and traces the recent history and trajectory of Spanish associational life in the UK from the 1970s before concentrating on the analysis of current Spanish clubs and associations. The fifth chapter focuses on the relationship between language and identity in a migratory and conflictual context, that is, examining both the struggle faced by Spaniards to learn English as a second language and the struggle to preserve and transmit the Spanish mother tongue for the second generation. Finally, the sixth chapter outlines the main findings of the thesis and the scope for future research with possible and alternative lines of enquiry.

Chapter 1 Literature review and theoretical frameworks

If we consider migration as a social process that takes place over time and space, its study lends itself naturally to a multi-disciplinary approach in which the combined methodologies of history and the various disciplines of the social sciences (e.g. anthropology, economics, sociology) can contribute to a fuller understanding. As Martínez Veiga has suggested (2000: 12), the historical perspective applied to the study of migration has enabled us to challenge the traditional view of societies as static by permitting an examination of events occurring over a long period of time. The social sciences for their part, whose theoretical propositions often lead to overlapping and complementary conceptual frameworks, allow us to examine more closely the nature of the social changes that migrations bring about in and across the societies of origin and destination. In turn, the analysis of these changes cannot overlook the fact that migrants are individuals embedded in different sets of cultural meanings which are also subject to change as a consequence of the social transformations that migration itself engenders as a result of contact with, and integration in, different cultural settings. Given this, the incorporation of some elements of cultural theory can further enhance our analysis by helping us explore how migrants' and non-migrants' identification patterns evolve as a result of migration.

The first section of this chapter introduces the notion of Spain as a country where migration is a constant defining pattern as opposed to an exceptional occurrence or phenomenon. From this perspective, an overview of Spanish migration historiography in Spain and Britain is provided, identifying and accounting for gaps in existing literature. The second part of the chapter introduces the theoretical frameworks that inform the thesis, drawing on migration theories formulated by social scientific and humanistic approaches, which are combined with some perspectives from cultural theory.

1.1. Spanish migration historiography

The history of modern and contemporary Spain is inexorably a history of repeated and continuous migration episodes. Forced or voluntary, emigration and exile have characterised Spain's political, socio-economic and cultural past since its formation as a

nation. In 1492 the accidental encounter with what became known as 'the Americas' initiated a series of migratory movements towards the newly found territories that led thousands of Spaniards to cross the Atlantic to settle in what would be considered for a long time a land of opportunity. According to Mörner (cited in Eiras Roel, 1991: 11), 450,000 Spaniards migrated to the Americas between 1500 and 1650, initially to conquer, colonise, and gather fortunes. Colonial migrations between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led a further million Spaniards to leave for the Americas, and most recently, in the wave of mass migration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, 4,680,000 Spaniards also sought better life opportunities on the other side of the Atlantic, where half were to settle permanently, something which inevitably impacted upon the socio-cultural and economic development of both Spain and Hispanic America (Rueda Hernanz, 2000:16).

Besides marking the year of Europe and America's encounter, 1492 is also a significant date as it highlights, as Abellán observes (2001: 17), the beginning of a series of Spanish exiles that reiterate themselves from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, starting with the expulsion of the Spanish Jews by the Catholic Monarchs, followed by the expulsion of the Spanish Muslim population, after nearly eight hundred years of what could be regarded as an early form of multi-cultural co-existence, and continued with further episodes of religious and political persecutions that culminate with the Republican exile of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.

Abellán goes as far as suggesting that the Spanish modern state was built upon a structure that was in itself conducive to exile, as it rested on the identification of Spain's political unity with its religious unity: Catholicism. The Catholic Monarchs being the state's highest representation, any other religion would be seen not only as a spiritual menace but also as a political threat. A manifestation of the nation's religious foundation can be found in the nature of the exiles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the persecuted and expulsed were those perceived as posing a threat to the Catholic orthodoxy, such as Muslims, Jews, Protestants, or Erasmists. The liberal ideas of the nineteenth century, enshrined in a series of short-lived constitutions, were equally perceived as posing a secular threat to the base of that traditional religious foundation. As a result of the reactionary repression of liberal ideals many dissidents went into exile. As the Spanish writer Larra, himself the son of a Spanish exile, once

stated, 'to be a liberal in Spain potentially means becoming an émigré' (Llorens Castillo, 1954: 15).

Thus migration, forced and voluntary, emerges as a central theme in the study of modern and contemporary Spain, and, as such, has deservedly been the subject of a substantial amount of research. However, as Rueda Hernanz explains (2000: 11), Spanish historiography has mainly centred upon the study of migration to colonial America (1492-1824), ignoring to a great extent what happened afterwards, and despite migration continuing to be one of the main features of the social history of contemporary Spain.

Post-colonial migration to the Americas did not receive serious attention by Spanish or American scholars until the late 1980s and early 1990s. The creation of the *Archivo de Indianos* in Colombres (Asturias) in 1987 and the celebration of the '5th Centenary of the Discovery' in 1992 prompted a number of symposia and conferences that have resulted in substantial research activity and publications. Whilst some of this research has tended to focus on the quantification, periodisation, causes, and economic impact of this migration (e.g. Sánchez Albornoz (ed.), 1988; Eiras (ed.) 1991; Vives (ed.) 1992; Sánchez Alonso, 1995), most recent studies have drawn on interdisciplinary methods in order to provide a qualitative analysis of the whole migratory process. These have highlighted three important characteristics of Spanish migration to the Americas. First, the key role played by social networks in generating and maintaining migratory flows. Second, the regional perspectives, essential to understand the significantly higher incidence of emigration in some parts of Spain, for example, Galicia, Asturias, or Cantabria, as well as the strong attraction exerted by specific American destinations, such as Cuba, Argentina, Brasil, or the US (see for example, Anés Álvarez, 1993; Lida, 1994; Bonfil Batalla, 1993; Soldevilla Oria, 1992; Yáñez Gallardo, 1996). A third interesting research perspective can be found in the study of the historic, and literary, construction of the *indianos* – wealthy and enriched returnee migrants – and the impact of their presence back in their areas of origin (see for instance, Carmona Badia, 1984, and Nuñez Seixas, 1998).

Studies of Spanish migration from the early twentieth century onwards are, with the exception of numerous publications on the Republican exile of the Spanish Civil War,

still comparatively few. Even then, as Dreyfus-Armand points out (1999: 14), the historiography of the Republican exile is itself still in the process of being written since, with the exception of Rubio's work (1974, 1977), to which I would add the six-volume reference work on exile edited by Abellán (1976-1978), most of the existing bibliography has been produced by the exiles themselves, usually in the form of personal testimonies written in the countries that granted them asylum, which, with a few exceptions, were not published in Europe until the 1960s and due to Francoist censorship did not appear in Spain until the late 1970s.

Recent works on this political migratory episode are based on archival research and tend to document the individual lives and trajectories of well-known politicians, academics, and intellectuals, usually tracing their artistic, literary and philosophical output in their countries of asylum. Amongst works that provide a wider socio-cultural and political analysis are Fagen's (1973) *Exiles and Citizens – Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, and most recently, Dreyfus-Armand's (1999) *L'exile des Républicains Espagnols en France*, Schwarzstein's (2001) *Entre Franco y Perón: Memoria e Identidad del Exilio Republicano Español en Argentina*, and Faber's *Exile and Cultural Hegemony: Spanish Intellectuals in Mexico 1939-1975* (2002). Further studies relating to the Spanish Civil War have recorded the evacuation experiences and ensuing life trajectories of the *niños de la guerra*, that is, the Spanish children that were evacuated to Mexico, the USSR, France, Belgium and Britain during the conflict (see for example the works of Legarreta, 1984; Plá Brugat, 1985; Bell, 1996; Labajos-Pérez, 1997; Alted Vigil *et al.*, 1999; and Devillard *et al.*, 2001).

In contrast to the Republican Exile of the Spanish Civil War, a contemporary migration episode that has generated little interest is Spanish migration to the North of Africa, mainly to French Algeria and Morocco from the early nineteenth century to the later part of the twentieth century. According to Vilar and Vilar (1999: 9), this migration is not very well known for two reasons. First, because it peaked around 1882, a period for which there is no demographic statistical data available, and second, because this was officially categorised as a 'temporary migration', despite official sources confirming that the North of Africa was one of the main points of attraction for Spanish migrants until the 1880s and despite it remaining an important destination for Spaniards until 1914. Furthermore, French Algeria, in particular, remained the locus of one of the most

important and dynamic Spanish settlements until its decolonisation in 1962 (Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 9).

Unlike emigration to North Africa, internal migrations within Spain have received considerably more attention, especially since the 1960s, when population movements from rural to urban Spain intensified as a result of Spain's second wave of industrialisation, leading to the relocation of a large part of the population, that is attracted to new employment opportunities in the cities. The resulting decline of the agricultural sector and the social restructuring processes that are triggered by accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation in this period have attracted the attention of sociologists, economists and geographers until recently (see for example Capel, 1967; Pérez Díaz, 1966 and 1971; Ávila Tapiés, 1993; Blanco Gutiérrez, 1993; Galdós Urrutia, 1993, García Coll and Puyol Antolín, 1997).

Linked to the same socio-economic contexts that triggered internal migrations in the 1960s and early 1970s, a second area of migration studies that has been less researched is external migration to North West Europe and to other industrialised countries, such as the US, Canada, Australia and South Africa. This migration flow, which took off as migration to America started to contract due to economic crisis and restrictive immigration legislation (Rueda Hernanz, 2000: 24), has traditionally been categorised as 'economic' or 'labour' migration and is part of a wider post-war European migration flow from Southern Europe to industrialised Western European countries. Originally aimed at satisfying Western Europe's increasing demand for labour to feed its post-war reconstruction and economic recovery, this migration reached its peak in the mid 1960s and started to decline in 1973 following the world energy crisis. According to Spanish statistical sources, between 1951 and 1975, 707,396 Spaniards emigrated to North West Europe (INE, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, in *Anuario de Migraciones 1998*), the most popular destination, given its geographical proximity and the active interest of the Franco regime in promoting emigration.

Spanish emigration to Europe in this period was mostly carried out under the auspices of assisted emigration schemes forged by bilateral treaties signed between Spain and various European countries. The schemes were administered by governmental and non-governmental agencies that oversaw the migrants' recruitment, selection, and travel

arrangements. The preferred countries of destination for assisted emigrants were the Federal Republic of Germany and France, followed by Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands (Vilar and Vilar 1999). Most of the available literature that documents this migration broadly focuses on the general conditions of Spanish migrants in Europe (see for instance Díaz Plaza, 1974; García Meseguer, 1978; Oporto del Olmo, 1992; Sánchez López, 1969), or on certain sociological aspects of their presence in specific countries that had subscribed migration treaties with the Spanish government, for example, Andrés Orizo's survey on Spanish families in Belgium (1999), López López's study of Spanish youth in Germany (1982), Babiano and Fernández Asperilla's work on Spanish associations and migrant identity in France (1998), Guy Hermet's study on Spanish immigration and culture in France (1969), or the works of Parra Luna (1981) and Rubio (1974) that also focus on Spanish immigration in France, the destination that would appear to be best documented.

Most of the above studies follow a geographical or economic approach, focussing on the migrants' socio-economic conditions, geographical distribution, adaptation problems in the host societies, and the impact of remittances on their places of origin. Other studies have focused on migration originating from specific regions (see for instance Cozar Valero's work on emigration from Almería, 1984), and on the effects and patterns of return migration, in general (Garmendía, 1981; Pascual, 1970), or linked to specific regions (see Alvarez Silvar, 1997, on migrants returning to Galicia; and Cazorla Pérez, 1989, on return to Andalucía). As suggested by the dates of most of these publications, most of the analyses contained therein were produced coetaneous to the phenomena under study. They thus lack the perspective that long-term detachment and distance can contribute to the study of migrations, a concern that is at the heart of this thesis.

Assisted emigration schemes also envisaged destinations outside of Europe, such as the expedition of Basque shepherds to California in the 1950s, the 'Aloe' and 'Bisonte' schemes to Canada, and the Spanish Migration Scheme to Australia between 1958 and 1965 (García, 1999: 2). Amongst these, assisted emigration to Australia is the episode that has most recently been researched (see García, 1999, 2002). Enriched with the historical perspective attached to studies of long-term settlements, and working with archival information and oral histories, García has conducted interesting research on

'Operación Canguro' (1992), an assisted programme fostered by Australian sugar growers and the Catholic Migration Committees which enabled 7,816 Spaniards to travel with subsidised tickets to Australia to work in the sugar plantations of Canberra. Another programme of assisted emigration forged between the Catholic Church and the Australian government named 'Operación Marta' enabled 740 Spanish women to travel to Australia between 1960 and 1963. Its aim was to redress the gender imbalance of the Spanish emigrant population and to foster Spanish marriages. Today some 70,000 Spaniards remain in Australia, some of who recently founded the Spanish Heritage Foundation with the aim of recording the oral history of their communities (Pérez Collaro, 1991). This initiative has generated an extensive amount of printed, audio, and video materials which will no doubt prove invaluable to future research.

In comparison to the above research efforts, with the exception of Durán Villa's work on Galician and Spanish emigration to the UK (1986, 1996), and Luís de Botín's summary report commissioned by the Employment Attaché Office in London (1988), Spanish migration to Britain in the period undertaken by this thesis has not received much attention. One of the reasons lies in the fact that the UK did not enter into any 'guest workers' programmes or treaties of the kind that Spain subscribed to with other countries. Instead, migration to this country was mainly carried out by individual migrants relying on close social networks or with the intervention of private agents, and therefore is much less documented. This partly explains the limited availability of accurate statistics and official documentation pertaining to this migration. Secondly, as was mentioned earlier, Spanish scholars have traditionally concentrated their efforts on the study of the Republican exile, or on the colonial and economic migrations to the Americas, for which archival information is more readily available.

Over the last two decades and coinciding with the post-Cold War period, Spain, like other Southern European countries, such as Italy and Greece, has undergone a gradual migration transition and become a land that, whilst it is still producing a certain degree of emigration, is increasingly attracting immigration (Castles and Miller 2003: 82). In turn, this has shifted research interest away from past Spanish emigrations towards current immigration, stimulating a significant amount of studies and publications, which, being at an early stage in the migrants' settlement, tend to focus primarily on the documentation and characterisation of what is regarded as a new phenomenon. Most

recent articles and monographs thus focus on the profile of the different immigrant groups by country of origin, their geographical distribution and their social impact on specific Spanish provinces and cities. See for example Gonzálvez Pérez's analysis of Moroccan and Senegalese migrants in Alicante and Castellón (1993), Colectivo IOÉ's research on Moroccans in Catalonia (1995), Soler Planas' study of Maghrebians in Mallorca (1993), or Gregorio Gil's work on migratory flows from the Dominican Republic to Spain (1995). Other studies have concentrated on the integration problems experienced by migrants, with a particular interest in the education and integration of migrant children (see for example Colectivo IOÉ, 1992, and Franze, 1995). These studies are based on sociological approaches and methodologies and their research and publication is often linked to the joint efforts of NGOs, government agencies, and university departments. The format and research questions addressed in these works suggest that current immigration into Spain is being examined under a paradigm of problematisation and social marginalisation that is not dissimilar to the way in which immigration studies have been approached in Britain, which is my next focus of attention.

1.2. Secondary literature on immigration in Britain

The first thing to note in most of the existing literature on immigration to Britain for the period undertaken by this study is the lack of interest in Spanish or any other Southern European immigration flows. To a large extent this responds to the particular way in which migration studies have been problematised in Britain. As Castles and Kosack suggest (1973), immigration in Britain has been virtually confined to the study of Black and Asian immigrants from the Commonwealth countries despite the fact that two thirds of immigrants in Britain are 'white':

> The race relations approach has dominated sociological research on immigration in Britain. The tendency has been to examine the problems of 'strangers' entering a 'host society', using the analytical categories of 'adaptation', 'integration', and 'assimilation'. The use of the so-called immigrant-host framework is based on the concept of, as Sheila Patterson has put it, a 'homogeneous and peaceful' receiving society in which 'social relations are harmonious and voluntarily ordered among the great majority of the society's members'. The problems connected with immigration are attributed partly to the immigrants difficulties in adapting to the prevailing norms, and partly to the

> indigenous population's distrust of the newcomers who are distinguishable due to their skin colour.
>
> (Castles and Kosack, 1973:1-2)

Castles and Kosack argue that rather than 'race' the most determinant factor in migrants' lives is the social functions that they perform. From this perspective, and from the standpoint of the host country, most Spanish migrants that came to Britain in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s worked in the catering industry, domestic service, and other labour sectors that the local population rejected at the time. To a lesser extent, some migrants came to work in sectors where there was a shortage of skills or to study. In this context, and taking into account Castle and Kosack's arguments, we could argue that Spanish presence in the UK during this period went almost undetected by British social scientists and historians. Indeed, while most British migration studies focused on the 'problematisation' of migrants from the British ex-colonies of the Commonwealth, the presence of Spanish migrants in Britain was practically invisible, as MacDonald and MacDonald suggest with the title of their comparative geographic study on Italian, Portuguese and Spanish immigrants during the 1960s: *The Invisible Immigrants* (1972), one of the few publications that deals with Southern European migrants.

As was pointed out earlier, Spanish emigration to industrialised Western Europe was normally organised around bilateral labour migration treaties and guest worker programmes (Appleyard, 2001: 10). Given the importance of migrants' remittances for the Spanish economy during the 1960s and 1970s, migration fostered by migration treaties was controlled by government institutions of 'assisted emigration', such as the *Instituto Nacional de Emigración Española* (National Institute of Spanish Emigration, henceforth IEE). This presents researchers with a difficulty when trying to estimate the scale of this migration since Spanish official statistics do not include many migrants that left Spain without resorting to assisted emigration programmes, normally using tourist visas and then staying in jobs in the hotel industry or the domestic sector, a case that is particular relevant to Spanish immigration in the UK. During the period of 1962-1970 the total number of emigrants assisted by the IEE was 673,651, a figure well below the estimations that Sánchez López has made based on information extracted from the statistical sources in the destination countries, which would amount to 1,879,247 (in Estévanez Álvarez, 1998: 78-79). This corroborates the view that a large section of

Spanish migration to Europe was carried out without the direct control, or knowledge, of the Spanish authorities.

Despite assisted migration having been conceived as temporary by both sending and receiving countries, many guest worker programmes resulted in permanent settlements (Appleyard, 2001: 10). In the same way, non-assisted migration planned for a short period of time often resulted in the migrants becoming permanent residents in the country of destination, as is the case of the migrants that participated in this study, whose experiences and life stories this thesis seeks to recuperate and make more visible.

1.3. Migration theories – social science and humanistic approaches

This section first offers a synthesis and evaluation of the main theories that dominate the debate on international migration before concluding with an outline of the integrative theoretical framework that I have adopted to analyse the socio-cultural dimension of Spanish migration to the UK from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study of migration, arriving at conclusive definitions, typologies or theoretical explanations is problematic. As pointed out by Castles and Miller (2003: 21), migration research remains the realm of a variety of professionals: sociologists, political scientists, historians, economists, geographers, demographers, psychologists and law scholars, each of which approach their work with a different set of research tools, working definitions, and methodologies. To this multiplicity of perspectives we have to add those of anthropologists, linguists and cultural studies practitioners, for whom the study of migration has become increasingly relevant.

Much of the theoretical literature on migration that has emerged in the last three decades acknowledges that international migration has grown considerably in volume and significance since 1945. Today international migration is seen as part of a transnational revolution that has been reshaping societies and politics around the globe which is unlikely to recede in the new emerging global order (Castles and Miller, 2003: 7). Whilst traditional migration-receiving societies, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, have seen the volume and composition of immigration grow and shift in

origin from Europe to Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Massey *et al*, 1993: 431), Southern European countries that were traditionally producers of migration, like Spain, Greece, and Italy, have seen this trend reversed since the 1980s to become migration-receiving societies. It seems, as stated by Massey *et al.* (1993: 431), that international migration has indeed become a 'basic structural feature of all industrialised countries'.

Throughout the 1990s the world witnessed the eruption of violent ethnic conflicts that led millions of refugees to flee war zones and concentration camps, seeking sanctuary in countries nearby and in the so-called 'developed world'. Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Iraq are just a few of the countries that have seen significant amounts of their populations migrate for safety in the last decade. The traumatic disintegration of Yugoslavia and the continuing conflict in Chechnya, amongst many others, remind us that not even the so-called 'first world' has escaped the refugee-producing wave at the turn of the millennium.

In spite of the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity that the presence of migrants has brought to the societies of receiving-countries, governments and public opinion of most developed nations tend to regard immigration as a source of social conflict. This has resulted in immigration becoming a highly charged political issue subject to manipulation and exploitation by politicians and demagogues. Hardly a day goes by without immigration being debated or analysed in both the British and Spanish media. Yet, despite the great impact that migration has had and continues to have in shaping and transforming societies and nations, and despite its role as a major driving force in the global changes that the world is currently undergoing, as Massey *et al.* note (1993: 432), the study of international migration is still mainly grounded in concepts and ideas that date back to the nineteenth century. This is compounded by the very multidisciplinarity that is at the heart of its study that was indicated earlier. As a result, there are as many definitions, typologies, and theoretical approaches as there are disciplines that deal with this phenomenon.

What follows is yet another attempt at synthesising and evaluating the main existing migration theories and research methodologies in order to establish, from an integrative perspective, a working theoretical model applicable to my research on Spanish migration to the UK.

Existing classifications of migration theories tend to be dominated by different series of dichotomies that focus on different aspects of the migratory process, or on the conceptual approach adopted. According to Boyle *et al.,* a dichotomy that provides a good starting point would be the philosophical perspective that distinguishes between deterministic and humanistic approaches to understanding migration (1998: 57). At the base of this distinction lies the different role ascribed to the migrant in the decision-making process. Whilst deterministic approaches deny or diminish this role and explain migration as a predictable response to certain contextual situations and conditions, humanistic approaches regard the migrant as an active decision maker who has a choice as to whether or not to emigrate (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 57). The theoretical framework that I have adopted in this thesis combines elements from both deterministic and humanistic approaches.

1.3.1 Deterministic theories of migration

Deterministic theories account for three main approaches used in contemporary debates on migration: application of neo-classical economics' concepts and explanations, historical-structuralist frameworks, and migration systems theory.

Application of neo-classical economics to the study of migration

The influence of neo-classical economics' on the study of migration can be seen first in the pioneering work of the geographer Ernest George Ravenstein in the late nineteenth century and the first publication in 1876 of his 'laws of migration' in the *Geographical Magazine* (Ravenstein, 1885, 1889, cited in *Boyle et al.* 1998: 60). Heavily influenced by positivist ideas, Ravenstein's 'laws' are in fact hypotheses derived from the analysis of census data that was beginning to be used during that period as a source of migration research that would help predict future migrations (Boyle *et al.,* 1998: 60). The 'laws' in question stated the following:

- The majority of migrants travel only short distances.
- Migration proceeds step by step.
- Migrants travelling long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
- Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current.

- The natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
- Females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond.
- Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their county of birth.
- Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
- Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.
- The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.
- The major causes of migration are economic.

The hypotheses contained within these 'laws' were based on empirical observation and consisted of general statements that were not connected to any migratory movement in particular, nor to a specific theoretical framework (Castles and Miller, 2003: 22). However, they paved the way for the future study of migration and are still very influential in the work of demographers, geographers and economists. Much of the theoretical work on migration of the twentieth century follows Ravenstein in its attempt at producing general statements on migration. Such is the case of Zelinsky's theory on 'demographic change and mobility transition', which claims that migration is a consequence of the personal mobility that is generated by social change and modernisation (1971, in Boyle *et al.,* 1998: 60). This framework has been used to analyse rural migration to the cities, such as internal mass migrations from rural to urban Spain in the period 1960-1975 that preceded external emigration (see for instance, Pérez Díaz, 1966, Puyol Antolín, 1979 and García Coll and Puyol Antolín, 1997).

Neo-classical economics approaches to migration focus on wage differentials between the country of origin and the country of destination, and on the migrants' drive to maximise their income and capital whilst improving working conditions as the most determinant factors in the decision to migrate. At a macro level, international migration is caused by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour, which determine the wage differentials. It is argued that this is what causes people to migrate from low- to high-wage countries. Population movements would reach equilibrium when the supply of labour decreases in the country of origin, with the consequent increase in wages, as employment opportunities decrease in the country of destination,

with the subsequent wage decrease (Massey *et al.,* 1993: 433). At a micro level, the migrant's decision to migrate is based on the probabilities of maximising their utility. International migration is therefore regarded as a form of investment in human capital.

Applied to the study of migration, neo-classical economics concepts provide a useful umbrella to various theories that link migrations to economic fluctuations and business cycles. Commonly known as 'push-pull theories', these approaches try to establish the causes of migration, which they link to the confluence of 'push-factors', that lead migrants to leave their countries of origin, and 'pull-factors', that attract them to certain receiving countries. Some of the push-factors identified by Castles and Miller include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities, and political repression (2003: 22). To these we could add those proposed by Bogue (1969, in Boyle *et al.,* 1998: 67): decline in national resources, loss of employment, discriminatory treatment, cultural alienation from a community, or retreat due to human or natural catastrophe. Conversely, amongst the 'pull-factors' we could identify: demand for labour, availability of resources, improved employment, training and educational opportunities, political freedoms, and richer cultural, intellectual, or recreational environments in the place of destination.

Criticism of 'push-pull' theories has centred upon their simplistic, individualistic and ahistorical nature (Castles and Miller, 2003: 24). According to these theories, the decision to migrate is seen as an individual choice arrived at after comparing living conditions in the countries of origin and destination and deciding whether it is cost-effective or not to migrate. They rest on a series of assumptions, such as the knowledge on the part of potential migrants of the employment opportunities and salary levels available in the country of destination, or the absence of social and economic barriers to labour mobility (Martínez Veiga, 2000: 17). They do not take into consideration the wider socio-economic and political contexts in which migration takes place, for example, the role of governments and their migration policies in the sending and receiving countries, which are regarded as mere distortions of the labour market. As Castles and Miller point out (2003: 23), according to push-pull theories, it should be the most disadvantaged people that migrate from poor to richer countries, however, there is evidence that the people who are most likely to migrate usually enjoy intermediate socio-economic status and come from areas that are experiencing economic and social

change, as is the case of Spain during the period undertaken by this thesis. Another assumption of push-pull theories that states that people migrate from heavily populated areas to the less densely populated has also been proven inadequate to explain or predict certain migratory movements, e.g. immigration in the Netherlands, Germany, or the UK. What is more, under neo-classical formulations, international migration is meant to lead towards an equilibrium whereby labour from the less productive areas moves to the more productive, thus reducing unemployment. Some scholars, however, argue that migration often results in the opposite, that is, the most underdeveloped areas tend to lose their younger and better educated sectors of the population, which leads to long-term stagnation and further unemployment (Martínez Veiga, 2000: 17).

A final criticism of push-pull theories put forward by Castles and Miller lies in their inability to explain why migrants choose amongst different destination countries given the same pull or attraction factors (2003: 24). Moreover, the expected geographical economic equilibrium of wage differentials has never been reached (Woods, 1982, in Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 61).

The historical-structuralist approach

The historical-structuralist approach is rooted in Marxist political economy and in world systems theory and sets out to explain migration at a structural level, assuming that there is an unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy which is seen as a factor that impedes the free choice of the individual to migrate. Rather than trying to establish the causes of migration, structuralists sustain that migration has to be seen as a social phenomenon deeply ingrained in the unequal social structures of sending and receiving countries that results in the mobilisation of cheap labour for capital (Castles and Miller, 2003: 25). They further sustain that each migratory movement varies in form and shape depending on its specific historical contexts (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 67).

Massey *et al.* identify and develop two further concepts based on Marxist theoretical frameworks to explain international migration: the *dual labour market theory* and the *world systems theory*. According to dual market theory 'international migration stems from the intrinsic labour demands of modern industrialised societies' (1993: 440-448).

Its main advocate, Piore, sustains that international labour migration is a permanent feature of modern capitalism given the permanent need for immigrant labour to fill vacancies for unskilled jobs that are rejected by the native population, a situation that generates a dual labour market (1979, in Massey *et al.*, 1993: 440). This view is based on the assumption that these two labour markets correspond to a capital-intensive primary sector and a labour-intensive secondary sector respectively, the secondary consisting of poorly paid and insecure dead-end jobs (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 69). Like some elements of neo-classical economic theory, these are also valid concepts that can be partly applied to the analysis of Spanish migration to Western Europe after the Second World War.

World systems theory, for its part, adopts a global perspective that links the origins of international migration to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the modern period and the origins of capitalism (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 444-445). According to this formulation, capitalist economic relations penetrate peripheral non-capitalist societies creating a mobile population that is prone to migration. Desire for higher profits and increased wealth lead capital owners to enter poor countries on the periphery in search of land, raw materials, labour, and new consumer markets. Colonial regimes in the past and current neo-colonialist governments and multinational corporations contribute to this process (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 445). In this way, world systems theory considers labour migration as one of the main ways in which links of domination have been forged between the core economies of capitalism, mainly Western, and its underdeveloped periphery. Ultimately, migration is considered, alongside military hegemony and control of world trade, as a key factor in 'perpetuating the dependency of the Third World upon the First' (Castles and Miller, 2003: 25).

Historical-structuralist theories have been criticised for overlooking migrants' individual motivations and capability for independent agency. They also overlook the role played by other key actors that take part in the migratory process, e.g. social networks, private migration agents, etc. Nor do they account for the constant defining and re-defining of migration policies by the governments of developed countries that have become traditional receivers of migration. Just as the neo-classical economic perspective rested upon wage-differentials as the only determinant in generating

migration, the historical-structuralists' explanation of migration also seems to be too one-sided in considering the interests of capital as the only determining factor.

Behavioural decision-making

A further deterministic approach that transcends economic and socio-political considerations is the *behavioural decision-making model.* This is concerned with the mechanisms that lie behind individual acts of migration. Going beyond a concentration on the observable and measurable, this model investigates how psychological processes of cognition and decision-making mediate between the environment and the individual. The model gives importance to perceptions and to the irrational, and introduces the concept of *utility* according to which individuals will move to places that offer higher utility than their places of origin. Utility in this case is not simply measured in economic terms, as it can be based on perceptions, which could appear to be irrational. Its main theoriser, Wolpert (1964, 1965, 1966, in Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 62) argues that migration can be regarded as both a rational decision that optimises the migrant's living conditions, and as the opposite, that is, an irrational decision that is far from optimal for the migrant. This is due to the fact that individuals seek satisfaction rather than maximisation of capital, their aspirations and levels of satisfaction being subject to constant change (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 63). The ample range of motivations that led Spaniards to leave Spain for Britain in the period 1950s-1970s would suggest that this model offers theoretically interesting framing concepts.

Migration systems theory

The final deterministic approach to migration is embodied in *migration systems theory,* which tries to overcome the failures of both neo-classical and historic-structuralist explanations. More than a separate or alternative theory, it is regarded as an integrative approach that tries to bind together all dimensions of the migratory experience. According to this model, a migration system is constituted by two or more countries that exchange migrants with each other (Castles and Miller, 2003: 26). The focus of this approach rests on the analysis of regional migration systems whose origins are based around colonisation links, political influence, trade, investment, or cultural ties between migrants' sending and receiving countries. We can see how this theory incorporates elements of both structuralist-historical theory and neo-classical economics. Examples

of migration systems include labour migration from Mexico to the USA in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, migration from Vietnam to the USA following military involvement, migration from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to the UK based on colonial ties, etc. Under the lens offered by migration systems theory, we could anchor a Spanish presence in Britain to a post-war Western European system of migration emanating from Southern European countries. Within this system we could consider Spain and Britain as a sub-system made up of two countries that have traditionally been linked to one another in different historical periods by a diverse and ongoing exchange of peoples which could be classed as refugees, travellers, exiles, economic migrants, tourists and traders.

Migration systems theory draws from four further sub-theories and concepts: *migration networks*, *migration processes*, *institutional theory* and *cumulative causation.* Although networks will be discussed further in what follows, suffice it to say for now that they broadly concentrate on the different relationship between and across sending and receiving countries that help to sustain patterns of migration over time and space. Thus migration is regarded as a system of inter-relations between all the components involved in the *migratory process* (Boyle *et al.,* 1998: 77). In practical terms, Castles and Miller define a migration system as the result of interacting macro- and micro-structures (2003: 27). The first correspond to large-scale institutional factors such as the political economy of the world market in a given period; relationships between sending and receiving states; their legislations; or the practices and structures put in place in both countries to control migration. Micro-structures apply to the sphere of the individual migrants and their immediate social group, including their networks, practices, beliefs and aspirations. Micro-networks are mainly constituted by informal social links developed by migrants in order to cope with the migration and settlement processes, for example, family, friends and immediate community.

Macro and micro structures are linked at all levels with each other through the migrant, who is the protagonist at the heart of their interaction, and can also be mediated by *meso-structures*, which tend to emerge following the establishment of a migration system. According to *institutional theory*, these intermediate structures, embodied by private institutions and voluntary organisations that aid, promote, assist or exploit migrants, contribute to the consolidation of the system bringing into the migratory

process new actors that include for-profit organizations and private entrepreneurs, e.g. people traffickers, intermediate labour providers, immigration advisers, humanitarian groups, etc. Once these are well known to migrants, as Massey *et al.* note (1993: 451), these agents become institutionally stable and are added to the existing interwoven series of migration networks.

The notion of *cumulative causation* implies that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 451). This means that, given the accumulation of certain factors within a system, additional migration within that system will be more likely to occur. Six such factors have so far been identified and systematised that are conducive to encouraging further migration: comparative distribution of income, distribution of land, organisation of agriculture, culture, regional distribution of human capital and the different social meaning attached to work. I will briefly comment below on two of these factors that are particularly relevant to the Spanish migration context under study.

The first factor, comparative distribution of income, refers to the increased likelihood of migration occurring within a community once one or two families have migrated and their increased income becomes evident through remittances or improved living conditions that are visible upon return or through visits. This would arguably encourage further families lower in the income distribution to migrate. Equally, when migration spreads, changes in values and cultural perceptions occur that can be conducive to further migration. Migrants that have enjoyed experiences of advanced industrial economies and higher consumer power tend to change their tastes and motivations and may migrate again to fulfil their new aspirations (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452). Within certain communities migration can become deeply ingrained in people's values and behaviours to the point of becoming an identity defining aspect. The social meaning attached to certain types of work or, as Massey *et al.* call it, 'social labelling' (1993: 453), can also act as a factor that fuels migration. This happens when members of migration-receiving societies start associating certain unskilled jobs with 'immigrant labour' and refuse to take such jobs. A demand for labour to fill these unwanted positions, which are often found in the lowest paid employment sectors (e.g. domestic sector, cleaning, catering, factory work, and services) is thus generated that will continuously attract and facilitate further migration.

As the notion of *cumulative causation* indicates, migration systems trigger not only social changes in the country of origin and destination but also in the mentalities of the migrants which can only be fully understood through a comprehensive examination of the migratory processes as a whole. Furthermore, as Castles and Miller suggest (2003: 28), the macro-, micro-, and meso-structures that form migratory systems are intertwined in the migratory process in such a way that there are no clear dividing boundaries between them that would allow us to segment research on migration. Given this, if we are to fully understand why migrants leave their countries of origin and settle elsewhere, we need to look at all aspects of the migratory process considering it in its full complexity and multi-dimensionality.

Of the three deterministic theories that I have outlined above, migration system theory emerges as an integrative model that incorporates the economic, historical and structural perspectives of the migration phenomenon at the same time as it places migrants and their related social networks at the heart of the migration process. That said, it is time to return to the notion of migrant networks that was advanced earlier, which now re-emerges as a key element in the migratory process directly connected to one of the interactional spheres of migrant life addressed by this thesis.

Migrant networks

Although recent scholarship has acknowledged the importance of kin, friendship, and community networks in shaping and sustaining migration, there has not been much empirical research into the way in which networks operate nor on the impact that they have upon migrants and migration systems (Gurak and Caces, 1992: 150). In this respect, Rex's research into migrant associations in Europe constitutes an important reference (1987). Rex assigns four main roles or functions that immigrant associations fulfil in the lives of migrants: 'overcoming social isolation', 'helping individuals in the solution of personal and material problems', 'combining to defend the group's interests in conflict and bargaining with the wider society', and 'maintaining and developing shared patterns of meaning' (Rex, 1987: 19).

In my analysis of Spanish associational life in the UK in Chapter 4, I have examined various types of formal and informal migrant networks, tracing the circumstances

surrounding their creation, subsequent trajectories and overall evolution over a long period of time in some cases exceeding four decades. In doing so, I have tried to test the applicability of Rex's four functions. However, beyond the mere analysis of what appeared to correspond to a primary level of associational networks engaged in by migrants during the initial stages of their migration, what proved to have far greater interest was to establish the role that migrant networks played in maintaining cultural difference and ethnic identifications over time, and to discern the extent to which such networks insulated and discouraged migrants from integrating into their host society in the long term. Such an approach has arguably benefited from the historical perspective that I have been able to apply. As Gurak and Caces argue, networks are not spontaneous and ephemeral but evolve over time and with the nurturing of relationships (1992: 152). In spite of this, the emphasis of research literature on the adaptive functions of networks has tended to focus on the role that they play in providing short-term adaptive assistance of a practical nature, such as the provision of information about employment and survival strategies, and emotional support, instead of focussing on long-term integration (1992: 153). The second line of enquiry pursued by this type of research is concerned with the role that networks play in linking migrants with their sending and receiving countries, and the extent to which such links limit migrants' insertion into the host society. Migrant networks and linkages are a theme that the recently emerging literature on transnationalism is revisiting. Taking into consideration these research perspectives, my approach is innovative and has yielded interesting results that have been enhanced by the historical perspective. This has allowed me to establish some of the processes through which migrant networks develop and change, and, in doing so, to explore they way in which these networks can become intercultural exchange platforms amongst migrant and host populations.

The following section examines how the migration system approach can be enhanced with some concepts borrowed from humanistic theoretical models.

1.3.2. Humanistic theories

Humanistic approaches offer an alternative way of understanding migration by advocating the absolute protagonism of the migrant in the decision to migrate. In contrast to deterministic models, they argue that migration cannot be predicted, nor its

causes or patterns, as it is the personal characteristics of individuals, such as their beliefs, aspirations and obligations, that determine the likelihood of migrating (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 71). Humanistic approaches draw heavily on qualitative methods and consider data extracted from quantitative analysis as impersonal and dehumanising, leading to over-simplistic, generalised and meaningless explanations of the migration experience. Under the humanistic perspective migration is considered, above all, a personal and individual experience as opposed to a system or a process.

The research methods adopted by humanistic approaches aim at gaining an insight to the migrant's experience. One of the most interesting applications of humanistic methodology is 'migrant history work', which traces individuals through their biographical histories emphasising the role that migration has played in shaping their lives. Furthermore, the humanistic angle also allows us to explore migration as a cultural experience that can significantly influence the cultural identity of its protagonists, since identity is a concept strongly associated with space and with belonging to a place (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 72).

The humanistic perspective offers an integrative solution to the study of migration based on the combination of the following two concepts: structuration theory and biographical work (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 79-82).

Structuration theory

Structuration theory argues that both human agency and social structure are equally important aspects of migration and should not be considered separately as they both constantly produce and reproduce each other. Giddens, the main advocate of structuration, argues that structures do not exist independently of human agency but exist because humans create and participate in them on a daily basis, e.g. engaging in wage labour, consumption of goods, uneven wealth distribution, etc (1984, in Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 79). Contrary to what historical-structuralism argued, human behaviour is what determines structures. But in turn, structures also determine human behaviour. The emphasis of structuration theory is on the contexts and cultures in which migration takes place (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 80).

Biographical approach

The biographical approach complements structuration theory by taking into account the constraints that structures place on the migrants' experiences. Its aim is to locate the migration episode within the individual migrant's entire biography stressing three main issues. First, the location of migration in time, framing it within the migrant's past and anticipated future. Second, the acceptance that a migration episode does not respond to one cause but to a multiplicity of reasons with varying weight and relevance in the migrant's final decision to migrate. Third, and most importantly, it highlights the cultural nature of migration. Individual migrants are considered to belong to and to be embedded in diverse cultures that introduce them to and socialise them into certain patterns of behaviour in response to the structures described by structuration theory (Fielding, 1992a, in Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 81). The biographical approach thus reaches beyond humanistic thinking by stressing the agency of individuals who act within their contexts.

I have undoubtedly taken on board the need for an integrative model, as advocated by Boyle *et al.* (1998), Massey *et al* (1993), and Castles and Miller (2003) in order to understand the complexities of migration. However, all the models discussed so far tend to put the emphasis on migration as movement, and on the characterisation of the migrants and the social mechanisms and links that enable their migration. To a considerable extent these models tend to neglect what happens following settlement. Castles and Miller have recently pointed in this direction with their proposal to link theories on migration and settlement with theories on ethnic minorities and their position in society, which, they argue, are often dealt with separately (2003: 21-29). In this respect, they argue that one of the key questions that should be asked if we are to gain a comprehensive understanding of migrations is 'How do migrants turn into settlers, and why does this lead to discrimination, conflict and racism in some cases, but to pluralistic multicultural societies in others?'. To this question, which arguably continues to focus on early settlement and therefore on the initial stages of the migratory process, we could add others, such as 'when does a migrant, or migrant-turned-settler, cease to be a migrant?', 'who decides when this happens?', 'how does this become manifest?'. These are essential questions that are unavoidably linked to integration and to issues of identity and identifications, as well as to processes that are

connected to the perceptions held of migrants by themselves and by others. A pluralistic approach to migration would be incomplete without the discussion of these questions and issues, something that the following section of this chapter incorporates.

1.4. An eclectic migration framework

This thesis examines Spanish presence in the UK as the result of a historical migration episode whose initial phase can be circumscribed to a specific period of time spanning the period from 1950s to the mid 1970s. I follow a migration systems approach to characterise the socio-economic and political conditions present in Spain and the UK during the initial phases of migration and settlement in order to establish how they influenced the generation and reception of migration. Inevitably, I consider 'push and pull factors' that conditioned this migration but do not regard them as its sole determinants. As the period of departure substantially coincided with an authoritarian regime in Spain, the political structures in place for both countries in that period are of particular interest, and I enquire whether this emigration episode can be characterised as merely economic or as a combination of both economic and political factors. In my analysis of macro-structures I consider existing migration legislation in both countries, social perceptions of migrants held in both the society of origin and destination, and the ways in which these factors influence one another. In the analysis of the micro-structures of this migratory system I consider how the macro-contexts in turn influence the behaviour and social practices of the migrants.

After characterising the macro-structures of the system, I have explored the world of individual migrants through study of the micro-structures that surround their migration experience. Drawing on the sub-theories and supplementary concepts of migration systems theory that were outlined earlier, I have analysed migrants' motivations, social networks, practices, and beliefs, and considered how factors such as income distribution, cultural and political background, and social labelling effected the occurrence and re-occurrence of Spanish migration to the UK. Throughout this analysis of the micro-structures, references are made to previously defined macro-contexts and meso-structures, and to their mutually determining connections. In doing so, I have found Böhning's four-stage model a useful tool for framing the different phases that migrants tend to undergo in the course of their migration and settlement process. From a

longitudinal perspective, this model allows us to reflect upon the gradual changes in attitudes and re-orientation of attachments that lead migrants to transform what had initially been conceived as a temporary migration project into permanent settlement (Salt, 1976: 133):

1 First phase – Beginning of a migration stream, when labour importing countries start to import labour. Characterised by temporary migration of young, single, predominantly male, workers, originating from the more industrialised and urbanised areas of the sending countries with the best access to information about opportunities abroad. These migrants tend to be more skilled than the non-migrant population, are employed in marginal jobs with high turnovers, and envisage short stays. Migrants send remittances back home and continue to be orientated to returning.

2 Second phase – Characterised by information about opportunities spreading as first-phase migrants report back in the country of origin, which encourages further emigration to the host country, where labour migration becomes a permanent feature. Migrants are older and have probably married, leaving their families back home. At the same time they may feel that their targets have not yet been achieved or have been redefined, which makes them remain in the host country and develop social networks based on kinship or common area of origin to provide mutual help.

3 Third phase – Marked by family reunion and a growing consciousness of long-term settlement. There is an increase in consumption as opposed to the previous emphasis on remittances as migrants realise that their original targets prove more difficult to attain than expected. Migrants may also become more influenced by the social values of the host country, and, although they may continue to toy with the idea of returning home one day, they are increasingly orientated towards the receiving country. It is in this phase that ethnic communities begin to emerge with their own institutions (e.g. cafés, agencies, associations, etc).

4 Final phase – As the psychological costs of separation from home lose importance, given material gains and opportunities in the host country, migration becomes permanent settlement. Depending on the immigration policies and social response of the host country, this can lead to securing legal status, citizenship and integration, or to political exclusion, socio-economic marginalisation, and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities.

Salt argues that most labour migration systems mature according to Böhning's four-stage model above (1976: 134), and, whilst admitting that not all migrants undergo the four stages, state that most stay abroad far longer than they had originally intended. Castles and Miller state that this model applies most obviously to post-war migration from the Mediterranean basin to Western Europe and Australia, and from Latin America and Asia to North America (2003: 31). In the light of my findings in this thesis, I argue that the model is only partially applicable to the case of the Spanish migration to the UK that I have examined, since the long-term migrants that I interviewed only tangentially appeared to have evolved through the four stages. Furthermore, with regards to the third state, I argue that Spanish migrants have not formed ethnic communities in the specific areas of the South of England that I researched.

After contextualising this episode of Spanish migration through the lens of migration systems theory, the main part of my study is constituted by analysis of the migrants' individual and group experiences. In doing this, I have adopted a humanistic approach for I consider migration as being primarily a social and cultural experience which has an enormous impact upon the migrant's sense of identity and social behaviour. Through my methodology, outlined in Chapter 2, I have drawn on the biographical approach in order to locate the migrants' experiences within their own life stories. This has enabled me to gain a better understanding of the reasons that motivated their migration and of the socio-cultural implications derived from their permanent settlement in the UK.

1.5. Framing migrants' modes of incorporation into host societies

Since I am dealing with first-generation migrants primarily, the exploration of their identification patterns requires a previous examination of the ways in which migrants are incorporated to host societies. Different integration formulas inextricably determine the extent to which migrants are or are not able to access different spheres of citizenship, something that according to Castles and Miller, is determined by the concept of nation prevailing in the host country (2003: 44). They distinguish five different concepts of nation that are linked to five different types of incorporation that have been in operation in different periods and countries. The first one is the 'imperial model', whereby citizens, who may come from multi-ethnic backgrounds, are subjects

to the same power, e.g. the British Empire. According to the 'folk or ethnic model', belonging to the nation is based on ethnicity, understood in terms of shared descent, language and culture. The 'republican model', of which France is the classic example, is based on a constitution, laws and citizenship and is open to admitting newcomers who are willing to assimilate into the national culture. The 'multicultural model', despite being based on the same legal foundations as the republican model, allows newcomers to maintain cultural differences. Finally, the 'transnational model', which is still an emerging concept, challenges the previous models in their reliance on belonging to just one nation-state and their expectation that loyalty will be transferred to it. Unlike them, under the transnational model migrants may form transnational communities and maintain strong cross-border affiliations leading to social and cultural identities that transcend national boundaries resulting in multiple forms of belonging (Castles and Miller, 2003: 44). Having arrived at this point, I will now discuss some of the main themes and debates that have emerged from transnational theory and the ways in which they have framed my analysis of Spanish migrants incorporation into British society.

Transnationalism versus assimilation theory

In the last decade transnationalism has been proposed as an umbrella theoretical framework that focuses on the social, cultural, economic, and political processes that the increasingly globalised mobility of peoples, communication, capital and ideas have brought about in the field of international migration. As a term, transnationalism has emerged in parallel to the changes triggered by the start of the post-Cold War period, a time that has witnessed an intensification of migration flows involving labour migrants and refugees and the transformation and expansion of capitalist economies. As a concept, transnationalism embraces a variety of meanings that are still being refined by scholars in various disciplines, but one of its most prominent characteristics rests upon the realisation that the rapid development of technologies of transport and communication is enabling migrants to maintain closer links with their areas of origin, something that is seen as having significant implications for migrants' patterns of integration and identifications, which, in turn, is considered to pose a potential challenge to the concept of the nation-state. As a theoretical framework 'transnationalism' has been proposed as an alternative to 'assimilation theory' and to the 'cultural diversity model' that better reflects the ways of moving, living, and

belonging of contemporary migrants. From this perspective, I draw on the arguments of Kivisto (2001), who calls for a revisitation of 'assimilation theory' as a model that is still valid to account for what are currently considered 'transnational phenomena', and on Brubaker (2001), who argues that a renewed form of assimilation has made a discreet comeback following a reversal in what he calls the 'differentialist discourse' that dominated immigration issues, practices, and debates in the 1980s and 1990s.

Kivisto first traces the initial formulation of a transnational theoretical framework to the work of cultural anthropologists Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc and to their now classic texts *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration* (1992) and *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialised Nation-States* (1994), which set out and articulated a novel way of understanding contemporary migration. Unlike immigrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who became absorbed by the host societies at socio-cultural, economic and political levels, immigrants today, these authors argue, are able to deploy their lives across social fields pertaining to both the home and host country, a process in the course of which 'transmigrants', as this 'new' type of contemporary migrants are termed, develop multiple and fluid identities that enable them to resist the global political and economic forces that engulf them (2001: 552). Kivisto interprets the proposals of these scholars as an attempt to overcome what they see as the inadequacies of both the 'assimilation model' and 'multi-cultural theory' to explain the new complexities entailed by current international migrations, a case which, in his view, they fail to make convincingly (Kivisto, 2001: 554). He then reclaims assimilation theory as a model that is still capable of accounting for those very complexities (2001: 556).

Secondly, Kivisto revisits some of Portes' attempts at articulating transnationalism as *a middle-range theory* by making adjustments to the initial formulations of Basch *et al.* (2001: 557). Kivisto picks up some of Portes' concepts as useful approaches to analysing the experience of contemporary immigrant communities, such as the idea of 'segmented assimilation' (Portes, 1993), which introduces a historical perspective by drawing on the need to compare the different first and second-generation acculturation patterns. In its application to migration research, Kivisto agrees with Portes' tightening of the original formulation of transnationalism by grounding it in 'transnationalism from below' and by insisting on limiting transnational activities to those 'that involve

continuity of social relationships across national borders over time'. Whilst he also agrees with the dropping of the term 'transmigrant', deemed unnecessary given the existence of the term 'immigrant', Kivisto disagrees with Portes' focus on individuals and families to the neglect of 'transnational communities' as valid units of analysis, as the elimination of this concept entails ignoring the web of social networks in which immigrants' lives are embedded (2001: 590-561). Not only do I take Kivisto's points on board in my analysis of Spanish immigrants in the UK, but I have made the evaluation of Spanish migrants' corporate and associational life in the host society a key unit of analysis which has yielded valuable results regarding migrants' evolving identifications and affiliation patterns, a sphere of migrant activity that is closely linked to the third type of transnationalism distinguished by Portes himself – economic, political and socio-cultural. Indeed, Portes defines socio-cultural transnationalism as comprising activities that are 'oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods' which include, for instance, travels of musical folk groups to perform before immigrant audiences, organization of games of the national sport, election of expatriate beauty queens to represent the immigrant community, celebration of holidays abroad, etc (Portes, 1999: 221). As Kivisto highlights (2001: 562), far from being new, these activities, which provide evidence of the migrants' desire to transplant selective aspects of their cultural heritage, were prominent in past, and I would argue, current, migrations. They relate to what Gans has called the nostalgic preservation of a 'symbolic ethnicity' (1979, in Kivisto, 2001: 562), a practice that highly acculturated immigrants, such as Spaniards in the UK, often engage in.

In his exploration of adaptation as one of the potential areas in which transnationalism may operate as a novel framework, Portes discusses received notions of assimilation theory claiming that, whilst they account for acculturated migrants returning home, presumably on meeting their migration objectives, they do not explain the 'back-and-forth movements and regular exchanges between places of origin and destination that could generate alternative adaptation paths' (Portes, 1999: 228-229). In his analysis, Portes envisages four possible adaptation scenarios for first and second-generation transnational migrants:

a) Successful transnational entrepreneurs eventually give up their transnational activities and return home, taking their children with them.

b) Transnationals give up transnational activities to seek full assimilation into the receiving society.

c) Transnationals remain indefinitely in the transnational field but their children become assimilated to the host society.

d) Parents pass on to their offspring their transnational skills and outlooks, perpetuating this social field across generations.

(Portes, 1999: 29)

Of these models only d) entails the perpetuation of the transnational, argues Kivisto (2001: 563), and even then, as Portes states, it is too early to know which path will become dominant (1999: 29). In any case, as Kivisto points out (2001: 563), assimilation emerges from this discussion as a powerful driving force, especially for the second generation, something that is confirmed by the findings emerging from the Spanish case studies that I examined, which relate to the scenarios contained in b) and c) above. Indeed, the socio-cultural practices of most first-generation Spaniards interviewed during my research revealed varying degrees of transnational affiliations normally articulated in the maintenance of certain Spanish symbolic practices, which co-existed with high levels of socio-economic achievements and linguistic assimilation. In the case of the second generation, I found that migrants' offspring had in most cases dropped their parents' transnational identifications to become fully assimilated through mainstream schooling, a process that often had the effect of accelerating their parents' assimilation. But I also identified cases when both first-generation and second-generation Spaniards had in later life rediscovered and re-kindled transnational practices that had been abandoned for pragmatic reasons during the initial stages of settlement. I have linked this process to three possible factors:

a) Life cycle variations in migrants' identification patterns and sense of belonging, which enable migrants to frame their experiences in a fluid way moving between assimilation and transnationalism at different stages in their lives.

b) The current popularity and appeal that the Spanish language and Spanish-speaking cultures are experiencing, which acts as an incentive for migrants to re-capture what they perceive as attractive and fashionable cultural roots.

c) Mimesis with regard to the members of the host society in their attraction and consumption of Hispanic cultures, something which in itself could be interpreted as a manifestation of assimilation.

Before finally stating the case for a reconciliation between assimilation and transnationalism, two adaptation frames which seem to be more complementary than mutually exclusive, Kivisto draws our attention to Faist's idea of 'transnational social spaces', which can be defined as 'combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places'. What is of interest to us here is his social definition of transnational space as something that transcends territorial place and is filled with meaning though migrants' concrete social or symbolic ties (Faist, 1998: 216 in Kivisto, 2001: 567). Against the background of the current tensions between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation noted by Appadurai (1990, 1996: 30), this concept has allowed me to explore and frame the transnational social spaces that Spanish and Latin American immigrants in the UK are increasingly seen as constructing and co-inhabiting, something that is symbolically re-enacted through shared collective cultural manifestations that bridge what is in fact a wide diversity of Spanish-speaking cultural backgrounds.

Like Brubaker (2001), Kivisto argues that assimilation theory has recently undergone a rehabilitation process that has enabled it to make a discreet comeback (2001: 570). This has been substantiated by the work of sociologists such as Alba and Nee (1997), and Morawska (1994), who differentiate 'assimilation' from the 'amalgamation' supposedly entailed by the 'melting pot' model by putting the emphasis on 'acculturation' processes and on the idea that immigrants do not assimilate into fixed societies but rather into fluid ones that are subject to changes (Kivisto, 2001: 571). As Kivisto notes, one of the key features of this 'renewed' version of assimilation is that for the first time acculturation is seen as a bi-directional process, that is, just as immigrants are influenced by the host society's culture, they can also have 'an impact in the cultural life and institutions of the host society (Kivisto, 2001: 571). This recognises that, on settling, migrants do not become passive or malleable objects of acculturation, but rather, they remain active agents and protagonists in their migration experience. Again, this bi-directional perspective on assimilation has enabled me to account for the

participation of British members of the host society in Spanish-speaking immigrant spaces.

Kivisto's final point that I would like to take on board is his proposal that transnationalism be regarded as a possible variant of, rather than alternative to, assimilation, since, as he states, 'at the same time as transnational immigrants are working to maintain homeland connections, they are also engaged in the process of acculturation to the host society' (2001: 571).

A second revision of assimilation theory that informs my analysis of migrant identification patterns is proposed by Brubaker who, drawing on the examination of three domains – public discourse in France, public policy in Germany and scholarly research in the US – has concluded that a revised version of assimilation may have made a modest return following the demise in popularity of the 'differentialist' or 'multicultural' model that was dominant in the 1980s and 1990s (2001: 531-548). In the case of France, Brubaker has found that the strong differentialist discourse of the 1970s and 1980s epitomised in the slogan 'le droit à la différence' was more rhetorical and symbolic than substantiated in actual concrete policies. Following appropriation and manipulation of the differentialist discourse for political ends by both the left and the right, it is precisely the opposite, claims to 'le droit a la indifférence' or even 'le droit à la resemblance', that has emerged as part of a resurgence of neo-universalist / neo-assimilationist discourses since the late 1980s (Brubaker, 2001: 536-537). In his review of German immigration policy, which was traditionally based on a differentialist mode of migrant incorporation and separateness, Brubaker has noted similar signs of an 'assimilationist turn', especially following the recent liberalisation of rules on citizenship and naturalisation. In his analysis of US scholarly research into immigrant integration, Brubacker distinguishes three different periods that were dominated by different adaptation frameworks: a) the 1920s and mid 1960s, with the focus on assimilationist perspectives, b) 1965-1985, marked by multi-cultural approaches, and c) a renewed interest in revisiting the assimilation model since 1985 that can be found in the work of Morawska (1994), Portes and Zhou (1993), or Alba and Nee (1997) amongst others (Brubaker, 2001: 539).

From a theoretical perspective, Brubaker distinguishes between two different notions of assimilation. The first one refers to its *abstract and general* definition according to which 'assimiliation' relates to 'increasing similarity and likeness'. Furthermore, whilst the transitive use of the verb 'assimilate' means 'to become similar', when used in the intransitive mode, 'assimilate' means 'to make similar'. According to the second, the *organic and specific* meaning of the term, 'to assimilate' means 'to convert', the emphasis being on the final result of such conversion (Brubacker, 2001: 534). Brubaker argues that in the contemporary context of appreciation for difference and diversity the connotations of 'forced assimilation' suggested by the transitive use of the term and by its second organic definition have discredited the whole idea of assimilation as morally and politically wrong. Unlike those meanings, when 'assimilation' is used intransitively, adds Brubaker, in the sense of 'becoming similar in certain respects', the model does not appear to be so objectionable (2001: 534), although the terms 'adaptation' and 'incorporation' may be less problematic.

My framing of Spanish immigrants' integration patterns in the UK under an assimilationist perspective has to be understood with reference to Brubaker's discussion and to the analytical and normative shifts that he has identified with regard to the new use and meanings of the term 'assimilation' which I summarise in the following table:

PREVIOUS USE OF 'ASSIMILATION'	***RENEWED NOTION OF 'ASSIMILATION'***
Focus on the persistence of difference and the mechanisms of cultural maintenance	Broader focus on emerging commonalities
Automatic valorisation of cultural difference	Renewed concern with civic integration
Immigrants seen as malleable objects	Immigrants seen as active subjects
Assimilation seen as something done to persons	Assimilation seen as something accomplished by immigrants, connected to choices made in diverse contexts (social, cultural, economic and political)
Unit of change – the person is assimilated	Unit of change – multi-generational: assimilation takes place over generations, e.g. children assimilate linguistically
Assimilation involving a shift from a homogeneous unit to another homogeneous unit	Shift is from one heterogeneous mode to another heterogeneous mode
Focus of normative concern informing research: cultural – assimilation seen as opposed to difference	Focus of normative concern informing research: socio-economic concerns – assimilation seen as opposed to segregation, ghettoisation and

	marginalisation
Single process – Mono-dimensional question – how much assimilation?	Multidimensional question – assimilation in what respect? Over what period of time? To what reference population?
Assimilationist understanding of assimilation – as a global empirical expectation and normative endorsement of assimilation	Agnostic stance of assimilation – varying by domain and reference population, concerning both the likelihood and desirability of assimilation

(Source: Adapted from Brubaker, 2001: 543-545)

As emerges from Brubaker's reformulation of 'assimilation', the return of the old term entails a significant conceptual transformation that provides us with an updated theoretical framework that can be very useful not only in the examination of contemporary immigrant populations but also in the re-evaluation of old ones.

Having outlined the main theories used to frame the departure, migration, settlement and integration stages of Spanish migration to the UK from the 1950s-1970s, I discuss below the conceptual parameters that have guided my analysis of identification patterns.

Delimiting 'identity': Exploring identifications

In the same way that reaching a general theory that satisfactorily explains all aspects of international migration is difficult, reaching agreement on a definition of identity is also problematic, not only because it is a concept that is dealt with by various academic disciplines and methodologies, but, especially, because of the complexities that are attached to identity in the context of migration. Furthermore, if we take into consideration the inherent subjectivity implied by the term 'identity', arriving at a suitable working definition that may allow a rigorous and systematic exploration of migrants' identification patterns becomes even more problematic.

Hall has called for a re-conceptualisation of 'identity', a term which in his view has been 'hanging around' as an 'unclarified concept' (1991: 129). He departs from the distinction between an old and a new approach before calling for a third way of dealing with identity. He first rejects the now outdated fixed notion of identity that relies on ancestral inherited positions, which he contrasts with the more contemporary flexible,

fluid, more dramatic and less predictable concept which emerged in opposition to the former. Based on analysis of African Caribbean identity, his suggested third way is based on a shift from 'identity' towards the preferred term 'identifications', which places the emphasis on agency and process, that is, the mechanisms whereby groups, movements, and institutions try to locate immigrants in order to regulate them, anchoring them to symbolic boundaries that facilitate their location, and allocation or withdrawal of resources (Hall, 1991: 130). Equally, Hall argues (1991: 132), immigrants decide to inhabit, or not, those symbolic boundaries depending on the specific context or situation. In this respect, identity can be regarded as a social construct, and identifications can be interpreted as active dialogic processes that are situational.

In the light of this theorisation of identity, delimiting the situational contexts of enquiry becomes an initial way of capturing at least some of the social aspects of such an elusive term. From this perspective, since this thesis' main objective is to explore migrant integration and identification patterns and their evolution and cultural impact in the long term, 'migration' becomes the contextual platform from which the rest of the variables and dimensions that inhabit the migrant's complex subjectivity are explored, e.g. gender, educational background, aspirations, perceptions, past experience, future plans, etc. That said, it is important to note that no discussions of migrant identity and identifications can ignore the changing conceptualisations of international migrations. As Benmayor and Skotnes highlight (1994: 4), contrary to the predominant political and public views that migrations are isolated events and disruptive accidents of history, and that migrants have a 'deviant' and 'disruptive' behaviour, mass population movements are a constant part in the history of human experience. The different types of population movements that have taken place in the last five hundred years have led to political resistance, cultural transformations, and constructions of complex identities that are at work everywhere.

For the purpose of this study, and based on some of Hall's propositions, identity is conceived as a dynamic and multidimensional notion that is subject to fluctuation and change over time, space, and situation, which is negotiable depending on a myriad social contexts and factors (i.e. work, family, home, school, travel). In addition, and taking as a reference point Benmayor and Skotnes' discussion on identity as narrative

construction (1994: 14-18), my exploration of migrants' identifications relies on data emerging from the content and format of oral history narratives, which is supplemented with information implied, displayed, and performed during ethnographic participant-observations. Furthermore, in exploring migrants' identification processes, I seek to account for observable processes of acculturation that have taken place in a bi-directional or dialogic way, that is, establishing not only the socio-cultural elements of the autochthonous population that migrants have incorporated, but also the ways in which the presence of Spanish migrants has impacted upon the autochthonous population at a socio-cultural level.

Having now reviewed the theoretical parameters that frame my research, I can conclude this chapter by adding that the thesis examines the presence of first-generation Spaniards who arrived in the UK between the 1950s and 1970s, not only as a result of a migration system but also as a dynamic process and as a life-changing experience that has had a great impact upon the individuals' sense of belonging and identifications. As such, migration cannot be explained by a single cause but by a multiplicity of factors, many of them of great complexity given the consequences that migration has for the individual's cultural identity and social behaviour. The only way to understand migration, as Castles and Miller suggest (2003: 29), is to ask not one but many questions. Arguably, providing answers requires the use of various strategies and research methodologies.

Chapter 2 Methodology

In this chapter I examine the different research methods that I have used to focus on different aspects of the migratory process under study. Chapter 3 of the thesis contextualises Spanish migration to the UK from a macro-structural perspective, drawing on secondary literature and archival information. Chapters 4 and 5 explore the individual and collective experiences of migrants relying on qualitative data emerging from oral history interviews and ethnographic participant-observation, which are compared and contrasted with documentary primary sources.

2.1. Secondary sources

In order to put the migration episode under study into its historical context, I have reviewed the existing secondary literature on Spanish emigration and British post-war immigration. This has allowed me to identify the socio-economic and political factors present in Spain, the UK, and the wider European context during the period in which this migration took place. Relevant texts have been accessed at the University of Southampton's Hartley Library, the British Library, the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, the Biblioteca de Aragon in Zaragoza, and the library of the Fundación 1° de Mayo in Madrid which is the repository of the *Centro de Documentación de la Emigración Española* (Centre for Documentation of Spanish Emigration).

In addition, the consultation of two unpublished doctoral theses has provided me with important frames of reference, especially Durán Villa's work on Spanish emigration to the UK between 1861 and 1986, which is based on Spanish and British official statistical and legislative sources (1996). Durán Villa provides a comprehensive characterisation of Spanish migration to the UK from a historical perspective following an analysis of the 'push' and 'pull' factors that induced this migration. He has described in detail the nature and historical evolution of various migration flows from Spain to Britain, examining the different migration policies in place since 1861 and the demographic distribution of Spanish migrant settlements in the UK since then. His approach and methodology rely heavily on statistical and legislative data meticulously gathered which have proved a very helpful reference point in my characterisation of the macro-structures. To a lesser extent, since this thesis deals mainly with first-generation

migrants, Cristina Mateo's analysis of common aspects of the ethnic identity of second-generation Spanish immigrants in Greater London (Goldsmith, University of London 1999) has proved very informative, in particular her discussion about the fluid and negotiable nature of ethnic relations and the situational and tactical nature of ethnic markers in everyday situations.

2.2 Archival research

The main archive accessed during this research is the *Centro de Documentación de la Emigración Española* located at the Fundación 1° de Mayo in Madrid. Of particular relevance are two of its collections. First, the collection donated by Adolfo and Tina López. Adolfo López was a Spanish immigrant in London and an active participant in migrant associative life. He was a member of the Spanish Federation of Emigrants' Associations (FAEERU) and the Spanish association Peña Cultural Española as well as being the Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party Group in London. This collection, which was donated by his wife, Tina López, contains invaluable information relating to Spanish migrant life in Britain between 1968-1988 which is classified in three blocks: Spanish clubs and associations in the UK; activities of the Spanish section of the Communist Party in the UK, and migrant involvement in trade union activities. In my analysis of the evolution of Spanish associational life, I have made substantial use of the documents contained within the first block of the collection, consisting of materials relating to Spanish clubs and associations, and to the federation FAEERU. Documents consulted include reports, minutes of meetings, posters announcing cultural activities, chapters of association of Spanish clubs and societies, memoranda confirming notification of allocated funding, and correspondence with official institutions.

This data helped me analyse the typology, objectives and agendas of the Spanish associations in the UK. It also provided information on trade union activity amongst migrants and on the political nature of some of the activities that migrants engaged in, for example, demonstrations to demand the release of Spanish political prisoners and the democratisation of Spain.

The second type of archival documents in the Centro de Documentación de la Emigración Española that I have used extensively is the Periodical Publications

Collection which contains bulletins and magazines produced by Spaniards abroad. Aimed at Spanish migrant audiences and produced with minimal resources, these publications contained practical information and advice on issues such as social rights and entitlements, changes in immigration legislation, employment law, or housing. Most of the magazines and bulletins that comprise this collection were not professionally edited or printed so their format and quality are in most cases very rudimentary. Similarly, their regularity and distribution was often sporadic. Despite these limitations, they constitute an extraordinary source of data on the socio-cultural activities of Spanish migrants abroad and their general living and working conditions. Additionally, they provide interesting insights into the migrants' processes of integration, reflecting changes in identifications, hopes and aspirations. With regard to the socio-political context that pervades this thesis, migrant periodical publications are also an invaluable source of information into the way that Spanish migrants experienced the Spanish democratic transition from the UK.

Amongst the periodical publications kept at the CDEE collection, I have relied on the following titles:

- *ACADE – Revista para los españoles del Reino Unido.* Londres: Asociación de Centros y Asociaciones de Españoles (n.1/2, 1978).
- *Al-Andalus – Boletín del Centro andaluz Blas Infante* (monthly – 1983-1985).
- *Caminante – Boletín informativo del Club Cultural Antonio Machado.* Londres: Club Cultural Antonio Machado (1980-1991).
- *Carta de España – Revista de emigración e inmigración.* Dirección General de las Migraciones (1962-1975).
- *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra.* Londres: Hogar del Español; Centro Gallego; Club Cultural Antonio Machado, (1973-1976).
- *FAEERU – Boletín informativo.* Londres: Federación de Asociaciones de Emigrantes Españoles en el Reino Unido (1977-1978).
- *Geranio 78 – Revista de la Casa de España en Londres.* Londres: Casa de España (bimonthly – 1978).
- *Informa / FAEERU.* Londres: Federación de Asociaciones de Emigrantes Españoles en el Reino Unido (1980-1990).
- *Mundo Español – Revista para españoles en el Reino Unido.* Reino Unido: UAPA/CEES (monthly – 1982).

- *Portobello 317 – Revista de la Casa de España en Londres.* Londres: Casa de España (bimonthly – 1979).
- *UAPA – Boletín informativo / Unión de padres de alumnos de las escuelas españolas en el Reino Unido.* Reino Unido: UAPA, (monthly – 1981).
- *Unidad y Lucha* – Boletín de la Organización Local del PCE en Gran Bretaña. Londres: Comité de la Organización Local del PCE en Gran Bretaña (quarterly – 1973-1981).

In citing these publications throughout the thesis I have directly provided my own translations from Spanish into English except for Chapter 5 (on language and identity) where I have cited the original Spanish texts and provided translations in endnotes.

In addition to the above sources, I accessed documentary information and written testimonies related to the local presence of Spanish evacuee children from the Spanish Civil War from the Eastleigh Local History Society and Southampton City Library and examined press articles from local newspapers dating to 1950s-1970s at Lymington and Bournemouth Libraries. Unfortunately, with the exception of a few articles from the Bournemouth *Evening Echo* and the (Southampton) *Southern Evening Echo*, the local presence of Spanish immigrants during this period did not receive much attention in the local press, which is one of the reasons why I decided to combine archival research with oral history and ethnographic participant-observations.

2.3. Migration and Oral History

Oral history methodology fulfils many of the objectives that have guided this research. It places the migrant at the centre of the migration experience whilst helping to overcome the shortcomings of unavailable and unreliable written data highlighted above. Oral history has proved itself a valid research method in the study of minorities and, in particular, in the study of migration. As Paul Thompson explains, oral sources are being effectively used by sociologists and historians to examine 'the ordinary experience of immigrants, the process of finding work, the assistance of kin and neighbours, the building of minority institutions, the continuance of previous cultural customs, and the creation of new mixed hybrid cultural forms and identities, including mixed marriages, as well as problems of racial tension and discrimination' (1978: 115). Oral history interviews with Spaniards that arrived in the UK in the 1950s, 1960s and

1970s have enabled me to explore the extent to which they feel part of a community, Spanish and/or British, whilst bringing to the surface any problems experienced in the course of their migration and settlement and highlighting the identification processes that they have undergone.

Oral history plays an important part in testing commonly held perceptions of immigrants by themselves and others in both receiving and sending societies. This can help challenge the validity of migrants' projected stereotypes and the cultural representations of their migration experiences. In both instances oral history can contribute to a better understanding of the complexity of migration, and, as Dora Schwarzstein argues (2001: xxvii), make immigrants the protagonists of their own life stories. Far from regarding them as passive subjects in the study of socio-economic, political and cultural processes, recent studies of migration that draw on oral sources consider migrants as active agents who plan their migration drawing on the help of social and family networks, developing strategies to achieve their objectives, and displaying social and behavioural practices of adaptation, struggle, and survival that could otherwise go undetected. The study of oral sources can also contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which the migration process is shaped by the migrants' highly subjective worlds, which are made up not only of factual knowledge, but also of feelings, fantasies, hopes and dreams, which in turn feed into the processes of identity definition and reconstruction.

Oral history can also highlight the particular experiences of subjects that have been traditionally unrepresented, such as female migrants, thus enriching the study of migration focusing on the gendered nature of this experience (Thomson, 1999: 24-36). Equally, the experiences of the children of migrants and of migrant children can bring to the surface cultural dilemmas and family tensions experienced by the second generation. A further contribution that oral history can make to the study of migration is that it can help identify the incidence and formation of migration patterns by noting whether a past or inherited history of migration may induce further migration. This research has drawn on oral narratives in order to identify common migration experiences, social practices, and cultural behaviour patterns amongst the group of Spaniards that participated in this study. At the same time, the analysis of oral narratives has highlighted the 'uniqueness' that emerges from each individual migration experience.

The need to produce readable transcriptions has inevitably impacted upon the original oral quality of the corpus of testimonies collected. In the transition from the oral to the written format, as conversations became tidied into punctuated sentences and paragraphs, the informative value of silences, hesitations and laughter was somehow compromised. Throughout the thesis I have attempted to reflect upon the use of these communicative features whenever their occurrence seemed specifically relevant to the issues under exploration.

The validity of oral evidence is often called into question, given the unreliability of memory as a means of reconstructing the past. However, it is now commonly accepted by oral historians that the very subjectivity that characterises the narratives of life stories can be used as a valuable resource to try and disentangle the hidden messages and meanings underlying the informants' apparent contradictions and myths (Thomson, 1999: 33). As Portelli explains (1991: 43), the reliability of oral sources is of a different nature to that of written and documentary evidence. Rather than accurate recollections of the past, he argues, it is precisely the distancing from the historical facts at stake, through the intervention of the imagination, symbolism and desire, that makes oral testimonies a valuable source of enquiry. Once contrasted with traditional historical sources, what might have at first appeared as 'false' or mistaken memories are in fact accurate from a psychological perspective, and the truth that underlies this accuracy, argues Portelli, can be as important as the possible verifiable facts that underlie those memories (1991: 43).

It is often a recurrent feature in migrants' life narratives to try to project an image of success that gives value to their migration in order to make it a worthwhile experience. This could be seen as both a way of coming to terms with a past in which painful choices and sacrifices may have been made as a consequence of migration and as a way of demonstrating that an optimum level of incorporation has been achieved by the immigrant-informant from the time of arrival and initial settlement to the moment when the oral history interview takes place. These two narrative strategies emerged as a key factor to understanding the disjuncture between the data that I obtained from archival documents and the information derived from the oral history interviews. Whilst historical written documents dating to the migrants' period of arrival and initial phases

of settlement (e.g. migrant periodical publications, press articles, and migrant associations' documents) portrayed migration as a problematic process and the experience of Spanish migrants in the UK as difficult, conflictive and even traumatic, the picture that emerges from the informants' 'assimilated narratives' is generally one of overall satisfaction and self-pride, where considerable efforts are made to prove successful incorporation to British society and where hardly any references are made to any kind of hardship that may have been experienced as a result of migration. The main findings of this thesis revolve around the attempt to reconcile these two divergent pictures by connecting this migration's past with the present realities of long-term settlement. In doing so, both archival research and oral history become essential and complementary research methods, not just in order to test their potential validity through mutual contrast and verification, but, especially, in their joint potential to provide a richer and fuller description of longitudinal historical processes such as migrations.

In addition to the oral history narratives, observations carried out in the different environments in which the interviews took place – the informants' homes, workplaces, business premises, a local library, a migrant's second home in Spain – often presented me with meaningful complementary sources of information that enriched their testimonies, such as photographs, paintings, books, artefacts and other memorabilia. When encountered, they were used as prompts to elicit further data. In this way, interview spaces produced interesting additional data that conveyed useful information about certain aspects of the informants' migration experience that were not directly evident in written or oral data. Often, some objects were found to encapsulate nostalgic attachments to different aspects of Spain, its cultures and history. In some cases data emerging from spaces and artefacts was supplementary to the information provided in the interviews. Interestingly, in other cases, it contradicted it. Whilst these observations of the informants' spaces are not directly developed in this thesis, I discuss them in some detail in an early article written in the course of this research (Pozo-Gutiérrez, 2003). Similarly, interactions between informants and work colleagues or family members during the course of the interviews often threw light on some of the key issues under study, in particular, language choice, shifts, and competence. These observations have informed analysis in Chapter 5 of the thesis which deals specifically with migrants' language use.

Format and structure of interviews

The format and length of the interviews were adapted to the informants' preferred style and particular circumstances. Whilst most of the interviews were carried out in one session lasting an average of ninety minutes, a few took place over various sessions and generated lengthy transcriptions. On a few occasions interviews produced only brief closed responses and were completed in 20-30 minutes, denoting a certain resistance by some informants. It was in these more hasty interviews, however, that informants produced interesting primary documents that they had preserved over the years, e.g. photographs of the initial stages of their migration, original work permits, and correspondence from the British immigration authorities.

Despite the flexible format of the interviews, the exploration of the key topics that I envisaged (reasons for migration; participation in Spanish associational life; language use; identifications and attachments) inevitably structured the interviews around the following sections:

> Life in Spain: place of origin; childhood and family life; memories of life in Spain; socio-economic and educational background; migration history; associative practices; political activity.
>
> Migration: circumstances surrounding migration: motivation; criteria to decide destination; pre-conceptions of the UK; accompanied / unaccompanied migration; assisted / independent migration; expectations; reactions; travel; anticipated duration; bureaucratic procedures.
>
> Arrival in the UK: first impressions; initial accommodation arrangements; language learning; occupation; difficulties; contact with home; contact with other migrants; support networks; associative practices.
>
> Settlement: level of permanence; decision to remain; family life; occupational trajectory; use/s of language/s; social activities and associative practices; visits to Spain; level of satisfaction; overall reflections on migration experience; self-perceptions and perceptions by others; sense of belonging; regrets; future plans; return.

The points contained in the above four sections provided a checklist to ensure that I was able to trace the informants' biographies and to map out the whole migration experience within them in order to establish the reasons why they left Spain and the ways in which migration has shaped their lives and current identifications. Except some targeted questions aimed at eliciting specific factual data, most questions were open-ended and explored the different phases of the migration process.

Role of the interviewer

As an interviewer, I tried to establish a reflective two-way dialogic process that enabled the free flow of narrative and the shared exploration of emerging themes. As an active listener, I acknowledged verbal and non-verbal information given, reflecting upon it and rephrasing it only when it became necessary in order to seek clarification and to prompt the elicitation of further details about issues arising.

Being a Spanish migrant myself, with a long family history of migration to the UK, I unavoidably influenced certain responses and reactions. Far from benefiting from a position of perceived commonality, I often met with considerable resistance amongst some of the informants who were reluctant to discuss their migration experience in depth. This led me to make some adjustments to the way in which I approached the interviews. Firstly, the very reluctance and resistance to remembering and to discussing certain aspects of migration became themes worthy of exploration in themselves. Secondly, and based on the hypothesis that some informants may have refused to be interviewed due to negative experiences attached to their migration, or from a refusal to be identified as 'migrants', I re-worded the title of my research when presenting the project to potential informants. No longer mentioning the term 'migration' or any of its derivatives, and seeking to conjure up positive images of human mobility, I explained that I was carrying out a study of 'Spaniards' living in the UK' or of 'the Spanish presence in the South of England'. A third way in which I incorporated the theme of resistance and refusal to discuss migration was to raise it as a topic of discussion in interviews with keen informants.

Another way in which I had expected that my own Spanish migrant condition would facilitate communication was the fact that I spoke the migrants' mother tongue. I am now aware that this very kinship can also hinder research since certain information is often taken for granted or held as common knowledge amongst migrants of the same origin. Sometimes, these incidences go unnoticed and a topic may not be discussed in the necessary depth or even arise at all. Throughout the interviews, the recourse to this supposedly commonly held knowledge was usually marked with particular rhetorical devices, e.g. 'You know what it's like, living here, in this cold weather' or 'you know what people in Spain are like'. Whenever this arose, I tried to overcome the potential loss of data by inviting further explanation, claiming detachment from that very commonality or ignorance of the supposedly shared knowledge given my different age and circumstances.

In sum, the interviews were semi-structured and dialogic. They were mostly conducted in Spanish, although informants often resorted to English terms and expressions to convey certain ideas. Whenever informants permitted it, I taped the interviews and transcribed them. Otherwise, I took written notes for later analysis. In one particular case, the informant refused to be taped but agreed to write a personal testimony based on a list of questions, which we were later able to discuss in a non-taped interview. Another informant never agreed to a structured or recorded interview, but engaged in frequent informal meetings in the UK and Spain in which she conveyed useful information.

Interpretation

My interpretation of interview data is informed by two approaches: narrative analysis and reconstructive cross-analysis (Thompson, 1978: 270-271). First, I deconstructed the interviews treating them as oral narrative texts, focusing on explicit and implied meanings contained or alluded to through their language, themes, metaphors, repetitions, hesitations, omissions, and silences. Then, I searched the whole corpus of individual interviews looking for common themes that would enable me to construct arguments about the migrants' shared patterns of feeling and behaviour.

The informants: criteria for selection

Informants were chosen according to two main criteria: a specific period of arrival in the UK and residence in a particular geographical location at the time of the interviews. I chose to focus on a local case study analysing the migration and incorporation processes of Spanish migrants irrespective of their regional origin who had migrated to the UK between 1950 and 1970 and who had settled permanently in the counties of Dorset and Hampshire. Interviews took place between 2002 and 2004 in Dorset and Hampshire, in Southampton, Bournemouth, Winchester, Dorchester and Lymington. Two interviews took place in Spain.

I carried out thirteen formal interviews with eleven Spanish migrants (Sebastián, Eva, Ana, Ramón, Madalena, Dora, Jacinta, Carmelo, Rosa, Manolo and Mario) and with two British women on behalf of their late Basque husbands (Winnie and Marianne). I decided to include these British women in my study even though they were not themselves migrants for two reasons. Firstly, in order to explore their memories of social interactions, assimilation dynamics and language use within the context of mixed families. Secondly, because these women and their late husbands all belonged to one of the main Spanish migrant circles that I studied in Southampton (*The Hispanic Society of Southampton*) and following the death of their husbands they have continued to be part of this circle until the present.

With the exception of two evacuee children from the Spanish Civil War, who first arrived in Southampton in 1937, most of the informants arrived in the UK as young adults between 1950 and 1973. One of these evacuee children, Andrés, was Marianne's husband, and he remained in Southampton permanently since his evacuation from Bilbao in 1937. The second evacuee child, Sebastián, remained in Southampton until his repatriation to Spain in 1939 but then re-emigrated to the UK in 1950 and has remained here ever since.

In addition to the above informants, I interviewed three non-Spanish members of the two associational networks that I researched in Southampton, and a further Spanish migrant who arrived in Southampton outside the set time frame: James (British) and Ernesto (Chilean), members of *The Hispanic Society of Southampton*, Palmira (Italian),

founding member of the female group *La Tertulia*, and Marisa (Basque) who arrived in the UK in the 1980s and is an active member of *La Tertulia*. Although these informants did not strictly fulfil the migration arrival time and/or nationality criteria, I included them in the study because their long-term active participation in local Spanish migrant associations and their inside knowledge of Spanish circles that fell within the geographical area under study made them indispensable sources of information in my analysis of migrant associational life.

I also carried out informal discussions with a further four migrants who did not wish to be formally interviewed but who accepted to engage in informal conversations and discussions concerning their migration experiences (Gabriela, Aurelia, Pepe and Juana) and with a Spanish informant who had a family history of migration and exile to the UK and France (Dolores) who was a relative of one of the informants that I interviewed in Bournemouth (Dora).

Half of the informants (Marianne, Winnie, Ramón, Madalena, Carmelo, Rosa, Manolo, Sebastián, Ana, Gabriela, James and Ernesto) were accessed through the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, which provided me with a visible and accessible platform from which to embark upon this research in Hampshire. These informants were either members of the *Hispanic Society* themselves or were introduced to me by an existing or former member. I focused on the study of the social networks that revolved around this society and followed the investigative threads that it provided me with in terms of accessing potential informants because their common long-term attachment to the above society and to Southampton's locality, combined with their more or less intense but enduring social connections, whilst not fully constituting a visible migrant community, still represented a considerable focal point of Spanish presence worthy of investigation. The second geographical point that I focused on was Bournemouth, a seaside resort in Dorset whose tourist industry attracted a significant number of Spanish migrants in the period under study (1950s-1970s). Most informants in this area were accessed through personal and family contacts (Jacinta, Dora, Eva, Pepe) and through a key member of the Spanish business community in this town (Mario).

My interest in researching the areas of Hampshire and Dorset originally stemmed from a personal family history of migration to the south of England since the 1950s which

spanned three generations. On carrying out initial groundwork into this study, archival and oral evidence suggested that a significant number of Spaniards attracted to the south of England by business and employment opportunities in the tourist, catering and domestic sectors had become highly visible through migrants associations, business and Spanish official institutions. The presence of Spaniards in Bournemouth, Poole, Christchurch, Southampton, Fareham and the area of the New Forest became particularly intense during the 1960s and 1970s, when an official *Casa de España* opened in Bournemouth to provide a social meeting place for migrants and Spanish mother tongue classes for Spanish children. During this period a regular ferry service linked Southampton and Bilbao and Spanish businesses, agencies and banks established themselves in Southampton and Bournemouth in order to provide services, channel remittances and facilitate commercial exchanges within the Spanish migrant population. The existence of a Spanish Consulate in Southampton until the early 1980s substantiates the quantitative importance of this migration flow which began to decline during the first years of the Spanish democratic transition. In conducting this research, I was interested in exploring the local history of these focal points of Spanish presence and the long-term effects that permanent settlement had had upon the identification patterns and associational structures of Spaniards remaining in these areas.

I include a table with a brief description of the informants' migration backgrounds and personal profiles in Appendix 4. As can be noted in this table, the occupational status of the informants was very diverse, ranging from skilled and unskilled jobs to business ownership and highly qualified professions. The socio-economic diversity of the sample provided me with the opportunity to explore and contrast different forms of identification behaviour and associational practices across migrants from different occupational and educational backgrounds. Similarly, the different regional origin of the informants enabled me to examine variations in cultural and linguistic patterns of adaptation to the host society. By interviewing migrants who had arrived in three different decades (1950s, 1960s, 1970s) I was able to explore intergenerational differences in settlement and adaptation processes as well as different attitudes to mother tongue maintenance.

In quoting from the interviews I have replaced the informants' names by pseudonyms in order to preserve their anonymity. Informants' quotes used in the thesis are referenced

by pseudonyms followed by year of birth and year of arrival in the UK. English translations of quotes are provided in endnotes.

2.4 Ethnographic research – Participant-observation of associational life

In order to gain an insight into current forms of Spanish associational life in the south of England, I participated in public events attended by Spaniards between October 2001 and September 2004, such as talks, parties, receptions and *romerias* (1). I also engaged in the activities of Spanish clubs and societies in the South of England, such as the *Spanish Circle of Dorchester*, the *Portsmouth Spanish Society*, the *Basingstoke Spanish Circle*, *La Tertulia*, and in particular, the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* (also referred to as the *Society*) which I joined in October 2001. Between October 2001 and October 2004 I carried out participant-observation at the meetings of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* with the intention of examining its role and function amongst local Spanish migrants.

In participating in these social networks and events and in becoming a member of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton,* my research intention and the purpose of my study were overtly explained to other participants and members of these societies. On completion of my research I presented my initial findings at two talks given at the *Spanish Circle of Dorchester* and the *Hispanic Society of Southampton.*

By engaging in ethnographic research my intention was to observe not only the different types of interactions that Spaniards engaged in in the course of their participation in these social networks and cultural events, but, especially, to explore the meanings that they attached to these practices. This required active observation not only of what happened during these social encounters but also listening to what was said, asking questions and collecting whatever data was available that would throw light on the patterns of identification of these migrants. However, as Hammersley and Atkinson explain (1995: 23), ethnographic research cannot be programmed and its practice is replete with the unexpected. Indeed, what I found during my initial pre-field observations was very different from what I had expected. Far from the predicted migrant support network that I was hoping to engage with, I encountered a highly anglicised form of social club that consisted of mostly middle and professional class

British members, many of retirement age, and a few Spanish members who had British spouses. This did not fit my pre-conceived idea of Spanish migrants and even less of what a migrants' association might be like. My immediate reaction was to dismiss this society as an area of research. However, I soon realised that, for that very same reason, on account of not having met my expectations, the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* deserved looking into, as it posed a direct challenge to the categorisations of and assumptions about migration and migrants that my thesis sought to explore. As Malinowski argues (1922: 8-9 in Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 24-25), preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of scientific thought. In this sense, the ambiguous nature of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* as a Spanish migrant association became the 'foreshadowed problem' that my study tried to resolve. In designing my research, I started to conceive the *Society* as a reflection of how the very conceptualisation of Spanish migrants in the UK had changed over time and concluded that this society could grant me an interesting platform from which to explore the evolution of migrants' integration patterns and identification processes.

Participant-observation within the *Society* thus became a central part of my research, granting me access to key informants who became sponsors and gatekeepers who put me in contact with other informants and local associations, all of which allowed me to explore the different meanings attached to participation in this type of social network. Inevitably, the nature of my chosen setting has shaped the development of my research questions. By initially focusing on what appeared to be a middle-class migrant society, my analysis of Spanish associational life in Southampton may seem as little representative of the experience of Spanish migrants in England as a whole. This is partly one of the reason why I decided to carry out fieldwork in a second setting, in the nearby area of Bournemouth, where a key informer-turned-gatekeeper enabled me access to informal social networks of mostly working-class migrants, which I was able to contrast with the Southampton study. In any case, I am aware that when carrying out ethnographic work, the representativeness of the findings is always in doubt (Hammersley and Atkinson explain (1995: 42). In carrying out this research, generalisation was not my primary concern, but an in-depth exploration of the social and cultural processes that have turned Spanish migrants into settlers in the chosen

geographical areas. In this sense the research is based on a local case study of Hampshire and Dorset.

2.5 Survey of Spanish associations in the UK

The final source of information that completes this research is a survey that I conducted of the Spanish associations and federations listed in the official literature produced by the Spanish Consulate General in London. The aim of the survey was to survey the evolution of Spanish migrant associations in the UK from a broader perspective and to evaluate the associations' current format, membership and levels of participation. A copy of the questionnaire sent to the associations is included in Appendix 2. The qualitative and quantitative results of this survey have been partly incorporated into my analysis of associational practices in Chapter 4, and have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Pozo-Gutiérrez, 2005). Whilst the main purpose of this survey was not to provide a comparative framework to my findings about local associational life in the South of England, it has nevertheless allowed me to carry out an initial assessment of the typicality of the Hampshire and Dorset formal clubs and societies within the wider Spanish associational landscape of the UK.

Through analysis of data from various sources: archives, secondary literature, oral history interviews, ethnographic observation and survey data, I have tried to put Spanish migration to the UK from the period 1950s-1970s into its historical, social, and political context. The use of multiple methodologies has enabled me to provide a richer description of the macro-, meso- and micro-structures that configure this migration system and the settlement processes that it engendered, contributing to a more comprehensive analysis of the cultural impact that migration has had upon its bearers, without losing sight of the underlying question addressed in the thesis: whether this migration episode was uniquely motivated by economic reasons.

Chapter 3 Characterising the macro-structures: The post-war European context of Spanish migration to the United Kingdom

In this chapter I examine the main socio-economic and political factors that provided the context to the arrival of Spanish migrants in the UK in the period from the 1950s to 1970s. In the first section, I outline the post-war European migration system and insert Spanish migration to the UK within it, focussing on the interventionist nature of Francoist emigration policies. In the second section, I concentrate on the UK as a country of immigration, reviewing British post-war immigration policies and their application to Spanish, and other, immigrants. The chapter concludes with a historical review of previous Spanish presence in the UK and a discussion about the ways in which earlier precedents have impinged upon subsequent Spanish immigration.

3.1. Spanish emigration within the post-war European migration system

Spanish emigration to Western Europe from the 1950s can be inscribed within a wider international migration system that came into existence at the end of the Second World War, peaked in the 1960s and came to an end as a consequence of the international economic recession triggered by the 1973 oil crisis. According to Castles and Miller, this system encompassed five different migratory flows, of which, they argue, only the first three resulted in the formation of ethnically distinct populations in the host countries (2003: 69):

> 1) Labour migration from the European periphery to Western Europe.
> 2) Migration of colonial workers to the former colonial powers.
> 3) Permanent migration to North America and Australia, first from Europe and later from Asia and Latin America.
> 4) Mass movements of European refugees at the end of the Second World War.
> 5) Return migration of former colonists to their countries of origin as colonies gained their independence.

Within this categorisation, post-war Spanish emigration to the UK could be regarded as part of the first migratory flow: 'labour migration from the European periphery to Western Europe'. However, two important qualifications have to be made in order to make this system applicable to the Spanish case. Firstly, that Spanish migration to the

UK did not always result in the formation of identifiable ethnic communities, especially in the long term. As I discuss later, in my examination of UK immigration policies, the different reception and treatment awarded to the protagonists of the second and fourth migration flows – colonial immigrants and European refugees respectively – had considerable social and cultural implications for ethnic identifications and community formation amongst Spaniards and other Europeans who settled in post-war Britain. Indeed, far from seeking insertion into ethnic communities, many Spaniards preferred to distance themselves from their compatriots in their conviction that this would facilitate their integration into the host society. The following excerpt illustrates a commonly held view found amongst the participants of this study:

> *¿Te consideras parte de la comunidad española en Inglaterra?*
> No existe tal cosa. Si existe, son esos que verdaderamente no se quieren integrar y a mi no me interesa. Y no me interesa, mira es muy importante, reacciono contra esas personas que vienen aquí, se quedan, pero no aceptan que el país es diferente y siguen en ese núcleo español. (2)
>
> (Ramón, born in 1938, arrived in the UK in 1953, interviewed in Winchester on 19/02/2002)

In turn, the refusal to belong to a visible ethnic community has entailed a wish to be disassociated from 'other' immigrants who are ethnically identifiable on account of their skin colour:

> *¿Tú crees que los emigrantes españoles están más integrados que los de las antiguas colonias británicas?*
> Es que yo creo que estamos hablando de dos culturas diferentes, es una cultura que no se mezcla, que se mezcla solamente con ellos, la Commonwealth. Estamos hablando de indios o pakistaníes, o del Caribe, asiáticos, entonces no sé. Siempre ha habido prejuicios, son gente que tampoco se integran como los europeos, se mantienen entre ellos mismos, un círculo entre ellos, nunca han hecho por mezclarse. (3)
>
> (Mario, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Bournemouth on 30/05/2002)

The study of migration systems should not be segmented if we are to gain a full understanding of the intricacies of migrants' social incorporation and community

formation processes, since the dynamics of simultaneously occurring flows inevitably shape perceptions and social and ethnic relations.

Secondly, from a motivational standpoint, the categorisation of 'labour migration' could lead to an over-simplistic explanation of Spanish emigration that lessens the relevance of political and socio-cultural constraints in the decision to migrate. The fact that Spain was under a repressive military regime during the period of the migrants' departure must not be under-estimated as a factor that may have contributed to generating or 'fashioning' emigration in the first instance (Salt and Clout, 1976: 127).

Geographically, European post-war migration entailed inter- and intra-continental flows of migrants from the less economically developed countries of the Southern European periphery to the highly industrialised and fast developing nations of Western Europe, as well as North America and Australia (Castles and Miller, 2003: 68). Within Europe, various migration sub-systems can be identified originating in the Mediterranean Basin, including three North African countries. In all, nine countries, six European and three Maghrebian, constituted the major migration-producing countries of this period: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Spain, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (Babiano and Farré, 2002: 81). In addition, five further countries on the Northern periphery: Ireland, Finland, Austria, Germany (FDR) and Sweden, despite being mainly migration-receiving countries, also contributed surplus migrant labour at some point or another, which, as noted by Vilar and Vilar (1999: 25), is a good reminder that, contrary to rigid migration typologies, countries can be at any given time both producers and receivers of migrants. At the receiving end of this migration, it was the most industrialised and developed nations of Western and Northern Europe that avidly demanded and absorbed migrant labour: Belgium, France, Germany (FDR), Holland, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and the UK (Babiano and Farré, 2002: 81).

A further geographical consideration that needs to be made in the demarcation of this migration system is the particular attraction exerted by some destination countries upon migrants of certain origin. Castles and Miller argue that attraction stems from geographical proximity and/or previous political and cultural links, such as a common colonial history. France, for example, has always been a typical destination for Maghrebian migrants, especially from Algeria, given their colonial connections (2003:

26). Likewise, the UK has traditionally attracted migrants from Commonwealth countries. In section three of this chapter I consider what pre-existing links may have attracted Spanish migrants to the UK. But before doing that, the next sub-section describes the characteristics ascribed to this migration flow by the labour-supplying and labour-recruiting countries.

3.1.1. The temporary nature of post-war European migration

Given the economic rationale that triggered European post-war migration – industrial and economic reconstruction – it becomes clear that the host countries envisaged migration to be only a temporary measure, and that once economic recovery had been completed the immigrants would return 'home'. In that spirit, and guided by the premise of work maximisation at minimum social cost, employment and living conditions were highly restrictive for migrants. Reduced social rights' entitlements and limited access to citizenship meant significant savings on welfare obligations towards them (Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 26-27).

In order to maximise investment in foreign labour, the desired migrant profiled in the immigration policies of this period was usually male, young, aged 25-45, single, preferably unskilled at the time of arrival, and tied to employment contracts that were easy to terminate. This discouraged permanent settlements, family reunion, and naturalisation. Along the same lines, residence permits were only granted for short periods of time and were normally attached to employment permits restricted to designated jobs in specific occupational sectors, e.g. the vehicle production industry, mining, or the domestic sector. In most cases, basic communal accommodation was attached to the work place, e.g. dormitory barracks in factories.

As a labour-demanding nation, the UK was no exception in its approach to immigration. With considerable shortages of unskilled labour in hospitals, hotels, catering, mining and domestic service, its Ministry of Labour issued restrictive work permits, such as the two that I have reproduced in Appendix 3, issued in 1967 to enable a Spanish married couple to take up jobs in the domestic sector. Note in these examples the stated preference for single male workers, which is only partly relaxed when a married woman joins her husband in domestic employment. Also note how the permits were invalid for

migrants with children. The emphasis on the maximisation of migrant labour with minimal impact upon the host economy is further stressed by the fact that conditions 1 and 5 of the permits – the latter insisting on the exclusive validity of the permit for the specified job – were reproduced on an additional sheet that was stapled to the permit with clearly labelled instructions 'not to be detached'. Not surprisingly, the function of this 'attachment' was not to add any new information or conditions to the work permit, but to insist further on two of the limitations already stated in the main document to such an extent that its detachment from it would invalidate the permit altogether.

These restrictive conditions, clearly not conducive to full integration in the host society, but rather to insulation from it, would also have satisfied the labour-supplying countries, also preoccupied with the maximisation of the migrants' work from the perspective of enhancing their savings and potential remittances. In addition to remittances, a second perceived benefit that labour-supplying countries could derive from migrants was their newly acquired skills and training which could contribute to the national economic development upon return. In practical terms however, scholars argue that the benefits of remittances and improved skills of returnee migrants had a much lesser effect in fuelling the national economy than originally expected (see, for instance, Gregory and Cazorla on the impact of returnee migrants in Andalusia, 1987: 149-187). In fact, contrary to the assumption that migrants are particularly suited to the lowest graded jobs, given their presumed poorer educational backgrounds, it was often the case that they experienced deskilling on moving abroad (King, 1993: 23). Such was the case of the addressee of the work permit featured in Appendix 3, a qualified technician in Spain who would have faced four years as a domestic servant before being able to pursue his career in the UK.

If at the macro-level both the sending and receiving countries considered migration as a short-term labour investment, the perspective of the migrants was often ignored, as was the fact that their values and feelings changed and evolved after prolonged periods of time spent abroad. As Böhning explains, migrants are unavoidably influenced by the culture and society of the host country, which can lead them to develop agendas that are deviant to those envisaged by the governments of the sending and receiving countries (Salt and Clout, 1976: 133). This is corroborated by most of the migrants that I interviewed, who admitted having originally come to the UK for only six months or a

year. For most of them however, months and years turned into decades of permanent settlement.

3.1.2 Economic and political reasons to migrate

The leading explanation put forward to account for the migration system outlined above is the extraordinary economic expansion that North West Europe experienced during the post-war reconstruction period. Factors that are associated with this unprecedented level of economic growth are the serious labour shortages in the aftermath of the war, partly a consequence of human losses during the conflict, partly due to upward socio-economic mobility and the increasing rejection of manual and unskilled jobs amongst the indigenous populations, combined with a significant decrease in birth rates.

For the migrant-supplying countries, the most common factors put forward to explain intra-European migration in this period include: surplus of labour supply, demographic pressure linked to higher population growth, low productivity resulting in high unemployment, and perceived higher salaries offered in the countries of destination (Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 24). However, the confluence of these social and economic indicators must not be taken for granted as simple emigration-inducing conditions, as it is often during periods of economic and industrial 'take-off' that countries begin to produce migration. This is certainly the case of Spain in this period. Challenging commonly held assumptions that migrants leave their countries during periods of economic recession, the so-called 'Spanish migratory boom' and economic miracle of 1960-1973 was linked to a phase of economic expansion and acceleration fuelled by the economic opening of Spain to foreign investment through the 1959 Economic Stabilization Plan (Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 23). In the space of thirteen years, as Gregory and Cazorla point out, Spain broke out of the stagnation of the post-Civil War and transformed itself into the tenth most industrialised nation in the world (1987: 149).

Beyond economic considerations, attention is rarely given to the political factors that may have induced this migration. There seems to be an almost unchallenged assumption that the post-war European migration system was solely fuelled by economic factors, something that is reinforced by the terminology used to refer to migrants, which

emphasises, above all, the labour dimension and the transient nature of their stay in the 'host' country, e.g. 'labour migrants', 'foreign workers', 'guest-workers'.

From the perspective of the receiving countries, migration was undeniably a source of cheap labour essential to feed the economic growth experienced from the 1950s to the early 1970s, as the immigration policies of this period clearly reveal. However, the categories of 'economic' and 'political' migrant cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive when considering the agency, motivation and evolution of migration flows. As Fielding has observed, mass migration, such as the case being considered here, is also a political phenomena since it often responds to political causes, is often contested politically when it occurs, and has significant political outcomes, e.g. on international relations, and by bringing the 'outside' in (1993: 40).

At the micro-level, the political exile or refugee sooner or later engages in employment in the host country and ends up contributing to the national labour pool. Inversely, the economic migrant cannot be assumed to hold no political ideologies of any kind or, at the very least, undeclared political sympathies or inclinations, especially when originating from highly polarised political countries, such as Spain, or its neighbouring country Portugal, both high volume emigration-producing countries in this period. Furthermore, distinctions between these two categories of migration are only relative, given that both economic and political migrations are, as Castles and Miller note, symptomatic of modernisation and globalisation and of the societal changes that these processes, combined with colonialism, industrialisation, and integration, bring about, making it difficult to distinguish between the two (2003: 32). A closer look at the political context in which Spanish migration to Europe developed is essential in order to understand the importance of the political dimension of this migration.

According to Rubio (1977: 106), between 700,000 and 800,000 Spaniards left the country during and immediately after the Spanish Civil War. Whilst many were forced to do so, others saw no alternative but to leave, fearing the political and socio-economic repression that was to follow at the end of the conflict. Those who were able to, gradually returned to Spain, leaving a final figure of permanent exiles of around 170,000 (Soldevilla, 2001: 65). Far from seeking national reconciliation after the war, Franco set out to consolidate a authoritarian regime through political persecution and

repression aimed at eliminating any remaining opposition or dissent that had not already been suppressed during the war or forced out of the country. This perpetuation of the Civil War mindset was institutionalised in the Law of Political Responsibilities of February 1939, which was applied retroactively to political and politically related activities dating back to October 1934 (Payne, 1987: 221). Post-civil war repression was further enshrined in law by the 1940 Law for the Suppression of Masonry and Communism and the 1941 Law on the Security of the State. Apart from the death sentence, the punishments that this legislation established covered a wide range of privations from imprisonment and forced labour to economic measures, such as fines, the confiscation of goods and property, and the restriction of certain liberties and activities including loss of employment and the prohibition from practising careers and professions. Running alongside these forms of repression from above, and aimed at flushing out any remaining sympathisers with the Republican cause, the regime instigated a second of level of policing and invigilation on the ground which encouraged the denunciation of anybody who may have had a 'red' past by their neighbours and other informants including priests and Falange members. As Casanova explains, those who fell foul of this repression, even if they were lucky enough to escape imprisonment, would often endure a kind of 'civil death' and isolation that frequently led to abject poverty (2002: 23-29).

It is estimated that by 1944 nearly 400,000 people had passed through Spanish jails, of which nearly 30,000 were executed (Payne, 1987: 227). Summary trials and executions were common throughout Spain until the mid 1950s, when they started to decrease in intensity. In addition, an indeterminate number of people, unable or unwilling to leave Spain after the war, went into permanent hiding for fear of reprisals. Commonly known as the 'topos' (moles), many of them lived in hiding for nearly thirty years. A general amnesty that finally pardoned all crimes committed prior to 1st April 1939 was finally decreed in March 1969 (Torbado and Leguineche, 1977: 18).

With such a repressive apparatus in place until the late 1960s and against a background of fear, persecution, distrust, discrimination, and prohibition of trade union and political party activity lasting until Franco's death in 1975, it becomes difficult to argue that political motivations did not play any significant part in generating emigration in this period, even if emigration was effected under the pretence of economic motivations.

Without seeking to make quantitative generalisations, given the small size and nature of my sample, it is interesting to note, however, that amongst the thirteen participants formally interviewed for this research, the three that were more pressed by economic reasons to migrate, although stating no political affiliations, nevertheless disclosed that they belonged to families that had suffered political repression after the Civil War. A further two had migrated as a direct consequence of the war itself as child evacuees. Amongst the remaining informants, four admitted to having engaged in political activities contrary to the Franco's regime in Spain and/or abroad or to having relatives or connections opposed to it.

An examination of the migrants' return patterns could throw some light on the question of whether this migration can be attributed to purely economic, rather than political factors, or, at least, allow us to speculate a bit further. In this respect, it has to be noted that a considerable number of Spaniards began their journey back home from the mid 1970s onwards (see Table 1 in Appendix 1), coinciding with the death of Franco and a period of political change that would witness the dismantling of his regime, the transition to a parliamentary monarchy, and the return of many exiles. Does this not suggest the possibility of political factors having been influential in the initial decision to emigrate? And if so, could economic migration have been used by Spaniards discreetly opposed to the Franco regime as a legitimate way to leave the country? The answers to these questions become obscured by the fact that return migration also coincided with the period in which Western European governments began to restrict immigration with the onset of the international economic slow-down that followed the oil crisis of 1973. The convergence of a changing political environment in Spain with an international economic crisis in this period impedes any quick answers to these questions at the macro-structural level, making it necessary to engage in a micro analysis of the migrants' experiences. This is carried out in Chapter 4, where I examine the associational practices of Spanish migrants in the UK and the content of migrant periodical publications as a means to explore the connections between the economic and political dimensions of this migration.

3.1.3. Facilitating migration

One of the key macro-structural features of post-war European migration was the willingness to facilitate migration of both sending and receiving countries. The former were motivated by their belief that emigration would ease poverty and provide remittances to fuel national investment, the latter were driven by their hunger for foreign labour to fuel their own economic growth (Salt and Clout, 1976: 129). This migratory optimism is reflected in the 'promotional' migration policies which actively encouraged the exit and entry of migrants from countries of origin to host countries respectively, e.g. the migration of 'guest-workers' to Germany (Fielding, 1993: 44-45).

At an institutional level, two measures were instrumental in the facilitation of migration: common labour markets and bilateral labour-recruitment treaties. As Salt has explained (1976: 93-98), the two common labour markets set up in this period –the first one between Benelux and the European Coal and Steel Community, the second comprising the Nordic Common Labour Market (1954) – proved insufficient to satisfy Europe's labour demand on the scale that was needed in the 1960s. Governments therefore resorted to migrant-labour recruitment agreements, a measure already used in the 1950s, which in the 1960s became the main instrument of labour migration policy. Running parallel to these treaties, signatory countries often set up national and international organisations and institutions to manage the recruitment and migration of workers, such as the French ONI (French Immigration Office). These organisations were put in charge of organising aptitude and medical tests for migrants, supplying employment contracts, arranging transport, accommodation, and providing assistance abroad.

France was the labour-importing country that most used bilateral agreements (Salt, 1976: 99). By 1976 there were thirty-five such agreements in place in Europe, sixteen of which had been signed between France and various countries including eight former colonies. Germany had entered into six labour-recruitment agreements and two 're-integration' agreements applicable to Turkish returnee migrants, a reminder of the temporary nature attached by Germany to its 'guest-worker' programme. Similarly, the Benelux countries signed various immigration agreements. As a labour-provider, Spain was party to assisted emigration agreements with Belgium (1956), Germany (1960), France (1961), Switzerland (1961) and the Netherlands (1961).

It is interesting to note that although the UK did not enter into this type of agreements with Spain, a considerable number of independently minded Spaniards chose to come to this country relying on the help of relatives and other social networks. This is the case of most of the participants of this study, who, on entering the UK, were normally subject to the general immigration and nationality procedures that were applicable to all foreigners under the Aliens Act of 1953. From the Spanish official standpoint however, this form of independent emigration, undertaken outside the control and knowledge of the Spanish institutions, was considered 'irregular' and 'clandestine'.

Before discussing British immigration procedures and the nature of 'clandestine' Spanish emigration to the UK in more detail, I will now outline the system of 'assisted emigration' that the Franco regime developed in order to stimulate and control emigration, as this will facilitate a better understanding of the specificities of Spanish emigration to Britain.

3.1.4. Setting up the Francoist 'Emigration Apparatus'

In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, and up until 1946, emigration remained prohibited in Spain (Puyol Antolín, 1979: 44). In 1941, a decree preventing the emigration of workers was passed and the *Consejo Central de Emigración* (Central Council for Emigration) was created, which had amongst its duties the repatriation of migrants. Despite the prohibition on emigration, and replicating the interventionist spirit that had characterised the previous migration legislation of 1924 (Babiano and Fernández Asperilla, 2002: 3), a clear intention to intervene in future emigration matters was expressed as early as 1938 in the *Fuero del Trabajo* (The Employment Charter), which stipulated the state's prerogative to manage and protect national employment and to enter into recruitment treaties with other countries 'in order to safeguard the interests of Spanish workers abroad' (Durán Villa, 1996: 165).

When emigration was resumed in 1946, Spaniards tended to revert to the previous transatlantic migration tradition. The absence of any clear migration policy meant having to resort to the outdated legislation of 1924, which had been conceived in the spirit of reinstating those previous migration channels with America at the end of the First World War. By this time however, the immigration policies of most American

countries restricted immigration to certain skilled jobs and professions (Puyol Antolín, 1979: 35-36), which gradually led to a decrease in departures and to a reorientation towards alternative destinations (Schubert, 1990: 217). Despite this, migrants gradually began to leave for Venezuela, France and the UK from the early 1950s, which led the Francoist government to gradually reshape the old migration policy and to set up an updated migration framework that would keep strict control of what was to become one of the state's most profitable enterprises (Durán Villa, 1996: 167).

It is important to note that the Franco regime's reshaping of the old migration policy was carried out during a period which represented a significant departure from the international isolation and economic penury that had characterised Spain in the 1940s, a decade marked by repression, misery and hunger. Against the backdrop of the emerging Cold War in the 1950s, Franco's strong anti-communist stand turned Spain into a potentially desirable ally for Western European democracies. The United States' strategic interests in Europe fostered a rapprochement with Spain that yielded vital economic aid in exchange for military cooperation and the establishment of American naval and air bases on Spanish soil. Spain's admission to UNESCO in 1952 and the UN in 1955 officially marked the beginning of the reversal of its previous international isolation.

From an economic and demographic perspective, the 1950s witnessed the beginning of an unprecedented rural exodus that by the early 1970s had left many Spanish provinces deserted (Gregory and Cazorla, 1987: 150). The initial abundance of labour that started to gravitate to Spain's industrialised cities in the 1950s, combined with the state's strict control of salaries and a slightly more open economy, initially appeared to benefit industry. However, by the end of the decade, it became evident that the regime's traditional reliance on fiduciary measures to subsidise public debt and to incentivate national consumption and demand for manufactured products was inevitably leading to rising salaries, resulting in an escalation of inflation and a serious deficit in the balance of payments. This led the regime to seriously rethink its economic policies and put them in the hands of trained economists. The Economic Stabilisation Plan of 1959 deployed a more open economic strategy, although it did not bring about total liberalisation. Devised by a team of so-called 'technocrats' and introduced by decree, the Stabilisation Plan consisted of a series of economic measures which, on the one hand, aimed at

controlling inflation, salaries, and public spending, in order to improve the balance of payments, and on the other, sought to moderately liberalise the economy by opening it up to foreign investment and free trade. As Tamames explains, these objectives entailed an immediate rise in interest rates, a 42% devaluation of the national currency within the IMF, the freezing of salaries, end to the recourse to government printed stock, and the implementation of new legislation to regulate foreign investment (2005 [1967]: 490-491)

The stabilising effects of this policy were soon felt, especially between 1959 and 1961, but the drastic decrease in consumption that was experienced in the short term led to increased unemployment, which, at a time of demographic pressure caused by increased birth rates and decreased mortality, led many workers to emigrate. As Gregory and Cazorla observe, the program of rapid industrialisation was primarily designed to benefit the capital-intensive sectors and did little to create sufficient jobs for Spain's growing population (1987: 150). Apart from the service and construction sectors, existing and new industries were unable to absorb the excess of labour that had fled rural Spain. In this context, emigration appeared as the natural safety valve that could ease the population and unemployment pressures, with the advantage of bringing in foreign currency in the form of remittances. As Puyol Antolín points out (1979: 67), the 'urban disappointment' experienced by many internally uprooted Spaniards led them to consider external emigration.

Against this economic and political background, and given Spain's previous migration tradition and predisposition, the Franco regime began to facilitate the emigration of Spanish workers to industrialised Western Europe. To this aim the regime put into motion a series of legal dispositions that created the conditions and institutions of a state-controlled system of assisted emigration. Between 1960 and 1973 approximately 1,000.000 people emigrated with state assistance (Ródenas, 1997 in Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 28).

The institutions of assisted emigration

Based on Durán Villa's description of Spanish emigration policy from the 1950s to the mid 1970s (1996: 163-180), I summarise below the main legal measures and institutions

that shaped the Francoist apparatus of assisted emigration, which, as was noted earlier, was characterised by a strong interventionist role on the part of the state in the control of emigration.

The process was initiated in 1953 when Spain became a signatory of the Intergovernmental Commission for European Migrations (CIME). This was followed in 1956 by the creation of the *Instituto Español de Emigración* (IEE) which superseded the previous *Consejo Central de Emigración* (Central Council for Emigration). The process was accompanied by the gradual introduction of decrees, orders and resolutions aimed at managing the increasing demand for departures. In 1957 the *Comisión Sindical de Emigración* (State Trade Union Emigration Commission, later shortened to *Organización Sindical,* henceforth OS) was created to handle information and to deal with the resolution of labour-migration issues. The following year witnessed the creation of the *Dirección General de Empleo* (General Directorate of Employment), dependent on the Ministry of Employment and responsible for channelling internal and external migration flows through the *Servicio de Migración* (Migration Service), the IEE, and the OS.

The new migration policy was finalised with three further laws: Decree 1354 of 23 July 1959, which refined the remit of the IEE; Law 93/1960 of 22 December 1960, which laid the foundations for the regulation of emigration, and the 1962 Emigration Regulation Law (Durán Villa, 1996: 168).

The new emigration apparatus was overseen by the Ministry of Employment, charged with general responsibilities for migration legislation and control, and with upholding state sovereignty in migration-related matters. Responsible to the Ministry of Employment, the IEE was its executive arm, entrusted with the following duties:

a) Liaising with foreign labour recruiting companies and organisations and coordinating the selection and approval of individual and collective employment contracts.
b) Providing information and advice for emigrants.
c) Promoting, in collaboration with interested parties, professional training to enable maximum productivity of emigrants and, whenever possible, seeking

technical and economic collaboration with recruiting companies, organisations, etc.

d) Providing emigrants with transport and settlement assistance.

Responsible to the IEE, the OS was in charge of:

a) Providing information and advice on work contracts to emigrants.
b) Handling previously agreed collective contracts with foreign companies.
c) Protecting emigrants abroad via the *Agregadurías Laborales* (Employment Attaché Offices).

Designed in the same paternalist spirit towards emigrants abroad, the *Agregadurías Laborales* attached to Spanish Embassies in host countries were responsible for the following:

a) Reception of emigrants, initial assistance with registration in the country and transport to final destination.
b) Admittance to centres of professional training.
c) Information on the emigrants' duties and advice on accommodation, employment, etc.
d) Legal assistance, especially related to employment.

Within the host country the *Agregadurías Laborales* had offices in the areas of highest concentration of emigrants (e.g. in the UK: Birmingham, Edinburgh, Manchester, Southampton and Epsom). In practical terms, Durán Villa argues, the general attitude of these institutions towards Spanish emigrants in Britain was utter indifference, especially in the 1960s, the decade that witnessed the highest volume of emigration (1996: 171). Moreover, rather than supporting the Spanish emigrant population, these institutions often played the role of political *gendarmes*, policing the activities of emigrants that were deemed to be contrary to the interests of the Franco regime abroad (Vilar and Vilar, 1999: 30).

The *Hogares de la Emigración* (Homes of Emigration) added a cultural layer to the Francoist system of assisted emigration. They were an updated version of the former *Hogares Españoles* (Spanish Homes) originally designed to assist Spanish emigrants in

Latin America and Morocco. Although the new *Hogares* were created with social and cultural aims in mind, in practical terms they also served as instruments of political control.

Babiano and Farré (2002: 81-98) corroborate the political policing role of Spanish official institutions abroad, highlighting the fact that, as indicated earlier, this migration coincided with the onset and consolidation of the Cold War, a factor that, together with the need to supply and acquire labour, influenced not only the relationship between the sending and receiving countries, but also the treatment and monitoring of migrants. These authors argue that, amidst the fear of communism that marked this period, governments in receiving countries often collaborated with the Spanish authorities in harassing and persecuting left-wing migrants' groups. France is a clear example, having declared the Spanish Communist Party illegal in 1950, which led to the arrest, and in some cases, expulsion of hundreds of militants, and to the banning of many Spanish refugee publications (Babiano and Farré, 2002: 84).

Repression of migrants' political activities continued throughout the 1960s, when Spaniards were banned from public political demonstrations, and the Spanish versions of various French trade unions' publications were prohibited. Similar controls on the migrant population were exerted in Switzerland, where migrants' political organisations were outlawed and foreigners were disqualified from discussing political matters without previous consent from the local authorities.

The efforts made by the Spanish authorities and the institutions of assisted emigration to control and repress migrants' political activities suggest that a considerable number of Spanish migrants were becoming politicised abroad, either through contact with exiles, or because they had access to political ideas outside of Spain. This challenged the regime's attempt to deny political subjectivity and agency on the part of the migrants.

3.1.5. 1962 – 1973: A prodigious decade

The decade of the 1960s in Spain is commonly referred to as the years of *desarrollismo* (developmentalism), alluding to the 'economic miracle' that the country experienced throughout the decade continuing to the international oil crisis of 1973. As noted earlier,

this economic bonanza was partly linked to the impact of the 1959 Stabilisation Plan, resulting in improved living standards and a population increase of 11% (Clout, 1976: 145), which attached the label 'baby boom' to this prolific decade. Such a level of economic growth and a nascent consumer society led to deep social and cultural transformations in Spain. On one level, the opening up of the economy to foreign investment, combined with the development of a buoyant tourist sector and the emigration of thousands of Spaniards, brought the country closer to Europe, as the Franco administration desired (Puyol Antolín, 1979: 67). On another level, these processes contributed to the gradual exposure of Spanish society to new European ideas, which, combined with the rapid socio-economic transformations brought about by industrialisation and urbanisation, stimulated significant changes in mentalities.

Between 1962 and 1976 emigration led to the internal relocation of 5.7 million Spaniards, and it is estimated that between 1959 and 1974 nearly three million left Spain altogether, surpassing the volume of any previous migrations (Shubert, 1990: 217). It is no wonder that alongside the tags of 'economic miracle' and 'baby boom', this period has also attracted the label of the 'migratory boom'. Table 1 in Appendix 1 shows the sustained increase of officially recorded departures, that is, the numbers of Spaniards leaving through the IEE excluding unofficial departures or clandestine migration, which is discussed later in this thesis.

During the years of the 'migration boom', minor adjustments to the system of assisted emigration outlined earlier were made in order to ensure that the economic objectives of the regime were met. As was the norm with the Franco regime's policies, the spirit behind the interventionist and paternalistic emigration policy remained ambiguous and contradictory. While respecting individual freedom to emigrate in some legal dispositions, it clearly favoured its own assisted migration programmes, as seen in the Decree of 3rd May 1962:

> El gobierno, respetando la libertad individual de la emigración desarrollará su actividad en materia migratoria de acuerdo con las directrices de la ordenación del trabajo en régimen de pleno empleo, para lo cual adoptará con preferencia el sistema de operaciones y programas asistidos por él. (4)
>
> (Durán Villa, 1996: 175)

Additional legislation in the early 1970s sought to address the problems arising from increasing levels of emigration to Europe, and, as Durán Villa has suggested (1996: 175), in response to the continuous complaints made by emigrants about the attitude of indifference that the Spanish emigration institutions abroad displayed with regard to their problems.

Preoccupied with the socio-economic and educational welfare of migrants and their families, the Law of Emigration of 21st July 1971 adopted further measures of protection applicable from the moment of departure to that of return, including assistance with family reunification, and provision of professional training and education for migrants' children. It also envisaged the possibility of subscribing to international treaties to ensure the adequate reception and accommodation of emigrants as well as their entitlements to social security, and it established advantageous financial facilities to enable emigrants to purchase property or to set up businesses upon returning to Spain.

Further dispositions sought to encourage the active coexistence of Spaniards in the countries of destination and the maintenance of cultural links with the motherland by themselves and their children (Durán Villa, 1996: 177). This was to be achieved by stimulating the creation of clubs and migrants' associations which would receive substantial state funding if developed under the auspices of Spanish migration legislation.

In the 1970s the *Homes of Emigration* that had been established in the early 1960s evolved into the *Casas de España* (Houses of Spain) and the *Institutos de España* (Spanish Institutes). Funded by the Spanish authorities and closely monitored by Spanish Embassies and Consulates, their role was to provide assistance and social, cultural and educational spaces for emigrants and their families, whilst promoting and preserving Spanish values in the host countries (Vilar and Vilar, 1999:30).

Considered as a whole the new adjustments to the assisted emigration system appeared to be aimed at making emigration easier. Yet, perceptions often differed. Whilst for some the government enshrined what became known as the *'sacrosanto derecho a*

emigrar' (the sacrosanct right to emigrate), for others the authorities were just trying to solve the unemployment problem at home.

The international oil crisis of 1973 seriously curbed international economic growth and put a halt to the migratory boom that Spain experienced during this period. 1972 was the year when the highest number of official departures was registered. From then on numbers started to decline.

From a Spanish national perspective, the socio-economic, cultural, and political changes of the 1970s, and the expectations of change that they raised, could also be seen as contributing factors to a slow-down in emigration. In 1973 the radical Basque nationalist group ETA assassinated Carrero Blanco, who was to be Franco's successor and the guarantor of the regime's continuity. With his death, soon to be followed by Franco's own demise, the regime entered a phase of political transformation and transition towards democracy. In terms of emigration this period was characterised by a gradual increase in returns which finally outnumbered departures by 1981. With the decreasing presence of Spanish emigrants in Europe, the institutions of 'assisted emigration' abroad started to be dismantled and the *Casas de España* began to close in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

So far I have described the development, institutions, and aims of the Francoist system of 'assisted emigration'. However, despite the officially promoted myth that emigration was under full state control, this was by no means the only method used by Spaniards to emigrate. The following section describes an alternative way of emigrating without the control and knowledge of the Spanish institutions which was widely used to leave for the UK.

3.1.6. Undocumented or 'clandestine' migration – A key feature of Spanish emigration to the United Kingdom

Opposed to the system of 'assisted emigration', framed by bilateral migration recruitment treaties and mediated by the Spanish state emigration apparatus, a high proportion of Spaniards arranged their migration independently, that is, relying on the help of friends and relatives or the services of private migrant-recruitment agencies in

order to obtain employment permits. This entailed leaving the country under the pretence of being a tourist, without declaring to the authorities their intentions to engage in work abroad, and regularising their situation once they were in the host country. From the perspective of the Spanish authorities, this type of emigration was considered 'irregular' and was referred to as 'clandestine'. Any migrants travelling without the official permits issued by the IEE and those who overstayed their seasonal work permits fell under this category. From the perspective of the destination countries, the way in which this type of migration was dealt with largely depended on their need for labour, with France being the most lenient and willing to regularise in-country immigrants, and Germany and Switzerland being the strictest in implementing regularisations a posteriori (Salt, 1976: 100).

Although it is difficult to estimate exact figures, some scholars argue that 'clandestine' emigration to Europe in the period 1960-1973 is likely to have surpassed the volume of documented or legal migration (McDonald, 1969 in Salt, 1976; Vilar and Vilar, 1999, Puyol Antolín, 1979, Babiano and Fernández Asperilla, 2002). Moreover, Durán Villa (1996) and Babiano and Fernández Asperilla (2002) agree that 'clandestine' emigration was the main way in which Spanish migrants entered the UK between the 1950s-1970s.

For the year 1961, Durán Villa has estimated that clandestine emigration amounted to 91.01% of the total volume of Spanish migration to the UK (1996: 218). At the end of that decade, in 1969, by contrast with the 941 departures for the UK registered by the IEE, the Home Office recorded 7,290 entries (Babiano and Fernández Asperilla, 2002:1-15). Given the disparity between Spanish and British sources and the high incidence of clandestine migration, it is very difficult to obtain reliable figures for the number of Spanish migrants entering the United Kingdom in the period 1950s-1970s.

For the period 1958-1962, the *Agregaduría Laboral* of London, in a possible attempt to acknowledge some of the clandestine migration that was taking place, suggested an average presence of 40,000 Spaniards in the UK. British sources, for their part, counted 105,898 Spanish arrivals between 1946 and 1973, of which 82,537 correspond to the period 1961-1972. Although these figures do not refer to the same time frames, they are indicative nevertheless of the high incidence of clandestine migration and the increasing pattern of Spaniards arriving in the UK in the post-war period, all of which points

towards a considerably larger figure than has traditionally been suggested by officials. See Table 2 in Appendix 1 for yearly figures of migrants registering at the Spanish Consulate in London. I have highlighted two peaks on this table corresponding to the years 1965 and 1971 which are worth commenting on. The first reflects how austerity measures deployed by the British government following the embargo on Arab oil to Britain in 1966 led to a decrease in entries (Durán Villa, 1996: 218). The downward trend which followed the second peak in 1971, a year when the number of returns broadly equalled the number of departures, is linked to the replacement of work permits by set quotas for hotel work (MacDonald *et al.* in Durán Villa, 1996: 216). This resulted in the reduction of the overall number of work permits granted by the British authorities between 1973 and 1975, which was more than halved (from 4,358 to 2,100). At the same time, the number of Spaniards entering the United Kingdom as students increased from 3,945 in 1973 to 5,720 in 1975, which suggests that entry as a student may have been used as a new method of concealing other types of migration (Luís de Botín, 1988: 145). Table 3 in Appendix 1 could be interpreted in this same light.

It is interesting to note that, whilst most European countries from 1975 registered considerable falls in the volume of Spanish immigration (partly due to naturalisation and returns), the United Kingdom actually registered an increase that was slightly adjusted and maintained through the 1980s and 1990s. This tends to corroborate Durán Villa's view that a new pattern of migration started to emerge in the mid 1970s, which developed through the 1980s, driven by language students and au-pairs, who combined language learning with work, as is the case of three female participants in this study.

In contrast to clandestine migration, the impact of assisted migration in the UK was minimal. As Durán Villa explains (1996: 180), the *Agregaduría Laboral* of London did enter into a series of minor recruitment agreements with British official employment agencies in order to channel collective contracts for British companies, such as the 'bulk recruitment scheme'. However, in the absence of a bilateral recruitment treaty between the two countries, the *Agregaduría Laboral* operated rather like an employment agency, processing job offers but with no authority regarding selection and recruitment. In any case, the volume of this employment hardly amounted to 1.26% of the total figure of Spanish assisted migrants in Europe for the period 1962-1976 (Puyol Antolín, 1979: 77). With the exception of these collective contracts, the majority of Spanish migrants

entering the United Kingdom in this period did so through unofficial emigration channels. Once in the country, migrants regularised their situation by presenting their work contracts and permits to the British authorities and later registering at their nearest Spanish Consulates.

Reasons behind clandestine migration

At the macro-level, one of the reasons for the higher incidence of clandestine emigration to the United Kingdom was, inevitably, the absence of a bilateral recruitment treaty with Spain, itself a reflection of Britain's unwillingness to admit to its reliance on foreign labour (Durán Villa, 1996: 193). At the micro-level, many migrants preferred to arrange their own migration independently due to the complex and time-consuming administrative procedures of the IEE and to the restrictive conditions attached to the employment contracts stipulated in bilateral recruitment treaties. Bearing in mind the interwoven connections between 'economic' and 'political' migration, it is also possible that clandestine migration constituted an alternative way of leaving the country quickly for individuals who were unwilling to process their emigration applications with the authorities, or who would not otherwise have met the official emigration criteria set out by the IEE. One factor that must also be taken into account is that in a dictatorial regime with a deep-rooted tradition of clientelism there was significant scope for corruption and discrimination in the recruitment practices of the institutions of 'assisted emigration', as García has documented with regards to Spanish assisted emigration programs to Australia (1999).

The Emigration Law of 1924 had already established mechanisms to prevent and punish offences relating to clandestine emigration, such as the outlawing of propaganda aimed at recruiting migrants and the provision of permits and travel tickets in exchange for a fee, which were reiterated by the Spanish Supreme Tribunal as early as 1948, possibly in anticipation of the levels that clandestine migration might reach in the future (Babiano and Fernández Asperilla, 2002: 10). The zeal with which the IEE tried to police clandestine emigration from the late 1950s and the frequent denunciation of its occurrence by the authorities have been interpreted by Babiano and Fernández Asperilla as evidence that, contrary to the image that the Spanish authorities were trying to portray in official propaganda, not only was clandestine emigration the most common

means of emigrating to Europe, but the authorities were failing in their efforts to prevent it (2002: 21). This is substantiated not only by the constant appearance of this issue in the Spanish migrant and national press, but also by statistical data on Spanish emigration to Europe for the period 1961-1969, which, as noted earlier, shows considerable differences between the figures recorded by Spanish sources and those compiled in the countries of destination.

'False tourists' and private migrant agencies

Leaving Spain as a clandestine emigrant involved exiting the country with a tourist passport and relying on family and friends to obtain an employment permit. The documents reproduced in Appendix 3 are examples of nominal employment permits sent to potential emigrants by relatives already established in the UK. Alternatively, inexperienced migrants lacking the necessary knowledge to emigrate could use the services of British or Spanish private migrant agencies. These entities, which formed part of the meso-structures of this migratory system, arranged travel and employment in exchange for a fee. In his thesis, Durán Villa has described in detail the polemic surrounding these agencies (1996: 187-196). According to his findings, these provided the quickest way of securing a work permit in the UK. Many of them operated from offices in London, but, to all extents and purposes, under Spanish legislation they were banned and, therefore, operated without the approval of the Spanish authorities. Despite their supposed illegality, agencies were allowed to advertise in various Spanish regional papers under more or less discreet pretences, often worded as 'facilitation of exchanges and vacancies', which suggests that the authorities were turning a blind eye to a problem that they could not control but which nevertheless provided a valuable source of remittances to feed the country's economic development.

Although migration arranged through private agencies suited independently minded individuals and provided flexibility for employers it often placed migrants in situations of vulnerability and exploitation. The particular case of women employed in the domestic sector became a constant subject of criticism recorded in the Spanish press through the 1950s and 1960s. Most criticisms centred upon the dubious ways in which young and inexperienced women were supposedly lured out their villages and abandoned to their fate in a foreign country without knowing the language and culture,

arguing that women recruited in this way were easy prey to abuse and often ended up suffering from mental health problems. Most extremely, some articles likened the practices of migration agencies to 'white slavery' (Durán Villa, 1996: 191).

By 1958 calls were made to create an official network to assist vulnerable Spanish migrants in the UK, but these were resisted due to the costs involved and the lack of a bilateral labour agreement with the UK. In 1959 the *Agregaduria Laboral* in London opened an office for this purpose. Unfortunately, it never became fully operational due to lack of funding. Eventually, it would be the Spanish religious orders and voluntary associations such as the Padres Agustinos, Vanguardia Española Femenina, and Juventudes Obreras Católicas that adopted this role and provided some level of unofficial assistance to Spanish emigrants (Durán Villa, 1996: 195-196).

Before outlining the immigration procedures that applied to Spaniards on entering the UK, the following section provides a brief socio-economic and political background to this country as a post-war migration destination.

3.2. The United Kingdom: Post-war macro-contexts

Like most European migration-receiving countries, the UK emerged from the Second World War ridden by debt, austerity, and rationing measures which remained in place until the mid 1950s. Against this background, the initial British demand for migrant labour was dictated by the country's process of national reconstruction and economic recovery.

At an international level, the post-war configuration of powers configured British foreign policy around the new bipolar order brought about by the onset of the Cold War, and the dismantling of Britain's colonial empire, which led to a refocus on the UK as a European nation. From a migration perspective, the UK shifted from being a country that mostly produced emigration to becoming a country that was increasingly attracting immigration, especially from its former colonies.

At domestic level, the first post-war elections gave victory to a Labour government headed by Attlee, with an ambitious agenda of profound economic and social changes

as laid out in the *Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services,* aimed at achieving full employment, industrial reconstruction, financial recovery, and the creation of a network of social services (Milward, 1984: 28). Amongst these targets the 'Welfare State' and the National Health Service were probably the most popular accomplishments. Initially, funding for these structural transformations was obtained from foreign loans, especially from the US Marshall Plan. Industrial reconstruction between 1946 and 1951 led to the nationalisation of the Bank of England, the coal and steel industries and the transport sector. In addition, legislation was passed to implement educational reforms and to enable the planning and construction of new towns and the improvement of old ones. Despite Attlee's ambitious plans, in the face of serious rationing of basic products, coupled with the aspirations of British citizens for faster changes and increased living standards, the Labour Party lost the elections to the Conservatives in 1951, who won successive elections in 1955 and 1959 before losing back to Labour in 1964.

Under conservative governments, the main change of direction was the reversal of the previous nationalisations. Nevertheless, the economic and social changes initiated by Attlee started to bear fruit in the 1960s, when salaries rose and workers started to enjoy a high level of medical services and education and housing provision (Palmer and Colton, 1970, in Durán Villa, 1996: 127). During that decade, the healthy state of the British economy was maintained until the economic crisis triggered by the first Arab-Israeli war of 1967 and the oil embargo to the UK, which led to new austerity measures and the devaluation of the pound. This crisis put a sudden brake, although not a complete halt, on the emigration of Spaniards to Europe, which had been increasing significantly since 1965 (see Table 1 in Appendix 1). In 1970 a new conservative government tried to control inflation through salary cuts, which led to the 1972 miners' strike. The situation worsened with the second Arab-Israeli war, responsible for the international oil crisis of 1973, leading to generalised immigration restrictions throughout Europe. In the case of Britain though, Vilar and Vilar argue that the flow of Spanish migration was less severely affected, as it was mainly connected to employment in the hotel and catering industry, and in the domestic service, sectors that did not immediately suffer so much from the effects of the 1970s energy crisis (1999: 74).

It was against the above socio-economic and political backgrounds, aggravated by the shortage of domestic labour willing to take employment in certain sectors, especially mining and domestic service, that the UK opened its borders to foreign labour. Initially, unwanted vacancies were filled by immigrants from its former colonies, especially from the Caribbean, and also by European ex-prisoners of war, exiles and displaced people, mostly Italians and Eastern Europeans. Whilst European workers were generally accepted and encouraged to come to the UK, migrants from the former British colonies received a mixed welcome. The following section examines the reasons behind this double standard and its impact on British immigration policies in the 1960s.

3.2.1. The 'racialisation' of British immigration policy

By the time Spanish migrants started to arrive in the UK in any significant numbers, that is, the late 1950s, the racial polemic unchained by the arrival of the first 'coloured' Caribbean migrants was already a hot issue on the government's agenda and in the British media. According to the British nationality and immigration legislation of the time, migrants from the former British colonies were considered 'British subjects of the Commonwealth', and, as such, were fully entitled to enter the UK at leisure and seek work if they so wished (Paul, 1997: 114-116). In spite of this, and notwithstanding the fact that the newcomers shared with Britain commercial, informational, linguistic and cultural affinities stemming from their recent colonial pasts (Fielding, 1993: 52), their presence caused great alarm amongst what was predominantly a 'white' society, and fears spread that the country would soon be 'invaded' by future 'waves' of immigrants.

The fears at the base of the above problematisation of immigration were undoubtedly racial, as was clearly suggested by the creation in 1953 of a Home Office Working Party on 'Coloured People seeking Employment in the UK' entrusted with the task of examining possible ways of preventing future increases in 'this type' of immigration (Dummett, 2001: 93).

From the moment that immigrants came to be perceived as a problem, calls for tighter immigration controls were demanded as a solution. Accordingly, the history of British nationality and immigration legislation has consistently been marked by the gradual

introduction of increasingly restrictive immigration measures, a practice which both Conservative and Labour governments have indistinguishably engaged in ever since.

Parallel to this process, the political and journalistic rhetoric used to discuss immigration gradually became imbued with negative terms and associations that mirrored public opinion. Based on prejudice and xenophobia, this negative discourse, which persists today, had the effect of creating and reproducing the type of myths and stereotypes that lead to attitudes of rejection and exclusion of immigrants. As Dummett reminds us (2002: 89), Britain in 1961 was a 'profoundly racist country, where it was commonplace for accommodation advertisements to bear the words 'No Coloureds'. Discrimination of this type was not outlawed until 1968 with the passing of the second Race Relations Act. Inevitably, these attitudes contributed to the formation of ethnic communities, which in many cases turned into marginalized and excluded minorities (Castles and Miller, 2003).

The period spanning the arrival of Spaniards in the UK witnessed the passing of three different nationality laws (1962, 1968 and 1971) which defined and redefined who amongst the inhabitants of the new and old British colonies of the Commonwealth could be considered a British subject. Depending on the different categories of citizenship established in the legislation, different entry and settlement requirements applied to different types of migrants.

The problematisation and racialisation of immigration in the UK inevitably influenced the reception, integration, and associative practices of the Spanish immigrants who began to arrive in the UK in the 1950s. As discussed in Chapter 4, the ways in which these Spaniards articulated their lives at the individual and collective level often displayed a clear attempt to distinguish and separate themselves from the other 'problematically perceived' immigrants and, in contrast to them, to accomplish integration, understood as achieving social and ethnic invisibility.

3.2.2. British post-war immigration legislation and procedures – Different rules for different migrants

Set against the increasingly problematic background surrounding immigration outlined above, British immigration policy has traditionally been restrictive and rigorous in the application of its procedures. In the post-war period, this responded not only to the political need to be seen to be controlling 'coloured migration', but also to the need to prevent social conflict in an atmosphere of tight competition for limited resources, such as housing, education, and health services. At the same time, there was an acknowledgement that the post-war recovery process required migrant labour. This contradiction, between the objective labour requirements dictated by post-war economic conditions, and the political expectations placed on governments to be seen as controlling and limiting immigration, undoubtedly lies behind the refusal of some labour-demanding countries, such as Germany and the UK, to be considered 'countries of immigration'.

In the case of the UK, the way in which the political elites dealt with the 'immigration issue' was to apply different immigration controls to different immigration categories based on nationality and race. The result was a selective immigration policy that gave preference to white European immigrants in the first instance and to the traditional Irish migrant contingent in the second, whilst gradually limiting the entry of migrants from the New Commonwealth countries. Let us consider how this operated in legal terms.

Migrants who came from the New Commonwealth made the largest immigrant group. Under the British Nationality Act of 1948 they had enjoyed a dual status: they were citizens of a country belonging to the Commonwealth, in virtue of which they were citizens of 'the UK and Colonies', and they were also British subjects, which conferred upon them complete liberty to enter and settle in the UK (Dummett, 2002: 93). By 1951 there were 218,000 people of New Commonwealth origin in the UK, which by 1961 had increased to 541,000 (Castles and Miller, 2003: 73). The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 soon replaced this freedom of movement by restricting the admission of Commonwealth settlers to those who had been issued with employment vouchers. From that moment onwards all ensuing legislation aimed at tightening this

type of immigration even further, like the 'White Paper on Immigration from the Commonwealth of 1965', which introduced a yearly quota system of 8,500 such vouchers per year, reducing to a low level the numbers of Afro-Caribbean and Asian primary migrants (5) permitted to settle in the country (Fielding, 1993:48). Similarly, a system of 'quota vouchers' imposed by the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1968 restricted entry to the UK to Asian British citizens from East Africa. The Immigration Act of 1971 finally brought to a near end primary immigration from the New Commonwealth with the introduction of the concept of 'patriality', a status held by those born, registered, or naturalised in the UK, or by those having a parent born, registered, or naturalised in the UK (Dummett, 2002: 105).

The traditional Irish contingent for its part, averaging 50,000-60,000 immigrants in the period 1946-1962, enjoyed a unique status under the 1948 British Nationality Act: they were 'neither British subjects nor aliens but Irish citizens with all the rights and privileges of British subjecthood' (Paul, 1996: 90). The ambiguity of this legal limbo, whereby Irish migrants were considered neither foreigners nor British, could be interpreted as an acknowledgement that, whilst their contribution to migrant labour and their Commonwealth connection were worth preserving, unlike their continental European counterparts they were not regarded as potential future 'Britons' (Paul, 1996: 91).

In contrast to the above groups, the discreet arrival of (white) European immigrants between 1946 and 1951 seemed almost unproblematic. Initially, this contingent consisted of refugees, displaced people, and ex-prisoners of war, who were employed in agriculture, mining and domestic service. Right from the start, the British government set up special schemes to legitimise and regulate their status in the UK with a view to permanent incorporation into 'British citizenship', suggesting that, as well as providing an effective solution to the immediate labour shortages, these immigrants were seen as potentially easier to assimilate into 'Britishness' than their Commonwealth and Irish counterparts (Paul, 1997: 65-89).

Amongst these special immigration programmes, the Polish Resettlement Scheme was aimed at achieving the full integration of 115,000 Poles who had fought in the war under British command. Accordingly, it granted them access to social rights that were

denied to other immigrants, which caused no end of comparative grievances (Durán Villa, 1996: 135). Similarly, the European Voluntary Workers scheme (EVWs), which recruited workers from refugee camps, was deemed as discriminatory and exploitative, and complaints raised at the General Assembly of the United Nations led to its eventual cancellation by the British government in 1951.

Interestingly, as is often the case with immigration policies, some of these schemes completely missed their targets, as MacDowell has shown in her study of a group of Latvian female immigrants recruited as part of the Balt Cygnet scheme (later renamed Westward Ho) in order to fill low-wage jobs in domestic service and the textile industries of Northern England (2003). The women researched by MacDowell challenged the assimilation assumptions made by British policy makers regarding their potential for inter-marriage and breeding of future Britons. Far from that, concludes McDowell, they retained a strong and continuous commitment to the recreation of an imagined Latvian community in exile whilst refusing the British identity that the UK so keenly offered them (2003: 882).

Any other immigrants from Europe, or elsewhere, entering the UK were subject to the general immigration procedures: the Aliens Restriction Acts of 1914 and 1919. Conceived in the spirit of the First World War and the perceived need to control and restrict the entry and settlement of foreigners, this legislation established a compulsory registry for foreigners and instituted the requirement of work permits for any workers entering the UK with the intention of engaging in lucrative activities (Durán Villa, 1996: 130).

As remains the norm in many countries today, work permits were granted only after presentation of evidence that no British national was available for a designated job. The permits had to be renewed annually and the restrictions attached to them lasted for four years. Castles and Kosacks estimate that between 1946 and 1951, 100,000 immigrants entered the UK with work permits. Half of them were employed in domestic service and 14% in industry and commerce (1985: 30).

The general immigration legislation embodied in the Alien Acts of 1914 and 1919 was supplemented by the Aliens Order of 1953, which established the following

requirements on initiating travel to and arrival in the United Kingdom (Durán Villa, 1996: 138):

a) Leave to enter the UK: To be granted leave to enter the United Kingdom by the immigration officer the following conditions had to be met by the migrant:

-Possession of a work permit for a year which could later be extended to up to three.
-Possession of a passport or identity document.
-Completion and handing in a boarding card provided by the transport company.
-In the absence of a work permit, evidence that the migrants had sufficient funds to support themselves and their dependants.

If the immigration officer was doubtful that the migrant met the required entry criteria an interview could take place. If satisfied, the officer would indicate any restrictions that applied while on the country:

b) Prohibition on changing job: During the first four years in the UK, workers could not change their type of work or profession without prior permission from the Ministry of Labour, nor could they change their paid or unpaid profession without express permission from the Secretary of State. The authorities reserved the right to change these conditions if they wished.

c) Registration: Foreigners over 16 years of age who had been granted leave to enter for at least three months had to register at their local police station within the first 72 hours of arrival, presenting their work permit, passport and two photographs. This enabled them to obtain a 'Certificate of Registration', commonly referred to as the *libro verde* (green book) by Spanish migrants, which served as an identity document that could be demanded any time by a police or immigration officer.

d) Changes in circumstances: Any changes had to be reported within 72 hours of their occurrence.

f) Clandestine migrants: Those entering the country with a tourist passport and without a work permit had to satisfy the immigration officer of their ability to maintain

themselves. Permission would then be granted for three months and stamped on the passport would be the express prohibition to work. The migrant then had to apply for an extension of stay within the three months initially granted, provided they had a sponsor resident in the UK. If granted, they had to obtain a Certificate of Residence, which in this case would contain the details of the sponsor. From that moment the migrant was obliged to inform the sponsor of any changes in circumstances (i.e. change of address, etc) as the onus was on the sponsor to report these to the authorities.

In Appendix 3, I reproduce the Registration Certificate of a Spanish immigrant who arrived in the UK in 1962. I include the initial registration information and the endorsements and remarks entered by British officials during the four-year period the 'alien' was subject to immigration control, as this enables us to trace not only the labour trajectory of this person, but also the thoroughness with which the control procedures were applied.

Before concentrating on the micro-structural world of Spanish migrants in post-war Britain, the next section sketches the historic trajectory of their presence in this country, considering some of the connections between previous and subsequent migrations.

3.3. Spaniards in the United Kingdom – A historical overview

The first traces of a Spanish migrant presence in the UK date back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Spanish Jews and Protestants fleeing religious persecution found refuge in this country. From a quantitative perspective however, the first significant contingent is constituted by the so-called 'second Liberal exile' of the nineteenth century, a period marked by the political turbulence that accompanied Spain's transition from absolutism to a liberal constitutional regime. Whilst an earlier liberal exodus had concentrated in Paris between 1914 and 1920, this second wave of Spanish refugees arrived in London in 1824, Britain being the only country willing to grant them asylum. This contingent was made up of approximately 1,000 Spanish families who remained in Britain for approximately ten years, until 1832-1834, when most returned following amnesties and reprieves by the Spanish authorities.

The majority of these exiles belonged to various sectors of the liberal bourgeoisie of the time: military officers, politicians, solicitors, priests, tradesmen, writers, doctors, etc. Some exiles were high-ranking military officers and guerrilla leaders, well known in British intellectual circles, e.g. Miláns del Bosch, José Maria de Torrijos or Espoz y Mina. Others were well-known artists and writers such as José Joaquín de Mora and José de Espronceda.

Whilst in exile, these refugees lived on modest government subsidies granted in payment for having fought on the side of Britain against Napoleon. They supplemented this income with funds from a charitable aid committee and by teaching Spanish in schools and in the Spanish Departments of British universities. Some exiles also collaborated in British newspapers and literary magazines. (Soldevilla, 2001: 25).

The intellectual activities of some of these exiles are evidenced in a series of émigré publications whose titles bear witness to their interests and concerns: *Ocios de Españoles Emigrados* (Leisure-times of Spanish Émigrés), *El Emigrado Observador* (The Émigré Observer), *El Correo Literario y Político de Londres* (The London Literary and Political Courier), *El Museo Universal de Ciencias y Artes* (The Universal Museum of Science and Arts), *Las Variedades* (Varieties), *El Repertorio Americano* (The American Repertoire), *El Español Constitucional* (The Constitutional Spaniard) (Luís de Botín, 1988: 22-23).

According to Francisco Ariza (Luís Botín, 1988: 20), the history of Spanish Studies in the UK is strongly linked to this earlier presence of Spanish exiles in the country, with the first Chair in Spanish having been inaugurated at London University College in 1830 by Antonio Alcalá Galiano, a Spanish liberal exile from the former Parliament of Cádiz. Ariza records that most Spanish exiles concentrated in the area of Somers Town in Camden and criticises what he considered to be the Spaniards' 'self-imposed isolation'. He was also critical of the fact that most exiles failed to learn English other than for basic conversation or to scan the press, but never enough to understand the workings of British politics and British social and literary life in depth (Luís Botín, 1988: 20).

Despite the warm welcome awarded to them, it would appear that these Spaniards found it difficult to integrate and remained focused on their eventual return to Spain, whilst maintaining their social and cultural habits, i.e. the *tertulia* (Spanish social gatherings) in parks, cafés, private houses, etc. In 1829, the Spanish Ateneo was opened with the aim of providing free education to exiles' children. This 'hispanisation' of the exiles' environment reinforced their diasporic feeling, particularly amongst those who came from a military background, who struggled the most to find adequate jobs (Soldevilla, 2001: 25-26). With the exception of the few prominent figures who were able to continue with their literary work after being accepted by the intellectual elite of London, most exiles experienced difficulties finding work due to the language problem. Those who did often engaged in manual jobs or arts-and-crafts, such as shoe making, chocolate confectionary, silk work, or embroidery, far removed from their former professions (Soldevilla, 2001: 26). Eventually, many exiles emigrated to Belgium, France, and America, but a small proportion settled permanently in Britain.

Following on from this episode of forced migration, a smaller number of distinguished political and military officers who participated in the Carlist Wars also found refuge in Britain, like General Espartero, who arrived in London in 1843 to remain for four years after being denied asylum in Portugal, or Ramón Cabrera, the military chief of the Carlist forces, who arrived in London in 1846 and settled permanently in the country, or even the progressive democrat General Prim, who fled to London after his failed uprising in 1866. Whilst they remained exiled, these Spaniards continued their political activities, plotting new rebellions and planning their return.

From the work of Llorens Castillo (1954), it appears that some of the commercial and cultural activities engaged in by these migrants – publishing houses and book trading – and the structures and networks that they generated became reference point for subsequent Spanish migrations. Besides the traces left by former liberal exiles, which are still perceivable in the social spaces that they inhabited, e.g. the Spanish Chapel in London, and some street and pub names – the Spaniards Inn, Spaniards Road (NW3) – perhaps the most interesting contribution made to British life was the rise in the profile of Spanish language teaching, which eventually led to the establishment of the first Spanish Studies departments in British Universities. This generated a tradition for learning and disseminating the Spanish language and culture that future migrants and

exiles, not only Spanish but also Latin American, have resorted to as a way of making a living in the United Kingdom.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) provided the background to the next episode of political migration. This time, the majority of exiles arrived in France and Mexico, the countries that admitted the higher number of refugees. Due to economic interests and to the policy of non-intervention in this conflict, the UK was very restrictive with the number and profile of the refugees that it admitted. Only a reduced number of high calibre intellectuals, including republican politicians, academics, doctors, scientists, poets, writers, journalists, and musicians entered the country after being assessed on an individual basis, such as Juan Negrín (prime minister of the Spanish Republic from 1937 to its defeat in 1939), the poet Luís Cernuda, the writer, historian and diplomat Salvador de Madariaga, or the author Rafael Martínez Nadal. Simpson estimates the number of Spanish refugees as low as 310 by the end of the conflict (cited in Durán Villa, 1996: 99). Like their predecessors, some of these exiles found their way into British academic institutions, where they were able to continue with their work. Not surprisingly, some of them contributed to the further development of Spanish Studies, and to the introduction of Catalan language and culture studies, as did Josep María Batista i Roca at Cambridge University and the London School of Economics.

A larger group of refugees that caused a greater political impact was the contingent of Spanish children evacuated from Bilbao following the bombing of Guernica. Their polemical arrival in Southampton in the spring of 1937 was possible thanks to the lobbying of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, which guaranteed the cost of their care and maintenance through a network of voluntary religious, political, and trade union organisations. After the Civil War most of the children were repatriated with the exception of a small number who, refusing to return, or having lost their families, settled permanently in the country.

At a local level, the impact of the so-called 'Basque refugee children' was strongest in Southampton and Eastleigh, where the children were initially accommodated. The Eastleigh Local History Society is the depository of archival documents relating to this migration. The 'Basque Children of 37 Association UK', created in 2003, held a commemorative exhibition at the University of Southampton in November 2004. One of

the participants in this research was one of these evacuee children who decided to re-emigrate to England a few years after his repatriation. Another former *niño de la guerra*, as the evacuee children from the Spanish Civil War are referred to in Spanish, who settled permanently in England, later became an influential figure in one of the Spanish associations that I researched.

Having outlined the socio-economic and political contexts of Spain and the UK as countries of emigration and immigration in the period 1950s-1970s, the following chapter is concerned with the study of migration as a personal and collective experience through the analysis of migrants' narratives and examination of their social networks.

Chapter 4 Spanish associative practices

This chapter analyses the nature and trajectory of associative practices amongst Spanish migrants in the UK in general, and amongst the group of Spaniards that I studied in the South of England in particular, with the aim of establishing the ways in which migrant associational life throws light upon the two research questions that the thesis addresses: a) The impact that long-term migration and settlement in the UK has had upon the migrants' identifications and sense of belonging, and b) The extent to which Spanish post-war migration to the UK was solely determined by economic considerations.

The chapter first discusses the different categories of associational life that immigrants traditionally engage in, and, drawing from archival information, traces the recent history of Spanish migrant associations in the UK. Focussing on analysis of the strong associative movement that emerged from London in the 1960s and became highly visible in the 1970s and early 1980s, this examination of Spanish migrant associations provides an insight into the specific problems and dilemmas faced by Spaniards in the UK during the period preceding Spain's incorporation into the European Economic Community. The focus of the chapter then shifts to the present time in order to explore the nature of surviving Spanish associations, relying on information from Spanish institutions in the UK and from a survey carried out for the purpose of this study (see Appendix 2 for details). Finally, the chapter concentrates on the analysis of ethnographic participant-observation of migrant associational life based on two local case studies:

a) The *Hispanic Society of Southampton* as an example of a formally constituted association.
b) *La Tertulia* as an example of an informal support network of Hispanic women from Winchester and Southampton.

The findings of these case studies are compared with other local exponents of formal associations, such as the Dorchester Spanish Circle, the Basingstoke Spanish Circle and the Spanish Society of Portsmouth, and other informal support networks, such as the one identified in the area known as 'Little Lisbon' in Bournemouth.

The final objective of this chapter is to discuss, in the light of the emerging empirical data, the pattern that the Spanish presence in the South of England has adopted since the migrants' arrival, and the extent to which a 'Spanish community' is or is not visible and its existence acknowledged by these migrants.

4.1. Levels of migrant associational life: Kinship, churches, political bodies and independent migrant associations

4.1.1 Kinship

Rex distinguishes four structures of associational life that are relevant to the migrant's expatriate life: relations of kinship; churches, political bodies, and independent migrant associations (1987: 7-10). The most fundamental of these structures is based on kinship relationships, which migrants sustain through ongoing links with their homeland, mainly with their families and friends. These links are traditionally maintained through holiday visits, letters, written and verbal messages – often delivered by fellow migrants – and, more recently, by telephone and electronic contact as well as by increasingly cheap and more frequent travel.

During the 1960s and 1970s, when Spaniards started to emigrate to other European countries, international telephone calls were costly, so holiday visits and letters constituted the most common methods of maintaining links with their home country. As well as remittances, migrants often sent home parcels containing commodities that were not always easily available in Spain, either because they were considered luxury items, and therefore expensive, or because they were difficult to obtain due to economic restrictions at home, for example, certain clothes, toys, textiles, toiletries, etc. On holiday visits migrants would often take these types of items as gifts, along with books and music that were fashionable in their host countries but banned or censored by the Franco regime.

These 'exotic' items often aroused curiosity and envy amongst neighbours, especially within impoverished socio-economic groups. In some instances this could also arouse suspicion amongst local officials who saw it as their duty to protect the population from foreign influences. The following testimony given by Dolores, whose uncle and elder brothers and sisters emigrated to Britain and France in the 1950s and 1960s seeking

better lives and the means to support their impoverished family back home, illustrates this type of reaction:

> En los años sesenta mi hermana nos enviaba cortes de tela, cuando el tergal y el nylon aparecieron, para hacernos vestidos. También nos envió nuestros primeros anoraks, que no estaban muy vistos aquí, y jerseys, ropa útil. Para nuestro cumpleaños nos enviaba una libra en una carta y no veas qué stress para explicar en el banco. Mi madre tenía que responder tantas preguntas, que si de dónde venía la divisa, que para qué era, y todo eso. Al final nos la cambiaba y nos podíamos ir con el dinero español. Lo primero que hacía era entonces invitar a mi madre a un chocolate con churros para relajarnos y reirnos de todo. Y por supuesto también nos enviaban giros para comprar el piso, para sacarnos de allí, y como las calles no tenían carreteras, los coches no llegaban así que cuando el dinero llegaba, todo el mundo se enteraba porque el cartero gritaba 'giro de Inglaterra'. Alguna gente era envidiosa y alguien debió de decir que recibíamos dinero de Europa, así que Caritas dejó de darnos los paquetes de comida que solíamos recibir con leche en polvo americana y queso, aceite, mantequilla, pasta. (6)
>
> (Dolores, born in 1950, interviewed in Zaragoza on 5/08/2003)

Coupled with the impact of remittances, the ostentatious behaviour of some migrants, who, eager to portray an image of success during their home visits, overtly displayed signs of their new found wealth, had the effect of raising friends and neighbours' aspirations, hence nurturing seeds of further migration. In this way, home visits fostered links between visiting migrants and would-be-migrants, the later regarding the former as instrumental in the initiation of their own migration. The use of and reliance upon these contacts was essential for the purpose of obtaining and receiving the work permits and contracts that were necessary to satisfy the British immigration authorities. Once in the country, these networks continued to be useful at the initial stages of settlement as more veteran migrants often provided practical assistance with temporary accommodation, guidance, and general orientation to the newly arrived. Once settled and fully operational, the new migrants would often repeat the cycle, contributing to the generation of migration chains.

Since Spanish migration to the UK was predominantly carried out independently from the state's institutions of assisted emigration, this informal type of associational

structure based on family, neighbours, and acquaintances can be regarded as the most basic form of migrant network operating simultaneously in the country of origin and destination.

4.1.2. Religious institutions

The second associational structure identified by Rex is religious institutions (1987: 8). These are usually transplanted to the host countries when migration flows acquire a certain level of stability. Religious institutions are particularly relevant when the migrant's religion differs from that dominant in the host country, as was the case of Spaniards coming from Franco's Catholic stronghold to the more secular and predominantly Anglican society of the UK. To this end, in 1962 the *Catholic Committee for Emigration* created a Spanish Chaplaincy in London to provide religious succour to Spanish migrants. This Chaplainry was instrumental in the creation of the emblematic *Hogar Español*, the first Spanish centre that provided assistance to Spanish migrants in London, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Interestingly, the testimonies collected for this thesis revealed that the Catholic Church does not appear to have played a substantial role in providing a significant social cohesive network for the informants. Only three amongst them – Eva, Ramón, and Julián – declared having been regular churchgoers and having actively tried to pass their faith on to their children (see informants' personal profiles in Appendix 4). Despite this, their decision to place their children in local and reputable schools appeared to have always taken precedence over considerations of faith. For the remaining informants, Catholicism has only been tangentially relevant at key sacramental events, such as weddings and children's first communions, usually celebrated more as a traditional and secular rite of passage than out of religious devotion.

4.1.3. Political institutions

Political institutional networks, consisting of consular offices and the various services attached to them, provide national representation, administrative support, and social assistance to migrants. An extended noted earlier, which was particularly relevant to Spanish migration during the Franco regime, was the political control exerted over migrants' activities in their host countries. As Rex observes (1987: 9), clandestine

political parties have an opportunity to flourish in exile and often seek to establish links and offer or seek support from migrants, something that the Spanish authorities abroad were determined to prevent.

An informant recalled the attempts made by the Spanish Consulate in Southampton in 1974 to censure the public performance of *"Noche de guerra en el Museo del Prado"* ('A wartime night at the Prado Museum') by Rafael Alberti, due to its overt political content. Carmelo remembered the outrage caused by the play, which was directed by a 'Catalanist' Spanish language tutor and staged by students and lecturers of the Spanish Department of the University of Southampton:

> Era una obra bastante atrevida desde el punto de vista que algunas de las figuras en los cuadros están desnudas y además era una cosa que se supone que era violenta porque era después de la guerra (...) Incluso Eduardo escribió a Rafael Alberti, y Rafael Alberti le mandó una escena nueva para la obra (...) y decidimos llevarla a las comunidades emigrantes de Lymington (...) El Consulado Español (de Southampton) vino a la representación en la universidad y se horrorizaron cuando no solo vieron el tono de la obra, porque además el cónsul era del Opus Dei, sino que además teníamos en un orinal una foto de Franco y Eduardo al empezar la obra siempre la dedicaba a Grimau, que era un anarquista que estaba a punto de ser fusilado por la época aquella (...) El caso es que cuando la llevamos a Lymington, el Consulado Español escribió a la comunidad española de allí y les dijo que si asistían a nuestra obra no les darían el subsidio que estaban pensando en darles, subsidio que nunca les dieron por otra parte porque el Consulado Español no tenía dinero para esas cosas, y cuando llegamos a Lymington no había nadie, había solo una pareja joven, de emigrantes, de hijos de emigrantes, que bueno, pues la representamos delante de ellos y ya está, y luego la llevamos a Londres con la propaganda de que esto estaba prohibido por el gobierno español y en Londres tuvo un éxito espantoso. (7)
>
> (Carmelo, born in 1946, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Southampton on 12/06/2002)

The tensions between the Spanish emigrant population and their representative institutions in the UK, reflected in Carmelo's recollection, highlight the resilience of the old Francoist structures through the 1970s, whose authoritarian and paternalist approach was deeply embedded in the diplomatic, civil, and official services that Spaniards were

supposed to access for assistance abroad. Further animosities resulting from their encounters with Spanish official institutions in the UK were noted in a survey carried out amongst Spanish emigrants in 1978. The survey concluded that, when asked about their dealings with Spanish official institutions, almost all interviewees responded unfavourably with comments revealing 'little help', 'unpleasant treatment' and overall 'little contact other than for bureaucratic reasons, e.g. passport renewals' ('Survey amongst Spanish emigrants in England', 1978, in Adolfo and Tina López Collection, sig 2/22-1, CDEE).

Even to this day, many Spaniards still report a certain apprehension when having to deal with the authorities at the Spanish Consulate in London, which still appears to exude an air of the authoritarianism that characterised the former dictatorship. According to the experiences reported by some informants, these institutions are still failing to adequately meet the needs of the Spanish migrant communities in the United Kingdom:

> Vas allí y te tratan como si fueras un niño pequeño, una persona estúpida. Muy mal, muy mal, porque si vas es porque necesitas un documento. Ellos están allí y cobran su sueldo para atender a los que estamos aquí. Es un servicio pagado por los españoles y mira como nos atienden (...) La chiquilla tiene cuatro niños y el ir a Londres es un *outing* para todo el día, muy inconveniente, pero se empeñó en renovar su carné de identidad español y el pasaporte, y bueno, yo quisiera que hubiera una protesta grande. Y le pasó algo muy muy feo. No le renovaron el pasaporte porque estaba caducado, y ella dijo, pero mira, si he traído el certificado de bautismo, el certificado de nacimiento, traigo todos los papeles, y el pasaporte caducao como que soy española, estoy aquí, me ven en la foto, en persona. Y no se lo hicieron. Así que para no andar en estas locuras otra vez va a quitar el pasaporte inglés y creo que está en proyecto de quitar el pasaporte inglés.(8)
>
> (Ana, born in 1936, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Southampton on 6/12/2001)

> I am fed up with the Spanish Embassy! As you know, my husband is disabled and when we had to renew the passport they asked me, you know, they said that he had to go to London to get the passport and he can't go to bloody London! So in the end we had to travel with old passports to Madrid and they did them there, so that's not very nice. (9)
>
> (Dora, born in 1943, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 20/05/2003)

> Ustedes no tienen derecho a poner mi dirección en mi pasaporte. No hay ninguna necesidad y les pedí específicamente que no lo hicieran. He estado viviendo en este país más de 40 años, ¿cómo continúan tratándonos así? Voy a cambiarme la nacionalidad, ¡ya está!, ¡voy a hacerme Británica!, ¡ya he tenido bastante! (10)
>
> (Observation of comments made by a Spanish woman at the Spanish Consulate in London, November 2000)

Constant denunciations of the authoritarian nature of the Spanish authorities and the difficult relations between the Spanish migrant communities in the UK and their representative institutions are the subject of many articles and discussions that appear in the periodical publications of migrant associations during the mid and late 1970s, their democratisation being at the heart of the demands made by the Spanish community. These demands and the wider problems experienced by Spanish migrants in the UK during the 1970s are discussed later in this chapter.

4.1.4. Independent associations

The third type of associative structure is instigated directly by the migrants in order to respond to particular needs. These include associations that aim at recreating the culture of origin, be it national, regional or local, as well as associations that are formed and guided by common social, economic or educational agendas that demand certain service provision from the host government or by their country of origin. Rex indicates that, amongst these, the most powerful are those concerned with educational facilities, especially those that seek to provide supplementary schooling to ensure the maintenance of the mother tongue (1987: 9). This was certainly the guiding principle behind many Spanish associations in the UK known as *Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (Associations of Pupils' Parents, also referred to as APAs) and *Asociaciones the Padres de Familias* (Associations of Heads of Families, also referred to as PPFFs), created in order to demand the provision of Spanish classes for migrants' children.

Before analysing Spanish migrant networks in the UK in more detail, the next section discusses the traditional nature of Spanish associations and the functions that they fulfilled in previous Spanish migrations.

4.2. Spanish migrant 'associationalism'

As noted earlier, from the initial decision to emigrate and through the various phases of the migratory project, migrants tend to use and develop networks that operate at various levels of complexity, from the most basic and informal to the more developed and structured. Whilst some of these structures are officially established or funded by the authorities for the migrants' benefit, others are created independently by the migrants themselves. Throughout this chapter use of the term 'migrant associative practices' embraces a wide range of formal and informal networks that migrants develop once they are in the host country in order to cope with the problems connected with settlement and integration. I equate the term 'formal associative practices' with what is known as 'associationalism', a literal translation of the Spanish term ' asociacionismo' or 'movimiento asociativo' (associative movement), commonly used in Spain to refer to the practice of establishing and belonging to groups that share and pursue common interests and goals through a range of activities. Associations are officially registered and are managed by rules set by their founding members in their constitutions. In contrast, by the term 'informal associative practices' I refer to less regulated forms of social networks that are also created or engaged in by migrants based on family links, friendship, affinity, proximity, nationality and other forms of kinship. Thus conceived, the analysis of associational life provides an invaluable platform from which to explore migrants' perceived identities and sense of belonging.

Traditionally, migrants' associations have played a significant role in creating and consolidating ethnic communities and in preserving migrants' identities in the host societies. The history of Spanish migrations abounds with examples in which 'associationalism' has been instrumental in the maintenance and promotion of Spanish cultural identity, as well as in coordinating and enabling migration and facilitating settlement.

Spanish migrations to South America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were characterised by strong associative movements. Spanish migrants and exiles in Mexico, Cuba, or Brazil, for instance, created associations that became essential reference in their day-to-day lives, fulfilling important and varied roles that

ranged from the purely recreational and cultural to the social and educational. Most importantly, these associations played an essential supportive role in providing migrants and their families with economic and medical assistance.

A strong regional and local flavour relating to the migrants' origins traditionally permeates the Spanish associative movement in Latin America. A good example is the large quantity of Asturian societies, for instance, that can be found in Cuba alone, which mirror at geographical and administrative levels the villages of origin of the migrants (Francos Lauredo, 1996: 142-143). Amongst the main purposes of these clubs and societies were the promotion and conservation of social links amongst migrants originating from the same local areas in Asturias, the provision of protection and assistance, the fostering of good relations with the local authorities of their villages back home, the celebration of recreational activities and the dissemination of information relating to their particular villages and region and to Spain (Francos Lauredo, 1996: 180). It is interesting to note that, despite the strong local focus of their associates, membership was opened to sympathisers with the club's aims and objectives, which enabled non-migrants to join. Looking at the figures compiled by Francos Lauredo, it is interesting to note the high level of migrant participation in migrant clubs and societies (1996: 211-212).

Spanish migration to industrialised Europe in the post-war period also prompted the development of associational networks that became essential reference points for migrants. Like their predecessors in Latin America, migrant associations in Europe often retained a similar regional flavour. However, the roles that they fulfilled in migrants' lives were slightly different. The fact that most Spanish migrants in Europe had relatively easy access to the social and medical services provided by the welfare states of their host countries rendered their supportive role less important. At the same time, in the context of non-Spanish-speaking countries, migrant associations in Europe enhanced their task of preserving and promoting Spanish cultural identity, which, contrary to the case of migration to Latin America, was perceived to be under threat.

Improved living conditions for Spanish migrants in European countries thus resulted in a lesser impact of the migrant association in general, and in the conception of a type of club or society that in the initial stages of migration was more preoccupied with

maintaining and re-creating cultural identity, language(s) being a main constitutive element. As discussed later, the cultural orientation of these early associations was subject to significant transformation as the migrants' settlement became more permanent.

4.3. Spanish associative networks in Britain

In this section I trace the more recent examples of Spanish associations in the UK in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries before concentrating on the diverse associational landscape that surrounded the Spanish migrant presence in the 1960s and 1970s.

4.3.1. Precedents of associative life in the UK

Spanish clubs and *tertulias*

Documentary evidence would indicate that the first formal Spanish association in the UK was created in 1780. Known as the 'Spanish Club', it gathered together a group of British gentlemen who were enthusiasts of gastronomy and followed the Spanish political developments of the time whilst being sympathetic to Spanish liberal exiles in London (Luís de Botín, 1988: 73-74). Coetaneous to these precedents were the *tertulias* – informal social gatherings – of the Spanish liberal exiles (Soldevilla Oria, 2001: 25). For these exiles, who struggled to learn English and to adapt to British life, the *tertulias* fulfilled an important social, cultural, and supportive role. Similarly, the small number of Spanish republican and intellectual exiles of the Spanish Civil War who found refuge in Britain also resorted to the practice of holding *tertulias* as one of the main expressions of migrant associational life.

The Spanish Club

In 1920 a 'Spanish Club' was formally established in London with premises specifically bought for that purpose in Cavendish Square (Luís de Botín, 1988: 71). It is not known whether any connections existed between this Spanish Club and its earlier predecessor of 1780 (Durán Villa, 1996: 456).

According to its articles of association the objectives of this club were: 'To provide the Spanish community of London with a social meeting place that would foster friendships amongst Spaniards whilst also promoting economic and cultural cooperation amongst them; to provide newly arrived Spaniards in London with the means of orientation and the necessary guidance for finding employment; to consolidate existing friendly relations between British, South Americans and Spaniards with the purpose of fostering the intellectual and economic rapprochement of Spain to the United Kingdom and Latin America; and to assist its members in cases of impending need due to illness or other justified reason in the measure that the society's funds may allow' (Luís de Botín, 1988: 71).

In its constitution it was also stated that the Spanish Club would not have any religious or political leanings and that to be admitted members had to be male and pay their yearly subscriptions. The club had a bar and restaurant and provided accommodation for Spanish travellers. It remained open until 1986 despite having experienced financial difficulties and having to be rescued by the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London. Judging by the textual and photographic evidence gathered by Luís Botín (1988) it appears that from its conception, the nature of its activities, and the services provided, the Spanish Club was aimed at a higher middle and upper class migrant public.

The Spanish Institute

The Spanish Institute was a cultural centre conceived by a group of Spaniards that lived in London and gathered around literary *tertulias* in cafés. It was formally created in 1944 with three objectives:

1) Promoting a deeper knowledge of the various aspects of past and present Spanish life amongst the British public.
2) Completing the Spanish cultural education of Spaniards living in the UK with regards to Spanish history, geography, literature and grammar as well as facilitating the learning of the English language.
3) Sharing their cultural activities with the Hispano-American Republics and British organisations with an interest in Spanish language and culture.

The Institute functioned for six years with the financial help of the Spanish Republic in exile and it gathered around its activities a number of well known Spanish figures and academics of high intellectual calibre, many of whom were exiles as well as prestigious British Hispanists, all of whom who participated in its prestigious courses and lectures. Due to lack of funding the Institute closed in 1950 (Luís de Botín, 1988: 129-131).

The Instituto de España

Running almost parallel to the Spanish Institute, the Instituto de España was created in 1946 amidst the political unease and the opposition of the British trade unions that in the aftermath of the Second World War denounced the alleged support that the British authorities had awarded Franco. Initially directed by Spanish academics, the Institute was also concerned with promoting the Spanish language and culture in the UK (Luís de Botín, 1988: 131). From the 1970s the Institute was managed by civil servants attached to the diplomatic service. Like the Spanish Institute, its main activities included the organisation of cultural events, such as courses and lectures and the provision of a library. According to Martínez (in Durán Villa, 1996: 452), despite the cultural re-orientation that the Institute had undergone in the late 1960s, 'the Spanish migrant community remained estranged from this cultural institution whilst demanding for their own associations a share in the Institute's resources, given the more popular extract of their membership'.

Spanish Chamber of Commerce

A further entity that completes this overview of Spanish associative precedents is the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, founded in London in 1886 as a private association of Spanish and British traders, industrialists, and professionals. Its aim was to foster Hispano-British commercial relations and to promote Spanish exports to the UK. Invested with the same role, the chamber continues to exist today (http://www.spanishchamber.co.uk/ webspanish/que-es.htm (accessed 15/10.02).

From the late nineteenth century through to the early and mid twentieth century the above four precedents of Spanish associations had one thing in common: despite their political or non-political stance, their actors and audiences were predominantly of a high socio-economic, intellectual, and educational background that included political exiles,

refugees, businessmen, traders, artists and liberal professionals, all of which are far removed from the classic profile that is projected of the Spanish 'economic migrants' that arrived in post-war Britain. As will emerge in the rest of this chapter, the migrant associative movement that developed in the 1960s and 1970s represented a temporary digression from the above elitist associational tradition, since it was generated by, and mostly addressed to, working-class migrants with specific migration-related problems. Once these migrants returned to Spain, or opted for permanent settlement in the UK, the associative movement that was visible at the peak of their migration entered into a process of gradual transformation which almost led to its dismantling and disappearance, which I analyse in the following sections.

4.3.2. Spanish migrants associations in the 1960s and 1970s: *Casas de España*, independent associations, and religious missions

Despite Luis de Botín's claims that the Spanish community in the UK was always difficult to organise and control due to its diversity and geographical dispersal (1988:179), archival information reveals a strong Spanish associative and institutional presence stemming from London from the early 1960s that became highly visible from the 1970s to the mid 1980s, providing migrants with practical support and assistance as well as meeting spaces to socialise and to serve as fora from which to highlight their problems and voice specific social and political demands. This associative movement was also responsible for a considerable publishing output aimed at Spanish migrant audiences.

The associations identified as part of this movement fall mainly within the following categories:

1) The officially funded *Casas de España*, dependent on the IEE *(Instituto Español de Emigración)* and controlled by the Spanish authorities.

2) Independent migrants' associations, which varied considerably depending on their nature, funding, aims and ideological leanings, thus reflecting the diversity of the Spanish migrant community. Their main characteristics could be summarised as follows:

a) A particular regional flavour, similar to Spanish associations in Latin America.
b) A strong 'emigrant' consciousness, often expressed in Marxist terms as an 'émigré working class', abandoned, exploited and neglected by their country of origin and struggling to survive in a hostile and alien environment.
c) Having one or more fundamental social or educational demands guiding their activities, the most important being state-sponsored teaching of the Spanish mother tongue to migrants' children.

d) Their overall engagement with the preservation of the Spanish language and of what they perceived to be Spanish culture.

3) Spanish religious missions that provided practical assistance to migrants like the Spanish Chaplaincy in London which created the emblematic *Hogar Español,* and some religious orders that provided subsidised lodgings for newly arrived migrants, such as the Adoratrices Sisters, the Maria Inmaculada Sisters and the Carmelites.

4.3.3. The official *Casas de España*: The struggle for resources and the demands for their democratisation

One of the better-known exponents of this associative movement was the official *Casas de España* (Houses of Spain). These were Spanish clubs controlled by the Franco regime through the institutions of assisted emigration. They were funded by the IEE and managed by the Spanish consular institutions and *Agregadurías Laborales* in the UK, as established in the 1971 Spanish Emigration Law.

Entrusted with the task of preserving Spanish cultural identity amongst migrants, the *Casas de España* endorsed the regime's official agenda of maintaining the temporary yet uninterrupted nature of emigration. This was done through activities that actively encouraged the maintenance of national attachments and the continued orientation of the migrants towards Spain.

The temporary nature attached to post-war European migration by sending and receiving countries provided migrants with a window of opportunity in which to maximise their working capacity and ability to save and send remittances. Arguably, this resulted in considerable reduction of the migrants' leisure time. From this perspective, the *Casas de España* provided a convenient forum for sociability in which migrants could meet, speak their own language, celebrate cultural events, and share their dream of returning to Spain as soon as possible with enough savings. This dream was consistently 'manufactured' and 'fed' to migrants by the Spanish authorities. As Babiano states in his study of migrant associations in France (2002: 566), 'return' was sold to Spanish emigrants more as a 'horizon' than as an immediately achievable goal in order to maintain the flow of remittances. In this spirit, the activities of the *Casas de España* often fuelled the migrants' nostalgia for their temporarily lost home country and, in doing so, discouraged socialisation with non-Spaniards as well as permanent settlement and integration. A second instrumental role played by the *Casas de España* was to provide the Franco regime with a base from which to monitor the political activities of migrants.

The following extract from a song by Carlos Cano inspired by Spanish mass emigration during this period denounces, not without a saddened irony, the exploitation and isolation endured by Spanish workers in Germany, reflecting the role of Spanish institutions in providing language and cultural 'respite' from the hardships of emigration:

> El principio se hace duro sobre to la soleá,
> esa gente chapullando, no se le entiende ni atá,
> menos mal que algunas veces la 'Embajada Cultural'
> les mandan al Julio Iglesias y a un tal Manolo Escobar. (11)

"El Salustiano" by Carlos Cano, *Canciones de ida y vuelta: Antología de canciones de la emigración España fuera de España,* Dirección General del Instituto Español de Emigración, 1992.

Although Spanish migration to the UK was generally carried out beyond the control of the Spanish state and its institutions of assisted emigration, and notwithstanding the fact that the Spanish authorities never acknowledged this officially, the regime nevertheless

ensured that the Spanish emigration apparatus still reached out to emigrants who had come to the UK independently. One of the purposes of this commitment to assist emigrants a posteriori, despite their unofficial method of emigration, was undoubtedly to exert control over them along the lines described above; that is, to encourage the flow of remittances, and to monitor political activities.

The following excerpt from an interview with an informant who emigrated to the UK in 1972 without the assistance of the Spanish institutions recalls her experiences of participating in activities of the *Casa de España* of Bournemouth, as well as offering her interpretation of what emigration meant for a number of Spaniards who returned to Spain during the transition:

> El gobierno español mandaba curas españoles y había centros que se llamaban Casas de España, y allí pues, había reuniones, había un bar pequeño, teníamos television, pista de baile, hacíamos excursiones, se veía animación y la gente lo pasaba bien. Había uno en Bournemouth, y empecé a ir cuando empecé a trabajar en el hospital, que las chicas iban y se pasaba bien. Después tristemente ese centro lo quitaron, las cosas han cambiado mucho, los españoles a raíz de la transición empezaron a volver a España, abriendo sus negocios. Habían ahorrado un dinero a costa de mucho sacrificio. El trabajo aquí era fácil encontrarlo, sobre todo hoteles, hospitales, podías hacer horas extras en otros sitios, trabajos pequeños, que nosotros llamamos pluri-empleo, por eso pienso que muchos españoles que han vuelto han abierto restaurantes, pequeños negocios, ¿no?. (12)
>
> (Jacinta, born in 1946, emigrated to the UK twice, first in 1964-65 and permanently in 1971, interviewed in Bournemouth on 23/05/2002)

Taking into consideration the political-economic ambivalence surrounding this migration, it is interesting to note Jacinta's reference to the 'transition' as a landmark rather than *the* reason for the migrants' return in the 1970s, which she seems to attribute to the fact that they had gathered enough savings to become financially independent in Spain.

In similar terms, Mario, an informant who was in charge of running the *Casa de España* of Bournemouth in the mid 1970s, expressed how the disappearance of what was also

known as the *Spanish Club* marked a 'before and after' in the passing of Spanish migrants through Dorset and Hampshire:

> Conocí a muchísimos españoles cuando vine porque yo estuve aquí cuando a un señor que se llama Luís Candal, que era en aquella época el director del Pavilion, le dieron la llave de aquí de Bournemouth y vino Fraga Iribarne, que en aquella época era el embajador de España en Londres, y también vino la television inglesa, y a mi se me pidió que organizara un *cocktel* en la Casa de España. A consecuencia de eso yo cogí la Casa de España de la Embajada. (...) Llevaba funcionando muchísimos años. Había un cura, había la asociación de padres de familia, había un colegio gratis pagado por la Embajada de España para los niños de padres españoles que llevaba bastantes años (...) Yo tuve una cita con el Consulado de Southampton y me pidieron que la cogiera porque creían que yo era el hombre adecuado para eso, para llevar la Casa de España. Consecuencia, había fiestas españolas y los domingos hacíamos bailes y conocía a todos los españoles no solamente de Bournemouth, de Lymington, New Milton, Poole (...) Esos españoles eran gente que venía aquí a trabajar y no se quejaban de nada, no como los que vienen ahora. Practicamente, lo único que les interesaba era echar su semana, ganar dinero y mandarlo para España a través de la Caixa Galicia (laughs) Al final como todo eso estaba financiado por la Embajada se cortó y aquello se cerró. Los españoles desaparecieron, ya te digo, iban desapareciendo. (13)
>
> (Mario, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Bournemouth on 30/05/2002)

Like that of Jacinta, Mario's portrayal of these Spaniards as pitiable and hard working people reinforces the economic dimension of their migration while enabling him to distinguish between them and other more independent Spaniards like himself, or less subservient migrants that have come in subsequent migrations whose arrival he witnesses at his Spanish Bar in Bournemouth.

Not all Spaniards made use of the *Casas de España*. Many lacked the time due to the unsociable hours of shift work in the hotel and catering service which considerably limited their leisure opportunities. Some merely sent their children to the Spanish lessons funded by the Spanish government. Others condemned what they perceived as the morally corrupted atmosphere of the *Casas de España*, a perception that could be interpreted as the reaction of earlier migrants that arrived in the 1960s to the changing

generational and gender roles and behaviours exhibited by younger migrants who arrived in the 1970s and found themselves in more liberal societies:

> Sí, me acuerdo, se reunían, hacían bailes, yo no iba. Era socia, mi marido pagaba pero yo no quería ir, no me gustaba el ambiente porque iba toda esa gente, todas esas mujeres malas, mujeres que venían al dinero solamente, que si te fijas hay muy pocas mujeres que puedan ser mis hijas, y de mi edad, que se casaran con ingleses, porque la gente inglesa sabía que eran todas putas, las de aquel tiempo, ¿eh?, porque cuando entramos en los 70 pa arriba cambió la gente. (14)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 21/03/2003)

Not surprising, anecdotal as it may seem, is the account of one of the informants who disclosed having maintained a relationship with a Catholic priest who worked at one of the *Casas de España* in the UK in the 1970s. According to her account, the priest introduced her to key political writings that were banned in Spain at the time, including Bakunin's anarchist theories and the publications of *Ruedo Ibérico*. Set in the context of 'economic migration', the unorthodoxy of this relationship could almost be seen as a metaphor for the changing social and gender attitudes in Spain and the scope for politicisation and sexual liberation open to migrants abroad.

Another reason why Spaniards chose not to participate in the activities of the *Casas de España* was simply that they considered them undemocratic. According to available documentary evidence, the 'political' expectations of migrants resulted in constant conflicts with the Spanish institutions in the UK. This was certainly the case of the *Casa de España* in London, which opened in 1977 and whose democratisation became an ongoing battle for many Spanish migrant associations through their federations, particularly during the initial period of Spain's transition to democracy.

An article in the *Voz de Galicia* of 1st of May 1981 highlighted the problematic relationship between Spanish independent associations and the *Casa de España* of London in the following terms:

> According to the Law of Emigration of 1971 and to the regulations that developed the applicability of this law, the *Casas de España* were envisaged as having an 'Advisory Committee' to manage them. Its members were initially designated by the IEE without any input or representation of Spanish emigrants. With the participatory atmosphere that ensued during the Spanish democratic transition, many migrant associations made proposals to democratise the management of the *Casas de España*, some of which were successful, such as the *Casa de España* in Paris and Munich. However, proposals made to democratise the *Casa de España* of London were systematically ignored by the Spanish authorities. At the heart of the conflict lay the limited resources that were available to the associations, who complained that whilst the premises and facilities of the *Casa de España* were made fully available to lucrative entities, such as businesses, travel agents, banks, etc, administrative barriers were erected to prevent them from accessing those resources necessary in order to promote and run their own activities. The way public funds were used by the *Casa de España* also raised suspicion amongst the financially struggling and competing associations. Furthermore, the associations criticised the *Casa de España* for hiring expensive high profile academics and speakers for its cultural events instead of allowing wider participation of working class emigrants.
>
> (Adapted from Monica Sabbatielo's article 'La democracia todavía no llegó a la Casa de España', in *La Voz de Galicia,* 2/05/81, p.40. My translation)

The tendency of the Spanish official institutions to favour an elitist audience for their cultural activities, to the exclusion of a more popular public, reminds us of the historical associational precedents that were examined in the previous section.

Two additional aspects of the conflictive relationships between the official *Casas de España* and the independent associations were, first, the under-funding and lack of adequate infrastructure of the *Casa de España* of London in comparison with others in Europe, and second, the constant refusal of the *Casa de España* of London to allow any political polarisation to permeate its management and programme of activities, as was stated by its director, Sergio Reguilón, in the editorial of the first issue of the *Casa de España*'s periodical publication *Geranio – 78:*

> This magazine appears 'with the humble pretension of opening a new informative space for the Spanish Community of the United Kingdom. Not wishing to represent any

> political, trade union, or religious ideology whilst remaining open to all of them, *Geranio 78* refuses from its start to identify with any' (...) The magazine is open to all Centres and Associations and to all those who wish to collaborate as long as their works are exempt from any political or offensive connotations.
>
> (Extracted from 'Editorial' *Geranio 78*, enero-febrero, 1978, no. 1, p.3. My translation)

An article from the same issue of *Geranio 78* written by Javier Zubillaga, the *Casa de España's* former director, comments on the warm welcome awarded by the Spanish community in London to the recently opened *Casa de España*, which was being visited by an average of 2,000 Spaniards each weekend (15). In that article, Zubillaga argued that what the majority of those Spaniards looked for when they attended the centre was 'a space for convivial recreation and leisure to make them forget the hardships of their long working week and in order to forget the stark reality ('hecho descarnando') of living abroad'. He went so far as to deny any concern for political, religious or even social and cultural interests on the part of the migrants that attended the centre, issues that, in his opinion, occupied only a secondary place in their minds. Nevertheless, he anticipated that cultural activities would become the focus of the institution, something that was confirmed by the summary of activities organised by the *Casa de España* during the period October-December 1978 that was published in *Portobello 317* (the magazine that later replaced *Geranio 78*), and which listed a series of lectures on general topics and cultural activities related to Spain. These included: 'Social transformation of Spain', 'The state of psychological services in Spain', and 'Galician literature', as well as exhibitions of paintings, flamenco shows, popular folkloric dances, and the celebration of Spanish traditional festivities such as Christmas Day and the Day of the *Reyes Magos*, which were attended by the Spanish Ambassador and other authorities (15).

From the above examination of the *Casas de España* it becomes evident that a significant number of Spaniards were alienated from their services: those who were unable to access their resources, be it through funding limitations imposed from above or through living far away from their premises – located in London, Bournemouth, Manchester and Liverpool – and those who were interested in pushing issues that were perceived as political. It is striking that during the 1970s, and even more so at the end of

that decade – a period of intense political activity, participation, and constant debate in Spanish society brought about by the onset of the democratic transition – the Spanish authorities abroad insisted on keeping the migrant population in a state of apoliticism. Apart from suggesting that the ethos of the Francoist power structures lived on in the Spanish civil service, this reluctance to permit political participation or open political discussion possibly anticipates the numbing political and historical amnesia that was to afflict Spain after the arrival of democracy.

4.3.4. Independent migrant associations

Beyond the meeting spaces provided by the officially controlled *Casas de España*, Spanish migrants also organised themselves in independent associations that were created without any initial input from the Spanish authorities. Amongst these, the associations that did not display anti-Francoist propaganda were generally entitled to financial assistance from the institutions of assisted emigration, something that was often fundamental in order to cover the costs of renting premises, organising activities and printing their periodical magazines and bulletins.

As with Spanish associations in Latin America, some of the associations in the UK promoted a particular regional identification that reflected the origins of their members, such as the *Centro Gallego* (Galician Centre) created in 1967, or the *Peña Nuestra Andalucía* (Our Andalusia's Club). The emphasis on regional identity was displayed and promoted in the activities organised by these associations, for example, the celebration of the Día de Galicia (Day of Galicia) and the Día das Letras Galegas (Day of Galician Letters). These events were accompanied by Galician folkloric dances and singing and a celebration of Galician food. Similarly, the Peña Nuestra Andalucía's most important annual event was a celebration of the Day of Andalucía, a celebration of Andalusian culture. With the onset of Spain's transition to democracy in the 1970s some of these associations started to echo the demands for regional autonomy that were being voiced in Spain.

Whilst engaged in cultural activities, many of these associations also maintained strong anti-Francoist agendas, and were often backed by political parties and trade unions in exile (e.g. PCE, PSOE, UGT) especially during the 1970s. Good examples of politically

engaged associations include the famous Centro Cultural Antonio Machado, and the Círculo Cultural Recreativo Miguel Hernández (Cultural and Recreational Circle Miguel Hernández) in London, whose names were clear indicators of their anti-Francoist ideological stance, as were many of their activities and the tone of their publications. These associations mirrored abroad the growing opposition to the dictatorship that was becoming more visible in Spain.

Besides their regional or political focus, like the *Casas de España*, but with fewer resources, some independent associations provided meeting spaces where Spaniards could interact socially and relax when they were not at work. Whilst in Spain this type of public space was supplied by bars and taverns (Babiano, 2002: 570), in the context of emigration, migrant clubs and societies had to fulfil multiple roles. On one hand, they provided opportunities for Spaniards to speak their own language. On the other, they enabled them to exchange information regarding their situation as migrants, such as employment opportunities, housing, benefit entitlements, legal advice, updates from visits to Spain, etc. Most importantly, these associations provided a space where migrants could recreate their cultural identities. It is precisely this aspect, the re-creation of Spanish culture in the host country, that has proved particularly problematic in the UK, since culture and, more precisely, what migrant communities usually considered to represent popular forms of Spanish culture, usually entailed the reproduction of certain national and regional folk traditions in the host country (Babiano, 2002: 86). The complexity arises since, at this particular time, Spain, a multi-lingual and a regionally and culturally diverse country, was undergoing rapid social, economic and political changes that the migrants were only experiencing indirectly (17). In this context, the reproduction of cultural practices fostered by migrant associations was mediated first, by geographical distance and by the particular idiosyncrasies of the host country, and second, by the anchoring of those cultural practices to a particular moment in time; that of their departure from Spain.

Amongst independent associations, the *Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (APAS) (Associations of Pupils' Parents) represent an interesting case. These were constituted as pressure groups guided by an educational demand: the teaching of Spanish and the provision of a Spanish education for migrants' children since Spanish mother tongue teaching in Britain was not part of the school curriculum and was usually undertaken as

a voluntary or extra-curricular activity. The Spanish migration institutions and consulates initially funded some Spanish teaching and provided teachers who taught at the *Casas de España*. However, funding soon proved to be insufficient to meet the increasing demand that was experienced when migrants began to extend the length of their stay in Britain, especially following the international economic crisis of 1973, which generated high levels of unemployment in Spain. As Rosa corroborates below, despite the efforts made by many migrants to justify the demand for Spanish lessons, the authorities paid little attention:

> Alguien mencionó que había una escuela de español aquí en Southampton financiada por el gobierno español. Claro que esto es otra época y yo todavía estaba un poco energética y tomé la rienda para batallar para mantenerla, pero era obvio que el departmento, bah, quien fuese, la consejería de educación, o consulado, o la embajada, alguien se había propuesto cerrar esa escuela de aquí. Entonces empezaron diciendo que no había bastantes estudiantes yendo a clase, pero claro, yo nunca vi anunciado en ninguna parte que existía eso para los hijos de españoles, nunca, sabes, a la chita callando y cuantos menos lo sepan major. Cuando dije bueno, cuál es la condición, que en realidad nosotros nos beneficiábamos sin necesidad; la idea inicial era de reintegrar a aquellos que habían emigrado, por razones económicas, bueno por lo que fuese, cuando volvían a España, que así la familia se podían integrar inmediatamente porque los niños habían seguido con el español (...) Lo que hacían era alquilaban una sala en el instituto por ejemplo, venía un professor de Londres un día a la semana y había dos horas. No estaba mal, era major que nada. Así que escribí a todos los españoles que pude encontrar sonsacando por restaurantes, etc, y les rogué que escribiesen a la Embajada. Cuando les probé que existía la gente, que de haberlo anunciado tendrían gente en las clases entonces me salieron con otra y en lugar de 25 estudiantes tenían que ser pongamos 32, o sea era aquello de *moving the goal post*. Estaba claro que no estaban interesados, ya habían decidido que había que cortar el presupuesto y cerraron la escuela. (18)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

The disappearance of free Spanish classes for migrant children, coupled with the fast assimilation experienced by the Spanish families that settled permanently in the UK, could be the reason why many second-generation Spaniards do not speak Spanish fluently, something that causes some frustration and regret, recognising the enhanced

professional opportunities that bilingualism would have conferred upon them. The process of linguistic assimilation experienced by Spaniards in the UK is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. At this point, we may note that Spanish language education was one of the most pressing demands of the Spanish migrant population in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s and the reason behind the creation of many associations.

Funding for Spanish teaching was by no means the only type of social demand at the heart of Spanish associations in this period. Migrant periodical publications of the time highlighted the following as being amongst the most pressing issues:

a) The democratisation of the *Casas de España* and of Spanish diplomatic institutions.
b) A bilateral social security agreement for Spaniards visiting Spain.
c) Increased funding for associations in order to meet the costs of premises and activities.
d) The provision of improved advice and information services on issues related to citizenship, rights, health, education, and housing.
e) Campaigning for better wages and employment conditions, especially in the hotel and catering industry.
f) Financial assistance and resettlement facilities for emigrants who wished to return.

Before scrutinizing these demands I will analyse two further types of networks that provided assistance to the Spanish migrant population of the UK: religious missions, and the Spanish migrant associations' federation movement.

4.3.5. Religious missions: Charitable orders and the *Hogar Español*

As emigration to the UK increased, a growing number of Catholic priests were sent to provide religious services in Spanish in areas with a significant Spanish migrant population presence. Some religious orders had already been established in the country for a number of years, such as the Orders María Inmaculada and the Adoratrices Sisters, who arrived in London in 1932 and 1959 respectively and set up hostels and support services for British women, Spanish female migrants, and au-pairs (Luís de Botín, 1988:178). As well as subsidised accommodation, these orders provided information, advice, and practical help, e.g. finding employment and affordable English schools, locating host families for au pairs, escorting them to doctors, etc. Rosa's recollections of

her stay at one of these hostels in the 1970s are not very positive given her independent character and assertive nature:

> Me fui a una residencia de monjas españolas. Eso no fue nada exitoso, si es correcta la palabra. Era un convento muy pequeño, pero yo nunca he ido a un convento de monjas, en parte porque mi padre no es católico (...) y realmente yo era the *odd one out* porque habían todo el grupito y el convento era pequeño, no había mucha acomodación porque era una casa en un buen lugar en Notting Hill Gate, pero había más monjas creo yo que residentes y la comida era, bueno (...) debí hacer algún comentario sobre la comida y lo oyó la Hermana, porque resulta que las Hermanas tenían su menú y nosotras teníamos algo, supongo que en cualquier prisión comen mejor, y al final practicamente me invitaron a que me fuese. Claro, es que ellas estaban acostumbradas a la niña de convento, entonces yo no encajaba (...). (19)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

It seems that Rosa's behaviour contravened the expectations dictated by the traditional authoritarian ethos that, as in most of Spanish migration institutions of this period, characterised this type of religious institution.

An essential reference point for Spanish religious networks in the 1960s and 1970s was the *Capellanía Española* (Spanish Chaplaincy). Founded in London in 1962 by a group of Spanish priests that had been sent by the *Comisión Episcopal* (Episcopal Delegation), its aim was to assist the Spanish migrant communities of London. Like social workers, these priests helped migrants with a variety of situations, e.g. finding accommodation, translating, or providing Spanish lessons for their children. In the mid 1960s they created the *Hogar Español* (Spanish Home), a popular meeting place where emigrants could chat, have a drink, watch a film, read in the library, or debate the latest political situation in Spain (Luís de Botín, 1988: 173). In the 1970s this institution gradually came under fire accused of strong politicisation. The incorporation of a particular group of politicised priests that openly voiced their opposition against the Franco regime added fuel to the fire. The centre was accused of actively politicising migrants, especially through its public debates, in which representatives of political parties in exile participated, highlighting amongst many other political issues the exploitation that

emigrants were subject to, something that threatened the subservience of the regime's main exportable commodity and source of income.

Emigrante – Boletín del trabajador español en Inglaterra (Emigrant – Bulletin of the Spanish worker in Britain), a periodical that ran from 1974 and 1977, adopted an overt political tone in strongly criticising the Spanish Ambassador of the time and the Franco government in general whilst calling for the democratisation of Spanish representative politicial institutions in the UK (Luís de Botín, 1988: 174) (20). Not surprisingly, *Emigrante* was not well received by Spanish political and religious authorities and the *Hogar Español* soon came under serious scrutiny and criticism from the Spanish authorities in both Spain and London. Despite the public attempts made by the editors to separate the periodical's independent editorial stance from the rest of the activities of the *Hogar Español*, and despite the efforts of the managers of the centre to convince the authorities that they not influenced by any political, religious, or economic group, the fate of *Emigrante* and of the *Hogar Español* were inextricably linked, which led to the eventual loss of their funding. This put an end to the centre's main activities: the publication of the periodical, the *mesas redondas* (round tables), the bar, and the film screenings. In 1979, when the British authorities refused to renew their operating licence, the centre was finally forced to close (Luís de Botín, 1988: 174).

As Durán Villa points out (1996: 455), the increasing politicisation of the *Hogar Español* coincided with the Second Vatican Council, and, as mentioned earlier, with a period marked by the almost unavoidable social and political participation and public debate that accompanied the political transition. The closure of the centre, as a result of criticisms from the religious authorities, highlights the deep divisions that existed within the Spanish Catholic Church during the final years of the regime, which had also become manifest amongst the Spanish priesthood abroad both through their close involvement with Spanish working-class emigrants and also through their own increasing social awareness and political involvement. This ideological division within the clergy, welcomed by the left-wing parties in exile, is a theme that almost obsessively permeates most of the issues of the short-lived *Emigrante*, as the following excerpts exemplify:

> In recent times two priesthood styles can be identified. Let's call them vertical and horizontal. First, the kind of chaplain who is determined to give out sacraments and pronounce 'quieting down' sermons. Second, more recently, there is another kind that tries to integrate with emigrants and share with them work, friendship, the insecurity and uncertainty of emigration (...) Fortunately, these two styles of priesthood now exist in England, allowing emigrants to opt for one or the other and to enable that a meeting with a Bishop may turn from monotony to discussion.
>
> ('Funcionarios o emigrantes?' in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra,* Londres, no. 0 [sic], Octubre de 1973, p. 4. My translation.)

> We have been made aware of a memo outlining the problems faced by emigrants written at the Spanish Catholic Chaplaincy. This initiative will highlight the real problems of our people, in this case the portion of the Spanish people that are forced to live in England due to the social and political situation in our country. This confirms how progressive ideas are filtering through to the new Spanish clergy amongst the Spanish Catholic sector and its parishes in England. We welcome and support this initiative but, as communists, and contrary to what the memo says, we believe that belonging to a political party and organising the working class is, and continues to be, the driving force in the struggle to put an end to man's exploitation of man.
>
> (Extracted from 'News on Emigration in London' in *Unidad y Lucha* - Boletín de la Organización Local del PCE en Gran Bretaña. Londres, no. 1, 1973, p.3. My translation.)

In the politically charged atmosphere of Spanish society in the 1970s, not only inside Spain but just as strongly amongst emigrant and exile circles, it is not surprising that the criticisms of the Spanish authorities instigated the closure of the *Hogar Español.* What is significant is the fact that the centre closed its doors in 1979, a year after a general referendum approved the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which enshrined in law the right to free association and expression. This confirms how, despite the increasing eagerness of many Spaniards to participate in the institutions of civil society, the Spanish authorities in the UK were determined to prevent the politisation of migrants at all costs, even if it meant alienating them from the political events and social transformation that were taking place in Spain.

4.4. The federations of Spanish emigrants' associations in the 1970s: FAEERU, ACADE and UAPA

The federations of Spanish emigrants's associations that developed in the 1970s provided Spanish migrant clubs and associations throughout Europe with representative platforms from which to extend their demands and to try to contribute to the political debates and events taking place in Spain that the Spanish authorities abroad so much discouraged amongst the Spanish emigrant population.

With the death of Franco in 1975 and the beginning of Spain's transition to democracy the expectations of Spanish migrants across Europe were raised and the migrant associative movement in Britain gathered momentum. That year, the *Federación de Asociaciones de Emigrantes Españolas en el Reino Unido* (FAEERU) (Federation of Spanish Emigrants Associations in the United Kingdom) was created with the following objectives:

a) To defend the interest of the Spanish migrant community in the UK.
b) To foster links, contacts and relationships amongst its member Centres and Associations, and with the wider Associative Movement.
c) The rapprochement of contacts between the Spanish and British authorities with the aim of improving the living conditions of the Spanish Migrant community in the UK.
d) Organising the Spanish Migrant community through Clubs and Associations that wish to provide voluntary assistance, as well as through Employment and Trade Union Committees in the workplace.
e) Editing a periodical magazine or informative bulletin to be called 'FAEERU' to provide information on activities and concerns related to emigration.
f) The Federation will not have any confessional, political, or religious affiliation.

> (Chapters of Federation of FAEERU, 6 November 1977, Sig 1/1, 7-8, Fondo Tina y Adolfo López, CDEE, Fundación 1° de Mayo. My translation.)

FAEERU was the first federation of regional centres and Spanish migrant associations in the UK. Its aim was to bring together the interests of a diverse and dispersed range of migrant associations, and to 'defend the legitimate social and cultural rights of Spanish

citizens' (Luís de Botín, 1988: 184). In the words of FAEERU, as stated in their foundational manifesto above, Spanish citizens were now being conceived not only as 'an émigré Spanish collective entity', but also as 'members of an ethnic community of British society'. In this respect, FAEERU was the only Spanish national organisation that was recognised by British institutions and soon it became part of a wider network of immigrant organisations, such as the Immigrants Advisory Service or the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, as well as a migrant representative body at European level.

Despite its intention to remain an apolitical federation from its conception, FAEERU was considered by some Spanish associations and clubs to be too much under the influence of the Spanish Communist Party. Only a year after its creation, in 1976, another federation *Agrupación de Centros y Asociaciones Españoles* (ACADE) (Group of Spanish Centres and Associations) appeared as an apolitical alternative attracting a similar membership of regional centres and *Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (APAs). ACADE's second director, José Luís Couceiro, justified in the following terms the reason for its creation:

> The founding members of ACADE had initially attended the meetings of FAEERU but did not like them as they found them too politicised. We were therefore born to counteract FAEERU's marked communist leanings. We do not object to the actions of our members at individual level, as they are autonomous and may choose to belong to whatever party, but within the federation we do not want any political influences to be dominant.
>
> (In Luís de Botín 1988:186. My translation.)

Like FAEERU, ACADE's corporate claims to political independence were difficult to uphold, as is suggested by a letter that the editing team of its periodical publication, *ACADE – Revista para los Españoles en el Reino Unido*, published in answer to a reader who queried the need for the two federations. I reproduce below the two letters as evidence of the deep contradictions that ran through almost every Spanish associative entity during this period regarding their alleged freedom from political influences:

> Why ACADE and FAEERU?: I cannot understand the existence of two federations of emigrants' associations. This leads to me ask you the following: Can you tell me why the

two exist and if they share their objectives? Don't you think it is absurd that the two are opposed? Are there any political parties behind them?

Note from the Editorial Team: These are our answers to you questions: 1) There are two federations because some of the associations did not agree with the way in which FAEERU, which was created first, operated, hence the decision to split from them. 2) Yes, there is no point in the two opposing each other. There is no other way but to join in our struggle to highlight with facts the problems of Spaniards in the UK. 3) FAEERU is controlled by the Communist Party (P.C.) In ACADE, the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) is a member with its cultural association *Círculo Pablo Iglesias*. We regret that the division that has taken place but the ideal situation of JUST ONE federation seems almost impossible given the different approaches, modus opperandi...

(Extracts from *ACADE – Revista para los Españoles en el Reino Unido,* Year 1 and 2 (1978), p.2. Their emphasis. My translation.)

Like FAEERU, ACADE's main role was to provide information and mediation for their associate members in their dealings with the British authorities and institutions. Beyond the desire to remain politically independent, it is interesting to note that from the mid 1970s these federations began to place a strong emphasis on their relations with British society and authorities, be it in their role as mediators or in their acknowledgement that Spanish migrants no longer existed in an 'emigrant vacuum' but as an integrative part of wider British society. In the light of the economic recession triggered by the world oil crisis in the mid 1970s we can infer that many Spaniards at this point began to accept that the horizon of return might be further away than they had originally expected as they started to contemplate the possibility of long-term or even permanent settlement in Britain.

The Spanish federative movement would not be complete without mentioning the *Unión de Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (UAPA) (Union of Association of Pupils' Parents) created in 1979 as a federation that brought together the various *Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (APAs) and *Asociaciones de Padres de Familia* (PPFFs) that existed throughout the country. These associations had also become visible in the 1970s guided by three main objectives:

1 – Discussion of the education problems faced by the children of Spanish emigrants and commitment to finding solutions.

2 – Collaboration with the schools attended by Spanish children.

3 – Participation in the organization of extra-curricular activities.

(Extracted from *'Asociaciones de padres de familia – ¿Para qué son?' ACADE – Revista para los Españoles en el Reino Unido,* Year 1 and 2 (1978), p.11. My translation.)

According to data published in the same issue of *ACADE*, more than 1,300 families were members of APAs and PPFFs throughout various centres in the UK where Spanish language and culture classes were taught (21). In turn, UAPA was a member of a European confederation of similar associations (Durán Villa, 1996: 461), which attests to the generalised concern of migrants over the preservation of their mother tongue for their children at the same time as reflecting how the language issue had become a battleground for Spanish migrant communities in Europe, something that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

A further umbrella structure that would appear to have been active in this period, but on which there is little information available, was the *Coordinadora de Profesores pare Emigrantes Españoles en el Reino Unido* (Committee of Teachers for Spanish Emigrants in the UK), which is mentioned, together with ACADE and FAEERU, as having participated in the First European Conference of Federations of Spanish Migrant Associations that was held in Brussels on 3 and 4 December 1977 in the (22).

Based on data extracted from FAEERU's bulletins and correspondence (23), I have elaborated a series of lists which display the membership and evolution of the Spanish federative movement in the UK from its origins in the 1970s to 1982 (see Table 4 in Appendix 2). In most cases, the names of the 64 associations listed are indicative of the nature of their activities and their geographical location, highlighting the areas of higher Spanish presence throughout the country.

It is difficult to obtain accurate figures that attest to the levels of participation of Spaniards in migrant associations, but we can certainly speculate in the light of the available data. Considering that FAEERU grouped 3,000 migrants under its 12 initial associations, and that ACADE distributed 3,000 issues of their magazine amongst its

associations, we get a figure a figure of around 6,000 members or recipients of migrant publications. Just for the geographical area under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Consulate of London 5,221 members belonging to just 39 different associations were accounted for in a list submitted by the Consular Committee of Emigration regarding awards of public grants (24). As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, reliable figures relating to Spanish migrants in the UK are also difficult to obtain given the disparities between British and Spanish sources and the incidence of 'clandestine' emigration. Based upon the figures recorded in *Memorias Anuales* (25) for the period 1970-1989, we can at least estimate the level of migrants' participation in formal associations. Given the 51,329 migrants accounted for in 1975, and the 40,041 in 1980, we can perhaps speculate an approximate membership of 5,000-6,000, which would represents a not insignificant 10% of the recorded emigrant population.

4.6. Trade unions and political parties

The picture of Spanish associative life in Britain during this period would not be complete without considering the role that trade unions and political parties played in the lives of migrants. Up to this point I have been highlighting some of the areas where the political and the economic dimensions become intermingled through the migratory process. In this section I discuss the levels of active militancy amongst migrants and the significance of the emigrant population as an electoral target for political parties in the home country.

The results of a general sociological survey carried out by the migrant newspaper *La Región* published in May 1978 recorded the following percentages of militancy amongst Spanish migrants:

> Membership of political parties
> 4.8% indicated that they were members of a political party.
> 37.7% indicated their intention to join one.
> 5.7% indicated that they had no intention to join any.
> Membership of trade union
> 36% of the interviewees reported being affiliated to a trade union.
> 36.8% responded that they were not affiliated.
> 4.5% indicated their intention to join one soon.

4.3% responded that they did not intend to join one ever.

8.4% did not respond.

(*La Region* – Edition for Europe, 11-14 of May 1978, p.15. My translation.)

The study thoroughly addressed the situation of Spanish migrants in Europe and America. Unfortunately, the results published by *La Región* referred to all Spanish migrants throughout Europe excluding distribution of data for specific countries. Nevertheless, the comments that accompany the results suggest that the levels of political militancy amongst emigrants were very low, 'with a possible tendency to increase in the near future', something that was most probably related to the increasing politisation that characterised this period.

With regard to trade unions, the explanatory notes to the above study stated that, unlike emigration to America, emigration to Europe consisted mostly of unskilled industrial workers, and technicians, something that the sociologists who carried out the survey interpreted as a factor that would lead to increased trade union membership in the future. This expectation was to some extent corroborated by the amount of information on trade unions, political parties, and their different agendas that featured in many articles in the migrant press and periodicals in the 1970s examined. These publications often strongly encouraged migrants to join a union, advice that was particularly targeted at migrants employed in the hotel industry, domestic service and hospitals, who were perceived as the most vulnerable to exploitation:

On 14 of May 1972 the International Section of the Transport & General Workers Union was founded (...) This International Section has been created to defend the rights of workers employed in the hotel industry and hospitals. It currently has 1,500 members most of whom are Spanish (...) It has already been involved in some important union actions, for example at the Hotel Mont Royal, where 300 workers took part (...).

(Extract from Cid, S. 'Qué es un sindicato?' in *Emigrante* No. 0 [sic], Octubre, 1973, Londres, p.6. My translation.)

For those Spaniards that work in England for a Spanish organisation or company, joining a Spanish union is more advisable. For those working for an English company, joining an English union would be more useful, but the Spanish union can also prove helpful with

matters of return. We must all act with solidarity, united (...) We have common problems: Social Security; Return to our country; Improvement of services; Employment.

(Extract from '¿Is it useful to join a Spanish trade union?' in *ACADE – Revista para los españoles en el Reino Unido,* No, 1 and 2, 1978, Londres, p. 8. My translation.)

Striving to gain membership amongst the Spanish migrant workforce, the Transport and General Workers' Union (T&GWU) produced registration forms in Spanish, explaining in clear and simple language what a trade union was and the protection and assistance available to its members (see Appendix 6).

Even *Geranio 78,* the periodical of the *Casa de España* in London, devoted a space to informing migrants of the benefits of joining a union, although in a more cautious and almost discouraging manner:

As we all know, employers can easily find excuses to get rid of socialist workers. That's why workers have to be careful and act wisely until the existing union at their place is strong enough to defend them. These are the steps to follow to join a union.

(Puentes, E., 'La Sindicación de los Emigrantes' in Geranio 78, Septiembre-Octubre 1978, Londres, p.15. My translation.)

In similar informative manner the pages of periodical publications summarised the nature of emerging political parties and presented their competing agendas with respect to the 'emigration problem':

<u>Political Parties – What they do for Emigration</u>:

U.C.D. – Promotes the cultural education of the children of Spanish emigrants.
-Coordinates electoral participation of emigrants abroad.
-Supports the celebration of a Conference on Emigration.
-Supports the democratic participation of the Casas de España in the allocation of funding.
-Protects returnee emigrants.

P.S.O.E – Supported the participation of emigrants in the elections.
-Is currently drafting the "Law of the Returnee".

-Supports the participation of political parties and trade unions in the problems and solutions of emigration.
-Is organised throughout Europe, where many of its militants have lived for a long time.

P.C.E. – Has supported and created the terms "Associative Movement", "Administration Committee for the *Casas de España*", "The Democratic Congress…".
-Is very well organised in European countries, where its militants resided when it was outlawed in Spain.

A.P. -Supports U.C.D.'s policies on emigration.
-Is not organised in Europe.

(Extract from 'Political Parties – What they do for emigration' in *ACADE– Revista para los españoles en el Reino Unido,* No, 1 and 2, 1978, Londres, p.12. My translation.)

The political agendas outlined above echo some of the demands voiced by the independent associations described earlier. They also highlight the most pressing issues concerning the Spanish emigrant community in the UK during the 1970s. Amongst these, preservation of the cultural identity of Spanish migrant children came top of the agenda, followed by the issue of democratisation of the *Casas de España.* A further but no less important democratic demand was the elaboration of an electoral census to enable migrants to take part in the Spanish national elections. A third pressing issue was the creation of a legislative framework to facilitate the reintegration of migrants upon return. The calls for a bilateral social security agreement between Spain and the UK, together with the associations' demands for funding and improved advice and information services complete the list of unresolved issues that were at the base of the problematisation of Spanish emigration to the UK in this period.

4.7. De-problematising and de-politicising emigration

The dynamics of the rich associational life available to Spaniards in the 1970s cannot be separated from the problematisation of emigration that accompanied their presence in

the UK until the late 1980s. Keeping in mind the theoretical questions that guide this research, we can now begin to extract some conclusions.

The politicisation of emigration

The standard strict distinction between 'economic' and 'political' migrants becomes blurred if we are to judge by the membership and activities of many of the associations that I have described above. Their diverse nature and the tone of their activities indicates that migrant associations became increasingly politicised meeting places for Spaniards who may not have been politically militant in Spain but who sympathised, or ended up sympathising, with the Spanish opposition abroad, either through direct contact with them, or through upholding common social and political demands. In most cases this was fuelled by the inefficiency of the Spanish authorities and institutions in addressing the specific problems of the emigrant community.

As has been explained, many associations that declared outright their apolitical stance could not prevent the infiltration of 'political refugees' and 'exiles' in their public debating spaces. Even certain sectors of the Catholic priesthood, sent to serve the religious needs of the migrants, became actively politicised. Willingly or unwillingly, the migrant associative and federative movement of the 1970s acted as a political platform from which to voice opposition to the Franco regime from the UK. The conflictive relations of the independent associations and the Spanish authorities and *Casas de España* can be interpreted in the same light, as a reflection of the socio-political transformations that Spain was experiencing as it prepared for the transition to democracy.

In parallel to the above processes, this period marks a continuation of the political manipulation of emigration. Just as the Franco regime had used emigration politically since the 1950s, the political parties of the transition incorporated the issue of 'emigration' into their electoral campaigns. Even to this date, judging by the content of some of the electoral propaganda addressed to Spaniards abroad, politicians continue to appeal to the 'emigrant' in their competition for votes. I reproduce below the opening paragraph of a pre-election letter sent to Spaniards in the UK by Mariano Rajoy, the leader of the conservative *Partido Popular* in February 2004, which attests to this

continued politicisation using a rhetoric that is reminiscent of the old Francoist paternalistic approach to emigration:

> Dear (emigrant's first name):
>
> I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the sacrifice and effort that you, like so many other Spaniards, had to make when you left Spain. All Spaniards are aware of the debt that we have contracted with those who make the difficult decision to leave our country to find a future far away from the homeland where they were born, but with the illusion of returning one day and with the regret of what they were leaving behind (...).
>
> (My translation)

A second conclusion that emerges from the data supplied by migrant periodical publications through the 1970s and early 1980s is the existence of a strong consciousness of belonging to an 'émigré working-class', which, together with language and region of origin, was systematically called upon as one of the main identity markers of Spaniards in the UK. This 'emigrant identity' had been forged, on the one hand, by the Franco regime's paternalist emigration policies and, on the other, by the unresolved problems that afflicted the Spanish migrant population of the UK, which were systematically ignored by the Spanish authorities.

<u>De-politicised informants</u>

If we now consider these initial conclusions against the background provided by the life narratives of the informants that I interviewed during this research, it is striking to find that, despite having been in the UK since the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s, with the exception of one informant who became a member of the Labour Party in the UK and engaged actively in party politics, no other interviewees openly declared any involvement or interest in politics or trade unions, nor did they recall any of the political climate that I have been describing above.

During the interviews questions relating to politics were either met with uncomfortable gestures and verbal hesitance, often accompanied by what became a cliché: '*I don't know what side your family belonged to but ...*', followed by silence or attempts to

change subject. In other cases my queries produced either blunt disinterest or straight answers that instantly denied political awareness.

> *Se acuerda de cuándo murió Franco?*
> Estaba aquí.
> *Y de la transición española?*
> De eso nada.
> *¿De cuándo murió Franco sí?*
> Sí, porque lo dijeron en la televisión, no porque me interese, si no lo hubiesen dicho no me hubiese enterao. (26)
>
> (Manolo, born in 1950, arrived in the UK in 1973, interviewed in Southampton on 22/05/2003)

Only when probing deeper with questions about what Spain was like at the time of the informants' departure, or about the changes observed on holiday visits, did some informants volunteer information that pointed towards descriptions of an authoritarian and oppressive regime, which in such cases was still done in a detached, cautions and uncompromising manner. I reproduce below some extracts from a discussion with Mario (M), a privileged witness of the trajectory of past and present migrants in Dorset through his former involvement in the *Casa de España* of Bournemouth and his current Spanish *Tapas* bar, and Valeria (V), an undergraduate student of Spanish, as they illustrate the unease with which the Spanish political contexts examined earlier are remembered:

> A: *Y cuando murió Franco, ¿notaste algún cambio en los emigrantes que vivían aquí? ¿Empezaron a volver?*
> M: ¿Cuándo murió? (laughs)
> V: El murió en el 75.
> M: Sí, sí, sí, estaba yo aquí, sí. Me acuerdo, me acuerdo que la tele, eh, ah, Franco al ser un dictator pues claro, aquí pues, me acuerdo que hubo, pero no hubo mucho y no hubo muchas cosas, quiero decir que no le echaron de menos porque claro tienes que tener en cuenta que el país, ahora ya no sé en España, cómo, lo que pasó en España, yo aquí me acuerdo que lo vi en la televisión, y sí pues claro una cosa como esa, Franco era una figura enorme en esa época por la guerra civil, por las conexiones con Hitler, etc, etc, que claro, que, que fueron unas noticias bastante fuertes, pero sí como noticia fuerte.
> A: *Pero, ¿no tuvo ningún impacto en la vida de los emigrantes que estaban aquí?*

M: No, yo no, yo no por eso porque si estuviese el ... (tries to remember a name) ... se hubiese acordado más.

V: Pero yo pienso que no tendrás alguna idea, porque tú vivíste en España cuando Franco estaba allí, ¿no?

M: Sí.

V: ¿Ninguna experiencia?, ¿nada que te recuerde para bien o para mal el régimen de Franco antes de venir aquí?

M: No, es que al no conocer otra cosa, no, España, como yo digo era un país tranquilo, tranquilo, donde prácticamente la Guardia Civil controlaba todo, en respecto de que no podías ni contestarle, no podías ni hablar con nadie por temor.

V: ¿Cómo te afectaba eso a ti?

M: No, no, no te afecta porque solamente lo conoces cuando ya conoces otro país y conoces el sistema pero si no conoces otro sistema cómo puedes, no puedes decir que es bueno ni malo.

V: Bueno, sí, tienes razón.

M: Como he dicho antes en el principio, cuando me preguntó si en España en mi época, que era un país tranquilo, porque primeramente Franco no aceptaba ni la homosexualidad, estaba perseguido en esa época. Entonces claro, el que cometía un crimen, el que hacía un robo, lo hinchaban a hostias. (27)

(Mario, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Bournemouth on 30/05/2002)

Two possible explanations could throw some light upon the divergence between the data emerging from the analysis of archival written documentary sources and what is revealed in the narratives of the informants. First of all, as Jelin points out (2003:90), the experience of living through a particular historical event is different depending on the age of the person. From this perspective, when the informants came to the UK, they were leaving a country that had not been able to heal the wounds of a civil war. Although in most cases they had not experienced the war directly, they had nevertheless grown up in an authoritarian regime that had perpetuated the victory and defeat of its opposing parties. By the time most of the informants emigrated, although the spectre of the war had somewhat dissipated with the new found optimism of 1960s *desarrollismo*, nonetheless they had left Spain still under a dictatorial regime and they would only begin to experience the substantial changes that were to be brought about by the democratic transition at a distance. This would explain why some have remained to this

date distrustful about engaging in political discussion, or in any talk that they perceive might lead to a political discussion, as Eva, a forthcoming informant and gatekeeper of Spanish and Portuguese circles in Bournemouth, explained to me when early in my research I experienced difficulties in finding willing informants, something that she put down to the pervasive fear that haunted the Spanish after the Civil War:

> Piensan que vas a hablar de Franco, ah (laughs), tienen miedo (laughs) y ya no hablan más. Yo te lo cuento porque era niña y lo viví. Mi padre dormía en un árbol, en la huerta, aquellos árboles eran manzanos, eran grandes tenían unos brazos grandísimos y mi padre dormía así, pero no era Franco el que venía a matarlo, era aquella gente ignorante, los V. de la Coruña, no sé si fueron a la escuela. Eran de derechas, ¿cómo se llamaba eso? Eran falangistas, falangistas, eran falangistas. Porque unos eran rojos y otros eran republicanos, y otros milicianos, no me acuerdo lo que eran los V., pero sé que no nos querían bien a los que no eran de sus ideas, entonces unos querían matar a los otros (...). (28)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK in 1962, inteviewed in Bournemouth on 21/07/2003)

An emigrant working-class' consciousness

Besides the feelings of fear and apprehension experienced by Spaniards who grew up in post-Civil War Spain, a second explanation to account of the lack of political references in the narratives that recall the period of the 1970s might derive from the gradual transformation and eventual disappearance of that 'emigrant working-class consciousness' that characterised the initial stages of their migration. Again, archival information holds the clues as to how this form of identification withered away.
As was discussed in Chapter 1, the Franco regime used emigration as a convenient escape valve to prevent economic and social unrest and to contribute to the advancements of the aims of the economic stabilisation policies deployed from 1959. In doing so, the regime enshrined in law the so call *'sacrosanto derecho a emigrar'* (the sacred right to emigrate), an expression that in the early period evoked an illusion of aspirational freedom in many Spaniards who were determined to improve their lives. Later, with the realisation that the sacrifices of emigration did not instantly translate into the anticipated wealth, especially following the world energy crisis of 1973 which devalued remittances and delayed a prompt and successful return home, the 'sacred right to emigrate' became a synonym for enforced labour-penitence in a foreign country. Migrant publications often used this terminology ironically to denounce the exploitation and abandonment that migrants were subject to. The following critique in

the official 'Emigrant's Guide to Great Britain', produced by the IEE, reflects with its characteristic self-deprecating irony this type of resentment:

> In the foreword, the first sentence uncovers a deep comforting thought: 'Social mobility is a factor in the development of nations. So it should now be clear that we, the emigrants, are a factor in the development of our nation, and maybe also in the development of others. That is, if we reflect upon the meaning of this, we are in fact subsidising the Spanish government's economic plans. Just like the tourists, who subsidise another part.
>
> ('Guía del Emigrante en Gran Bretaña' in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra*, No. 0 [sic], Octubre, 1973, Londres, p. 2. My translation.)

Interestingly, the excerpt also highlights the juxtaposition between 'tourists' and 'emigrants', whose stark reversed realities are nevertheless seen as the joint driving forces responsible for Spain's economic development, a recurrent theme that permeates the critical discourse used to problematise Spanish emigration during this period. The tourist-emigrant dichotomy re-appears not only in the migrant press, but also in popular cultural texts of the period, e.g. films and songs. The opposing experiences and perceptions of Spain by tourists and emigrants was another source of frustration for the latter which Carlos Cano was able to capture with bitter sharpness:

> Esta es la canción,
> Un, dos
> Ustedes tienen sol
> Grasia pa vivir
> Vino
> Playas y flamenco
> Si, mucha grasia pa derramarla por las vendimias del Rosellón
> Viva la grasia de Andalucía con pasaporte de emigración. (29)
>
> "Viva la grasia" by Carlos Cano, Canciones de ida y vuelta: Antología de canciones de la emigración, *España fuera de España,* Dirección General del Instituto Español de Emigración, 1992.

The editorial of the above first issue of *Emigrante* further elaborated on the polemical nature of emigration by appropriating the regime's paternalist rhetoric to convey the

existential discontent felt by emigrants, whilst defining migrant identity in Marxist terms:

> We know that emigration is not a fatal historic occurrence that has to be endured by any group of people in particular. Emigration, as has been clearly explained by many Spanish bishops, is a consequence of the unjust capitalist system that currently exists in Western societies (...) *Emigrante* appears as a periodical open to all those who endure emigration but who do not admit that this is a fatal and irreversible fact. Man has the inalienable right to emigrate, but, as Monsignor Moncadas, the Bishop of Menorca, has reminded us, the right to remain at home is also sacred.
>
> ('Guía del Emigrante en Gran Bretaña' in *Emigrante*, No. 0 [sic], Octubre, 1973, Londres, p.8. My translation.)

British solutions to Spanish emigrants' problems

Geranio 78, the periodical of the *Casa de España* of London, continued to problematise emigration five years after the first appearance of *Emigrante*, although this time along very different lines. From its pages, it acknowledged that migrants' problems existed, but with diminished severity. At the same time, it drew attention to the failure of Spanish and British trade unions to deal with those problems, which could be interpreted as an attempt to depoliticise the whole emigration issue and its solutions:

> It can be accepted that there may be imbalances attached to the migration process (nostalgia, language, housing, (...) but these are considered to be inexorable or little else than superficial. This is why governments devolve their responsibilities of finding solutions to these problems to charitable institutions, whilst they devote themselves to the task of regulating and controlling emigration within the wider international capitalist system. This has led to the current situation in which any efforts to improve the living conditions of emigrants cannot be developed from a justice or political perspective but only from within a charitable and humanitarian framework. We have seen how up until recently, foreign and, especially, national, trade unions, have failed to take on board the most genuine demands of emigrants. Emigration is not just the result of the capitalist system striving to achieve maximum productivity, it also affects socialist countries: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria (...).
>
> (López Vera, G., 'Emigración – Un problema latente' in *Geranio 78,* Septiembre-Octubre 1978, Londres, p.6. My translation.)

The Spanish government's lack of resources and unwillingness to effectively deal with the problems of emigration, coupled with the inability of the trade unions and political parties to take on board the 'plight' of the emigrant, eventually led Spanish migrants in the UK to resort to the very solutions that López Vera advocated in the above article, which meant turning their backs on the Spanish representative institutions in the UK and gradually seeking help from British agencies.

The increasing referral of Spaniards to British agencies and charitable organisations demonstrates a process whereby migrants' problems became gradually diluted within the problems of the wider community of the host society. In that process, access to health care, housing, education and legal services were not seen as issues exclusive to Spanish migrants but as affecting all citizens in British society, especially during the 1970s economic recession. The following extracts attest to how the 'Spanish emigrant' problematic became inserted in the social dynamics of British local communities:

> The Community Action Centre (C.A.C.) has opened in North Kensington to enable citizens to solve their problems. Its first objective is to turn the Talbot Tabernacle in Fowis Square into a community centre and to provide a meeting, leisure and educational space that will give us the opportunity to develop collective cultural and artistic projects (...).
>
> ('A Common Centre' in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra*, no. 2, enero 1974, London, p.7. My translation.)

> Dear friends of *Emigrante*: I am a humble Spaniard who on returning from his holidays found an eviction letter giving me four weeks notice. What could I do? Who could help me? I followed the example of a friend who has been here for quite some time and speaks good English and went to the local Citizen's Advice Bureau. They sent me to the Rent Tribunal to make a claim and then to the Neighbourhood Aid Centre. After assessing the flat, the Tribunal granted me two deferments of three months each. In cases like mine it is important to act by yourself and to contact the Help Centres (...).
>
> ('Defending the home' in *Emigrante– Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra*, no. 3, febrero 1974, London, p.2. My translation.)

> From these pages we encourage Spaniards (especially those affected by the problem of the Pimlico Triangle) to freely raise all their problems at the Pimlico Aid Centre, 6 Longmoorte St. S.W.1, open every day of the week. As long as our authorities do not show any intention of dealing effectively with our problems, we will have to help ourselves by other means.
>
> ('Victoria: Españoles sin casa' in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra*, no. 3, febrero 1974, London, p.4. My translation.)

> A Spanish couple, José and María, who work at the Transatlantic Hotel, have managed to avoid being evicted from their home thanks to the help of the Shelter Housing Aid Centre. The couple were given a weeks notice to quit their job and accommodation in the hotel because María was three months pregnant. Two weeks ago they sought help at the SHAC who helped them obtain a judicial order that prevented the owner from evicting them. They will now be able to remain in the hotel for four more weeks and they will receive two weeks wages while they look for alternative jobs and accommodation. (...) This is an example of what we can achieve when we have someone to help us. This time it was the SHAC who helped us. We all know that it should have been our own authorities. But, and we cannot insist on this enough, as long as they don't do it we must go to these centres and associations in order to protect the minimum rights that we have in this country.
>
> ('Ayuda a un matrimonio español', in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra*, no. 3, febrero 1974, London, p.5. My translation.)

As these extracts show, the use of community aid centres and advice bureaux became widespread amongst Spanish migrants. As they turned to the advice agencies of the host society they started shift the focus of their identities, consciously or unconsciously, towards becoming 'citizens' within the wider British society. Spanish migrant associations served their purpose in directing them to those structures. Once they had started to utilise them, the language used to voice their problems became English, as was the language of the solutions. What we are witnessing here is a steady process of integration that was to lead to rapid assimilation that in the long run would render the Spanish associative movement almost unnecessary.

Campaigning for better wages and employment conditions in the hotel and catering industry was also an important concern for Spanish migrants. However, this is something that neither governments nor trade unions or advice agencies were able to act upon to any significant extent. To this date this employment sector has remained almost self-regulating as it freely adjusts itself according to the needs of the labour market providing abundant but poorly paid work to migrants, students and young people. At the time, the limitations placed upon Spanish migrants under British immigration legislation established that after four years of employment in these sectors migrants were free to open businesses and change the nature of their employment. Many Spanish migrants did so whilst others remained in the catering industry.

The democratisation of the *Casas de España* and the Spanish diplomatic institutions remained an ongoing issue in the agendas of FAEERU and ACADE, although diminishing in importance as Spaniards gradually turned their backs on their own institutions and started to participate in their local communities within British society.

The funding that Spanish clubs and associations had been demanding for years hardly ever materialised and when it did it was never sufficient to meet increasing running costs, which led some associations to share in the resources of British community centres and to partake in other autochthonous infrastructures. Many of the associations eventually disappeared.

One of the specific problems of Spanish migrants in the UK that had to be resolved at governmental level was a long-awaited bilateral treaty on social security that would grant Spaniards a minimum entitlement to welfare rights in the UK, such as unemployment benefit, sickness and maternity benefits, and retirement and widow's pensions. The treaty was signed on 13 September 1974, coming into effect on 25 February 1975 (Durán Villa, 1996: 312). However, its terms did not fully satisfy the Spanish migrant community as, amongst other shortcomings, it failed to grant full health care cover to Spaniards during their holiday visits to Spain. Associations and federations thus continued to campaign for a revision of the treaty.

From 'Spanish emigrants' to 'European citizens living in Britain'

Spain's incorporation to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986 eventually solved most of the migrants' outstanding demands, but, more interestingly, it provided Spaniards with an alternative, more dignified and less problematic identification than the previous 'emigrant working-class' tag. 'Spanish emigrants' thus became 'European citizens' administratively able to travel freely throughout Europe and to chose their place of work and residence.

With most of the problems resolved within a British or European framework, Spanish migrant authorities, institutions and associations were relegated to resolving the two outstanding problems: the provision of financial assistance and resettlement measures for migrants who wished to return to Spain, and the language and education of Spanish migrant children.

The return of Spanish migrants in the mid to late 1970s was complicated by global factors of a social, economic and political character that escaped the control of individual governments. The energy crisis of 1973 triggered a serious economic recession throughout Europe that resulted in high levels of unemployment leading national governments to impose restrictive immigration policies. Spain was not left unaffected and saw her own unemployment levels rocket whilst it advised emigrants to think cautiously about returning to a country that could not guarantee a job. In this situation migrant associations and federations could do nothing but to voice the frustration felt by thousands of migrants who saw their dream of return fade further and further away.

The problem of language and education provision for Spanish migrant children is analysed in Chapter 5. Suffice it to say for now that the preservation of Spanish language and culture became the last issue of concern for the Spanish emigrant population in the mid 1980s, and one of the reason that justified the continued existence of some Spanish associations.

With their most immediate problems resolved, resigned to remain in the host country longer than originally envisaged, and with the dignified legitimacy that their new

European identity bestowed upon them, Spanish migrants became gradually more integrated into British society. As we will see in the next chapter, the rapid assimilation of their children through schooling and socialisation resulted in a stronger re-orientation of the Spanish migrant family as a whole towards British society, a process through which Spain became more of an exotic holiday destination than the home country they had longed to return to.

The demise of the Spanish associative movement

As we have seen, two long-term effects of the migrants' integration process were the gradual erosion of the old 'emigrant working-class' consciousness and, with it, the gradual disintegration and disappearance of the migrant associative movement. Based on information supplied by the Spanish Consulate and the *Agregaduría Laboral* of London, Table 5 in Appendix 2 shows the Spanish associations that were still functioning in 1997 and 2003.

Through a survey carried out between December 2003 and February 2004, I established contact with some of the above associations, requesting them to fill in a questionnaire regarding the nature of their activities and levels of membership. The results showed significant quantitative and qualitative changes. Some of the associations that appeared on the 2003 list have now stopped their activities and ceased to exist. With the exception of a few associations that have managed to survive and preserve their original migrant identifications, like the Centro Gallego of London and the Club de Jubilados Españoles, the answers provided in the returned questionnaires reflect a re-orientation of the associations' activities towards cultural events and an increased proportion of British and Latin American members. The answers to the questionnaires also revealed that some of the listed associations do not appear to be migrant associations but, essentially, Hispanic cultural societies, which resemble the type of elitist Spanish associations that predate the associative migrant movement of the 1970s (e.g. *Dorchester Spanish Circle, Basingstoke Spanish Circle, Romance of Spain, Club Taurino of London, Edinburg Spanish Circle).* The federation ACADE, which represented 17 clubs and associations in 1982, only listed four members in its reply to the questionnaire: *Casa de Belén, Los Españoles de Enfield, Asociación de High Wycombe* and the *Centro Español de Reading.* FAEERU, for its part, claimed to still

represent 16 associations, but did not specify which these were. Moreover, FAEERU indicated that it was in the process of being dissolved.

The *Consejería de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales* in the UK ('Department of Employment and Social Affairs' which has replaced the former *Agregaduría Laboral)* published in 2004 what would appear to be the most up-to-date list of Spanish associations on its website (30). This contained a mere ten associations, including the two federations. I include below their names and a brief description of their aims as per the information available on the website in March 2005:

-ACADE – Socio-cultural, recreational and welfare.
-FAEERU – Socio-cultural, recreational and welfare.
-Alianza Personas Mayores Españolas en el Reino Unido (APMERU).
-Asociación de Padres "Centro Casa Belén" – Socio-cultural, recreational and welfare.
-Asociación PP.AA. "Hispano-Escolar" de St. Albans – Socio-cultural and welfare.
-Asociación Española de Watford – Cultural and recreational.
-Casal Agrupación Catalana de la Gran Bretaña – Socio-cultural.
-Centro Español de Reading – Socio-cultural and recreational.
-Centro Social de Mayores – Socio-cultural, recreational and welfare.
-Comunidad Española de Woking – Socio-cultural.

The official list above did not include the following associations which did respond to my survey confirming that they were still functional: *Centro Gallego de Londres, Spanish Welfare Fund*, and *APERU (Asociación de Profesores de Español en el Reino Unido).* Interestingly, the *Centro Español de Reading*, which is listed officially and also responded to my survey, confirmed that it was about to disappear at the beginning of 2004, but following the terrorist bomb attacks of Madrid on the 11th of March had decided to continue and to celebrate once more its annual *romeria* in order to raise funds for the victims. In any case, both the Spanish official list of the *Consejería* and the results of my survey confirm that Spanish migrant associations are fast disappearing, and as the Consejero Laboral himself declared during the Spanish *romería* at Reading on 4 July 2004: 'they will soon be a thing of the past, as there is no need for them any more' (31).

The demise of the Spanish migrant associative movement cannot be fully accounted for without a close examination of the impact that long-term migration and settlement have had upon the migrant's sense of identity, which is one of the two major questions addressed by this thesis. In order to find answers I carried out an ethnographic analysis of surviving forms of associational life in Dorset and Hampshire, including associations that on the surface would not appear to be migrant-based, but which nevertheless still have Spanish members, and also seeking out other forms of less obvious Spanish associational networks. This enabled me to provide not only a re-evaluation of the role of Spanish associations in the UK, but also an exploration of where Spaniards position themselves today in terms of identifications with respect to both Spain and the UK.

What follows is my analysis of the nature and trajectories of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton,* a formal association founded in 1962 'to 'serve the Spanish community of the South coast of England', and *La Tertulia,* an informal group of Spanish and Latin American women that meets periodically in Southampton and Winchester.

4.8. The Hispanic Society of Southampton

History of the Society: Contested origins

According to its official records, the Hispanic Society of Southampton (henceforth the Society) was founded in 1963 by the wife of the Spanish Consul of Southampton, with the purpose of 'serving the interests of the local Spanish migrant population'. However, according to one of the informants, Marianne, it was her late husband Andrés and a British lady who instigated the creation of the Society. Andrés had arrived in Southampton as an evacuee *niño de la guerra* in 1937, and the British lady in question was a retired teacher who had an active interest in the Spanish language. As per Marianne's account, both put an advert in the paper stating their interest in creating a Spanish society to which some people responded. Interestingly, from its very conception we find two competing origins and underlying purposes.

It was originally named *Casa de España* and, also according to its official records, it functioned similarly to the *Casas de España* that existed in London, Liverpool, and Bournemouth, something that is unlikely given the lack of fixed premises and official funding from Spanish institutions.

At the time of the Society's creation, the Spanish Consulate of Southampton was a focal point for Spaniards living in the South of England, and a network of financial and commercial agencies, such as banks, restaurants and travel agencies had sprung up in the area in order to meet, and to profit from, the needs of these migrants. There was also a ferry service that linked the North of Spain with Southampton. It is difficult to find accurate figures, but according to the estimations of the Society records (32), 3000 Spaniards lived and worked in Bournemouth alone, and there is verbal evidence that a significant nucleus of Spanish migrants concentrated in the New Forest town of Lymington (33), which now appears to have vanished. This points towards the presence of an important Spanish community in this area that was highly visible during the 1960s and 1970s.

Over a short period of time, local British students and friends and acquaintances of the Society's initial members started to attend the meetings and many of them eventually became members since participation of non-Spaniards was actively encouraged as a means to 'foster good relations between the Spanish and the British' in the area. A similar society appeared in Portsmouth – the Portsmouth Spanish Society – with the two societies awarding reciprocal membership to their members.

In its early days the members of the Southampton Society met at each other's houses and later at a local Spanish restaurant, but when this closed they moved to a school before finally relocating to Southampton University, where premises were facilitated thanks to the intervention of the then Professor of Spanish, Nigel Glendinning, who years later became the society's Honorary President. With the relocation of the Spanish consul in 1965, and the closure of the Consulate in Southampton in the 1980s, the Society lost the Spanish institutional input, but the members decided to continue, partly thanks to the perceived credibility and self-reliance that their newly-found academic connections afforded them. Between 1965 and 1993 the Society survived thanks to the enthusiasm and efforts of Andrés, one of the original founding members. From the recollections of some of the informants who met him, and from written testimonies that he left behind, it appears that he was a leading figure in the Spanish local community and an example of assimilation into British life, having trained as an architect in Britain

and having worked for Southampton's local authorities for most of his career. During the time he served with the Society he ensured that the links with the university were maintained. When he died, he was succeeded by a stream of equally motivated Spanish and British individuals who have kept the society alive until today.

During its long life, the Society has seen its name and, by extension, its identity revised a few times. Born as the *Casa de España,* it soon became the *Anglo-Spanish Society* as English members joined, before finally settling for the title of *Hispanic Society of Southampton*. These changes aimed at better reflecting the diverse origins of their members and the wider range of their common interests. An event that contributed to the 'hispanisation' of the society appears to have been the arrival in Southampton of a group of Chilean exiles fleeing the Pinochet regime who were hosted by academic staff from the Spanish Department of the University. More recently, university students and Latin American migrants have also been attracted to the Society.

4.8.2. The Society's Hispanic activities

The main activity of the Society consists of a programme of talks on Hispanic topics given by guest speakers on a voluntary basis. Two copies of past and recent programmes are reproduced in Appendix 7. Often, speakers are existing members of the Society or belong to similar societies in the area, such as the *Portsmouth Hispanic Society* or the *Basingstoke Spanish Circle*. The talks are held on the third Friday of each month and continue to take place in premises ceded by the University of Southampton. On arrival at the meetings the members register and usually purchase a glass of wine to drink while they chat and wait for the talk to start. During this time participants can access information on Spanish events taking place locally or announcements sent by Spanish institutions in the UK aimed at the Spanish emigrant community. This information is displayed on a portable display board. Various migrant periodical publications (e.g. *Expaña Exterior*, *La Región*), and cultural magazines sent by the Instituto Cervantes (34) are available for the members to take away. Old issues of the *Faro de Vigo* are also made available by a Galician member who receives them regularly, but few of these papers are ever taken away, and when they are, is usually to be used as materials for aiding Spanish language learning rather than as a way to keep abreast of what is happening in Spain.

Similarly, the Society had a mobile library made up of Spanish music and videotapes edited by one of the members which used to be made available at the meetings. However, this has been little used in recent times.

The presentations take up most of the meeting time. The chairperson first introduces the speaker and takes that opportunity to make announcements about local forthcoming events of a Hispanic nature. The talk then proceeds and is followed by a question-and-answer session and discussion. The speaker is usually presented with a bottle of wine as a sign of appreciation. In 2000 the meetings were being attended by an average of 30 members, a figure that has decreased considerably over the last two years. Of more significance is the decrease in the use of the Spanish language that I observed at these meetings between 2002-2003, which is surprising given the interest in practising the language displayed by most of the British members.

The other two activities that the Society organises are the Christmas party in early December, for which a larger venue is hired, and the Annual General Meeting at the end of the season, when members meet to elect the organising committee and to plan the programme of activities for the ensuing year. The AGM is always accompanied by a selection of Spanish and Latin American dishes that the members bring and share.

An annual program listing the topics of the talks is distributed amongst its members at the beginning of the season which runs in parallel to the academic calendar. The programme is displayed in public libraries and institutions where Spanish is taught, such as local adult education centres, colleges and the University of Southampton. Occasionally, activities have been publicised in the local press and on the local radio. The Society is listed in the Societies Directory of Hampshire Reference Library, which can be consulted via the Internet. In recent times an average of 200 programmes per year have been sent to past and present members. The Society is self-funded through minimal yearly subscriptions paid by the members which are used almost entirely to cover the cost of renting the venue for the meetings and for the Christmas party.

According to the society's records for 2002 the membership was made up of 50 % British nationals, 30% Spanish, and 20% Latin American. A large proportion of the

members are middle-aged and retired. Amongst the British members many spend considerable periods of time travelling through Spain and Latin America and are often engaged in learning Spanish. During my observations at the meetings I noted a progressive decrease in the attendance of Spaniards, with no input from Spanish second or third generation. At the same time, I noticed a constant flow of British and Latin American occasional participants.

4.8.3. Analysis of participant-observations: Membership, ideology, and ethnicity

A middle-class Society

One of the first striking observations that can be made about the Society, which originally bore the name of 'Casa de España', is that it hardly resembles any of the Spanish migrant associations described earlier, least of all the official *Casas de España* funded by the Spanish government. What we discover would more resemble a typical British club or university society. The non-migrant appearance of this association can be accounted for by various reasons. Strictly speaking, it was never quite a migrant association in the same sense as the ones that characterised the associative movement of the 1970s that were discussed in previous passages. Despite its links to the Spanish Consulate of Southampton, which may have conferred upon it the appearance of reaching out to the migrant community, it attracted from the start a very different kind of audience. The following recollections of attendance at a Consulate reception on the occasion of the *Día de la Raza* – a celebration tainted with Francoist connotations – by two British members of the Society who were married to Basque migrants, paint a very different portrait of the social projection of of this association when compared with the official Casas de España that existed elsewhere in the UK (e.g. London, Bournemouth):

> W: The Consul always used to come to the Spanish Society.
> M: Oh, yes, and he was the President.
> W: Yes, and he was always the kind of the [sic] Honorary President, and he always used to come and was very friendly and all the time we had a consul the consul's wife was really helpful to the Society.
> M: We used to go down to the Consulate and they used to give us a lovely reception, didn't they?
> W: Yes, well that was on the *Día de la Raza*, he had a party (...)

(Recollection by Winnie and Marianne, members of the Hispanic Society of Southampton, interviewed in Southampton in 2002)

Carmelo's recollections of the aforementioned performance of a play by Rafael Alberti that was staged by the University of Southampton and performed for Spanish migrant communities adds a political dimension to the social context that surrounded the Society in the 1970s:

> (...) Esto (the performance of the play *Noche de guerra en el Museo del Prado*) nos enemistó con la representación española de Southampton, con el Consulado y con los emigrantes, que eran no tanto emigrantes sino gente que habían venido aquí por cuestiones de negocios, económicas, casados. (35)

(Carmelo, born in 1946, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Southampton on 12/06/2002)

When I probed for more details about these 'non-emigrant' Spaniards, Carmelo began to draw a very different picture from the working-class emigrants that featured in the critical pages of the 1970s migrant press:

> Había bastantes (españoles) porque hasta aquí llegaba el barco (from Bilbao), el Patricia. Y con el Patricia llegaba también bastante negocio, había bastante intercambio de mercancías con Bilbao, había una agencia de transportes, que sigue estando, había una agencia de frutas, que sigue estando y una oficina del Banco de Bilbao, una oficina laboral, y estaban todos los emigrantes de Lymington y por allí, muchos de los cuales trabajaban en la fábrica de pollos. De hecho cuando yo estuve trabajando en la fábrica de papel pintado también había españoles allí. Entonces esto ya desde el principio nos separó de la comunidad española a Cora (Carmelo's wife) y a mi y aunque aquí el presidente del Club Hispánico era un emigrado de la Guerra Civil que se llamaba Andrés, que era el arquitecto del ayuntamiento, y que era uno de los niños vascos que había venido después del exilio de Bilbao en el año 37, y este hombre era un hombre que era muy socialista pero estaba rodeado de los que la Cora llamaba los 'expatriados de negocios', que los ingleses expatriados siempre suelen ser muy ricos, así que no nos hablábamos con la comunidad de habla hispana. (36)

(Carmelo, born in 1946, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Southampton on 12/06/2002)

The politics of the Society

Carmelo's portrayal of the Spanish community of Southampton diverges from that of a traditional working-class emigrant community, the deviance of the Society from the traditional model of migrant association conceals a more complex issue – something that has been present in the associative practices of Spanish migrants in the UK since their arrival: their diverse socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds. Indeed, not all Spaniards who arrived in the UK from the late 1950s, 1960s and 1970s identified with the emigrant working-class consciousness that I discussed earlier as it emerged from the analysis of migrant periodical publications. The contrast between the middle and professional class membership of the Society and the working-class profile of the Casa de España in Bournemouth clearly attests to this social diversity. Moreover, not all middle and professional class migrants identified with what they perceived to be the dominant political ethos of the Society, nor did some of the members of the Society themselves, as James, a keen Spanish speaker and long-term member, recalls:

> Tengo la impresión de que en los años 80 la mayoría de los socios eran ingleses que solían ir a España para las vacaciones y tuvieron el [sic] costumbre de hacer eso desde hace muchos años y bueno como ya creo he dicho eran aficionados al Ilustre Difunto más que todo [sic], pero también había muchos españoles y entre ellos algunos con una política muy diferente, porque había por lo menos dos que habían sido, si no refugiados, por lo menos habían venido a este país porque no les gustó España. (37)

(James, member of the Society since 1983, inteviewed in Southampton on 17/05/2003)

Despite having a different kind of membership than traditional emigrant associations, the Society was not exempt from the same political influences and ideologies that accompanied the democratic transition and marked the evolution of the whole associative movement in the 1970s and 1980s. What is more, like the *Casas de España* and the Spanish migrant federations, the Society appears to have tried, often in vain, to keep political issues out of its forum:

A:*¿Se ha percibido alguna vez una ideología política o debate en las reuniones?*

J: Casi nunca.

E: Bueno, yo diría que sí porque, se ha dao por ejemplo debates políticos a nivel pues global, ¿no? Cuando invitaron un señor de Portsmouth a hablar sobre el tiempo de Salvador Allende fue realmente, eh, feo lo que pasó porque no había posibilidad de, ¿cómo se dice?, de responder (...)

J: Bueno eso es muy reciente, yo estoy pensando más bien en los 80.

E: Bueno pero imagínate si eso sigue siendo ahora, en los 80 simplemente a lo mejor supongo, no sé, no tenían ningún interés, pero eso me parece a mí, cada vez que ha habido una intervención de esa naturaleza donde se manejan ideas globales es obviamente una posición derechista, no hay nunca ...

J: Sí

E: ...ninguna posición socialista, que haya venido un socialista a dar una conferencia.

J: Bueno, después de eso sobre Nicaragua sí ha habido una reacción de los derechistas que dijeron que era un tema político y la Sociedad no debe inmiscuirse con la política y sobretodo en la política lationamericana

E: (laughs) (38)

(Extracts from interview with James, a British active member of the Society, and Ernesto, a Chilean exile and occasional participant, Southampton,17/05/2003)

Based on this discussion and on earlier testimonies, it would appear that the Society has strove to remain apolitical, possibly in an attempt to avoid conflict given the range of political positions and diversity of interests that lay at the core of its traditional membership (*derechistas*, *socialistas*, Chilean exiles, refugees from the Spanish Civil War, Spanish language learners, students, hispanophiles). However, its unconvincing apolitical stance and the socio-economic outlook of its members have often been interpreted as signs of right-wing affiliation. This has dissatisfied and driven away some of its members and potential associates, for example, Carmelo and Cora, as well as others within the University community, whose decision not to join the Society in the 1970s and 1980s can be interpreted as a political statement.

The Society's ethnic composition and cultural identity

Besides the ambiguities that lay at its ideological base, the divorce between the Society and the Spanish migrant association of the 1970s can also be interpreted as a reflection, at the collective level, of the changes that the Spanish emigrant population has

experienced after decades of settlement in the UK. This becomes more clear when we focus on the mixed nationalities of its membership, on the cultural nature of its activities, and on the public image that the Society seeks to portray at present. A comparison with other local associations is also useful here in order to trace the Society's position within the wider multi-cultural landscape of the UK.

Despite its inclusion in the Hampshire County Council Directory of Community Organisations in 2003 (39), which would point in the direction of a migrant or ethnic association, a quick examination of the *Portsmouth Spanish Society*, as with the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, confirms what has become the current dominant pattern of Spanish associations. The *Portsmouth Society* defines itself as a cultural society, offering beginners, intermediate and advanced Spanish language classes. It holds monthly meetings that 'welcome all those who are interested in Spanish'. Amongst the listed events in the programme for 2003-2004 were talks not only delivered in the same manner as the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, but often by the same speakers, for example: '*Antonio Gaudí, the Great Catalan Architect*', '*Minorca, a Lost Paradise*', given by two members of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, or '*James Jump remembers his father, a Journalist in the Spanish Civil War*', a talk that was delivered in 2002 at another local society: the *Basingstoke Spanish Circle.*

Operating in an almost identical manner, the *Spanish Circle of Dorchester*, created in 2001 by an ex-member of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, who is currently its only Spanish member, also aims to promote interest in the language and culture of Spain and Spanish-speaking countries, something that is done through a series of talks, which for the programme of 2002 included '*The Camino de Santiago*', '*Aspectos de las Islas Canarias*', '*Trajes regionales de España*'.

Interestingly, the format of these culture-preserving and promoting organisations is not restricted to local Spanish or Hispanic societies. A quick review of the aforementioned Directory of Community Organisations reveals the widespread presence of this type of body, all of them define themselves in terms of promoting the language and culture, as suggested by their titles, but according to traditionally British modus operandi, mostly inviting and attracting a British audience:

-Andover Anglo-Norwegian and International Society
-Anglo-Hellenic Society
-Anglo-Italian Society
-Dante Aligheri Society
-Franco-British Society
-Le Cercle Français de Gosport
-Romance of Spain
-Southampton Anglo-Dutch Society
-Sociedad Hispánica, Southampton (Anglo-Spanish Society)
-Spanish Hispanic Society (Portsmouth)

The use of the term 'Anglo' in some of these titles accentuates the desire for a mixed and integrated membership, which is the reason why Ramón, a key committee member of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, has retained it in the Society's entry to this directory. In turn, this prefix also reflects the desire of these associations not to be seen as ethnic minority groups, a position that Ramón strongly advocates much to the disappointment of some Spanish and Latin American members who would like to make the Society more 'ethnically' Hispanic:

> La misión era de compartir, ah, bueno, la idea inicial era que los españoles se juntaran, pero siempre hemos dicho que era para compartir con la cultura de España, enseñar, para que los ingleses descubrieran la cultura de España. (...) Recientemente había un grupo de españoles que quería que fuese más para españoles, y efectivamente eso yo lo resistí porque fui presidente hasta recientemente, y eso lo resistí más que nada porque el 50% que vienen son ingleses y no es necesario, así como en los 60 los españoles que venían se veían un poco aislados, no hay razón porque uno tiene que sentirse aislado y ahora mismo nadie te para de tener una conversación conmigo, o lo que sea (...) y si tú quieres hacer un conjuntito, que lo hacen, porque muchas de estas señoras, personas que estan muy interesadas en cambiar la Sociedad, sé que se juntan privadamente a tomar un café o lo que sea, eso no te lo quita nadie. (40)
>
> (Ramón, born in 1938, arrived in the UK in 1953, interviewed in Winchester on 19/05/2002)

Unlike the 'anglo-associations' listed above, the following, which also appear in the Hampshire directory, unambiguously define themselves in ethnic terms, seeking to attract and serve the needs of specific migrant audiences, although a few include in their

brief descriptions an open invitation to members of the wider community who promote inter-cultural education (e.g. those marked with an asterisk):

-Asian Christian Outreach (Southampton)
-Bangladeshi Welfare Association (Portsmouth)
-Basingstoke Caledonian Society (*)
-Caribbean Islands Association
-Chinese Association Portsmouth
-Nepalese Community (Farnborough)
-Polish Ex-Combatants Association, Branch No, 309
-Roshni Asian Elders Day Care Centre
-Suhana Asian Elders Centre
-Portsmouth Vietnamese Association
-The Basingstoke Irish Society (*)
-Zanzibar Organisation (Portsmouth)

It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the Basingstoke Caledonian and Irish Societies, and the Polish Ex-Combatants Association, the differentiation between the two groups of associations according to the brief descriptions that accompany their entries in the directory mirrors the perceived racial and ethnic visibility of their participants, a factor that is key to understanding the different assimilation processes that Spanish and other 'non-coloured' migrants and their associations have undergone in the context of Britain's post-war immigration.

As I explained earlier, after the strong associative activity and enthusiasm that surrounded the death of Franco and the transition to democracy in the 1970s, with the transition well under way in the mid 1980s, and the expectation that Spain would soon join the European Community, Spanish associations gradually saw their political content diluted as they refocused their activities around preserving and promoting the Spanish language and culture. To this task the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* appears to have devoted itself from its conception.

The re-creation of culture that associations have enacted in their attempt to preserve and promote their Spanish heritage has been transformed and renegotiated in order to incorporate the diverse and changing patterns of migrants' identifications. No longer

concerned with their status as 'Spanish migrants' and with permanent settlement having become a reality, Spaniards in the UK started to regard themselves as 'Europeans citizens', a new form of identification that, aided by the 'racial ' invisibility that their 'neutral' skin colour conferred upon them, allowed them to shed the traces of their migranthood and to become absorbed into the British class system.

For the Spanish community in the UK integration has meant, to a great extent, becoming British, forgetting the migrant past and ceasing to be an identifiable ethnic community. Achieving this level of integration has meant that migrants have had to erase or cover any visible traces of Spanish-ness. This partly accounts for the demise of the 'typical' Spanish migrant association to the point that in certain cases, whilst being theoretically devoted to the promotion of Spanish culture, Spanish/Hispanic societies reject some of the most stereotyped Spanish traits. The following fieldnotes taken during observations of meetings of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* attest to this:

> 1) Committee meeting (February 2004) – A member recalls the high attendance of the January function: 'Lots of people came, some of them Spanish and South American. There was this Spanish young man. It was terrible, he behaved like a Spaniard, speaking out loud, out of turn, interrupting everybody …'
>
> 2) November function (2003) – The Chair reminded members of the arrangements for the coming Christmas Party: 'Please be there in good time, the party should start between 7.30 and 8.00. p.m. Please do not start coming in at 'Spanish time', and especially, least of all at 'Latin American time'.
>
> 3) Committee meeting (20/10/2004) – Response by a member to the proposal of asking people to come dressed in a Spanish theme for the Christmas Party: 'No, we can't do that, the British are very self-conscious, they wouldn't like it'.
>
> 4) During a talk by James at the Portsmouth Hispanic Society he read some quotes in Spanish and was asked by a member in the audience: 'Please repeat that in English, some people here don't understand Spanish!' (Extract from James' interview, 17/05/2003).

5) November function (2004) – During the introduction to a talk the Chair reminded members of the Christmas Party arrangements- 'Y como esto es muy importante lo voy a decir en inglés' before proceding to give directions to the venue in English.

(Fieldnotes, 2003-04)

From the above anecdotal but illustrative snippets of cultural enactment it can be seen that whatever it is that is understood by Spanish culture is subject to contrived and renegotiable displays.

So far, a picture has emerged of a Spanish emigrant presence in the UK that has gradually lost its visibility and even its audibility. This desired invisibility that Spaniards in the UK have actively pursued at an individual and a collective level as an integration and assimilation strategy cannot be understood, as has been emphasised before, without reference to the socio-political contexts inherited from post-war Britain, in which immigration was, as it continues to be, characterised by problematisation and racialisation. Moreover, in the last fifteen years Spain has also become a country that receives immigrants and, like Britain, is fast becoming a country that sees immigration as a problem.

4.9. *La Tertulia*: 'Hispanic' women's informal gatherings

If the process of integration that many Spanish migrants have undergone in the UK has resulted in rapid assimilation and the transformation of their associations along the lines described earlier, it has not fully translated into the disappearance of ethnic associational practices at an informal level, as the case of *La Tertulia* demonstrates.

La Tertulia is an informal group of women who are based in the Winchester and Southampton areas and meet informally every three or four months at a pub in Southampton or at one of the members' home. The women are mostly first-generation Spanish or Latin American migrants with the exception of its founder, who is Italian. They have migrated to the UK in different periods and for different reasons. What most of the women have in common that they work as teachers of Spanish as a foreign language at various educational establishments throughout Southampton.

4.9.1. Origins of *La Tertulia*

Palmira, the founding member of *La Tertulia* was an Italian who had graduated in Spanish Language and Literature Studies and was keen not to lose her Spanish after finishing her degree. As she taught at the University of Southampton and in the Adult Education sector, she often came into contact with other native Spanish teachers who had been in England for a number of years. She suggested to them that they meet regularly in order to combat isolation and to maintain the language. Over the years other Spanish and Latin American women, not all Spanish, nor teachers, joined the group, such as three Chileans who arrived in the UK with the exile contingent hosted by the Spanish Department of the University of Southampton in 1973, and a *niña de la guerra* who was evacuated to the USSR, later emigrated to Latin America, and recently came to the UK to live with her daughter, also a Spanish tutor and member of *La Tertulia*.

4.9.2. Activities and analysis of observations

The group has traditionally met in pubs although in recent years they tend to meet more and more at the home of one of its members, as she has children and it is easier for her to host the meetings. The *tertulias* do not have any particular format, unlike the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*. Palmira usually brings a dictionary to the gatherings arguing that the women are often chatting and often forget Spanish words or start mixing Spanish and English. The topics of conversation include the women's recent trips abroad, showing photographs, sharing recent anecdotes, and sometimes even political discussions:

> Hay una señora que es chilena, y cuando está ella las tertulias siempre son más interesantes porque ella siempre habla de política. Lo único que tengo que hacer yo es hacerle una pregunta: ¿qué está pasando en Chile en este momento? Y ella me lo cuenta y así aprendemos cosas también, que es bueno porque la mayoría de nosotros no sabemos de estas cosas. (41)
>
> (Palmira, founder of *La Tertulia*, Italian, has lived in the UK for 20 years, interviewed in Southampton on 12/01/2003)

The *tertulias* normally gather around six to ten women per session. The decision to include only women was not premeditated according to Palmira:

> Y yo me acuerdo de un día que decidimos reunirnos en un Pub y alguien decidió invitar a un hombre. Siempre somos mujeres pero alguien invitó a un hombre y ese hombre se sentó en el medio y estaba rodeado de mujeres, y era un grupo muy grande ese día y el hombre habló todo el rato, era un español muy majo, y después de esta experiencia decidimos nunca invitar a los hombres porque nos dimos cuenta de que si hay solamente un hombre y muchas mujeres el hombre va a ser el centro de la atención. Así que nuestras tertulias suelen ser de mujeres solamente, y he tenido varios amigos que nos han llamado sexistas por no invitarles. (42)

Palmira recalls calling the group 'La Tertulia' after the intellectual gatherings of famous Spanish authors in the early twentieth century, who met in cafes and bars to discuss various topics. Similarly, her original idea was that the women would talk about interesting things, although she admits that this approach may have put some people off joining:

> La verdad es que hemos invitado a una amiga que era una peluquera y ella era sudamericana, amiga de un miembro del grupo. Pero ella vino solamente una vez y no volvió y yo creo que siempre pasa eso con los grupos de universitarios, asustamos a las demás. (43)

Despite its relaxed outlook, *La Tertulia* would appear to show the same tendency to attract an elitist, professional and educated audience, like the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* and other historical associational precedents, which discourages working-class migrants from participating. Still, *La Tertulia* wishes to remain flexible and informal, and strong friendships have been forged amongst its members over the years. This confers upon *La Tertulia* the image of being more of a group of friends that like to meet up to chat and catch up with each other than a migrant support network. According to Palmira, doing just that, chatting, is something that has become almost a luxury given the pace of the women's hectic lifestyles, therefore the need for some organisation:

> Yo creo que el problema es que hoy en día no tenemos tiempo de charlar, charlar por charlar. Nosotras hoy lo estamos haciendo porque lo hemos organizado. Lo que pasa es que yo he notado que aquí en la universidad estamos siempre deprisa. O tenemos una

> clase o tenemos una reunión o tenemos que corregir. Nunca nos sentamos a charlar con las colegas de cualquier cosa. No tenemos tiempo de charlar de cualquier cosa. Porque en el pasado decíamos 'let's have a cup of tea or a coffee' or 'I'm coming for a cup of coffee'. Ahora casi no se hace, tememos llamar a nuestras amigas porque están todas ocupadas y no queremos interrumpirlas. Por eso tenemos que organizar *La Tertulia*. (44)

This idea of escaping the chores of a busy routine is also present in the perceptions of another member of *La Tertulia*, as well as the sharing and celebration of what is perceived as the lowest common denominator of its members – 'Hispanicity' and 'Latin-ness'– which, unlike the Hispanic Society of Southampton, is re-enacted by and targeted at a female migrant audience:

> Hay un cierto escapismo. La *Tertulia* es general y contamos pequeñas anécdotas en las que hay un cierto retorno al pensamiento pasado. Contamos nuestras experiencias como si fuesen de otra persona, quizá sea a causa de la pérdida de la identidad. Hablamos de los primeros tiempos en Inglaterra, no de las malas experiencias sino de las cosas buenas. También nos ponemos al día, *catch up*, de lo que hay, por ejemplo cine español. El nacionalismo se diluye, por ejemplo la identificación valenciana se hace hispana y celebramos lo latino, los valores communes sociales, las relaciones de familia, la comida, que son muy semejantes. (45)
>
> (Marisa, from San Sebastián, Spanish member of *La Tertulia*, in the UK since the early 1980s, interviewed in Southampton on 25/06/2003)

But in doing so – escaping – there is a certain element of re-discovery of unknown aspects of the women's own cultures, something that Palmira observed which was also noted amongst members of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton:*

> El amor por la cultura hispana. Las mujeres que son de origen española echan de menos a su país y son conscientes del hecho que están perdiendo el contacto con su país. A ellas les gusta el poder seguir hablando de las cosas que pasan allí y también dividir experiencias con las demás, por ejemplo, muy a menudo, España es un país de tanta variedad porque si hay gente de Galicia y gente de Andalucía, ellas casi no conocen sus respectivas culturas, y parece mentira que en este país hablan más de sus regiones que cuando van ahí claro. (46)

4.10. The 'other migrants' networks – 'Little Lisbon' in Bournemouth

Despite the differences in the gender, nationality and modus operandi of their membership, the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* and *La Tertulia* have one thing in common: they are run by and addressed to an audience of relatively high educational and professional background. Intentionally or not, this has the effect of excluding working-class emigrants from their fora to the extent that their mere existence becomes truly invisible and may be called into question by the researcher who uses visible associational networks as platforms for exploring migration. The difficulties in finding these 'other' Spaniards, who came to the UK to work in low grade jobs in hotels, hospitals and the domestic service, and have remained in those sectors until retirement, were previously discussed in Chapter 1 in the section on methodology. Further to those discussions, in the course of this research I was able to gain an insight into some of the informal and less articulated support networks that these other migrants have developed over the years through meeting a key gatekeeper and informant.

Eva is a 77-year-old Galician who came to the UK with her husband in 1962 to work in the catering industry. For a number of years they lived and worked in various hotels in Bournemouth. Eva also worked as a cleaner in various private houses and nursing homes. They left their children in their village in Galicia being looked after by family and friends. They never bought a house in Bournemouth because they were never sure that they would stay long enough to warrant the investment. Following separation from her husband and the onset of chronic illness, Eva decided to remain in Bournemouth, as she felt better protected by the British welfare system that funds her accommodation and provides her with a subsistence pension that she would not get in Spain.

Today Eva lives in the centre of Bournemouth in an area commonly referred to as the Triangle, on the edge of a popular and vibrant shopping high street, close to hotels, coffee bars, pubs, restaurants, gay night clubs and convenient corner shops. The area boasts abundant cheap accommodation and has a high concentration of migrants, most of whom are Portuguese which has resulted in the area becoming known as 'Little Lisbon'.

Eva lives in a bedsit, which is part of a house of multiple occupation where there are other migrants. Not far from her building, in a small flat, live Josefina and her son. According to Eva, Josefina is not allowed by her son to open the door to anybody so she doubted that I would have the opportunity to interview her. Another Spanish lady lives in another bedsit nearby but, again, Eva expressed her doubts as to whether she would receive me, as she was also very ill. Indeed, despite my continued efforts, I was unable to access these migrants.

From these descriptions a picture emerges of what actually remains of Spanish migrants who have 'remained' migrants, that is, of those Spaniards who, due to individual life circumstances or to the limitations imposed on them by their socio-educational backgrounds, were not as able to assimilate into British life as effectively as the visible and successful migrants who willingly granted me access. Many of these migrants have not been able to return to Spain on finishing their working lives. Having worked in low paid jobs they have not been able to make comfortable retirement arrangements and many now find themselves aged, ill, and dependent on ongoing medical assistance and welfare benefits. However, through past acquaintances and based on their current needs, they have gradually come to rely on each other, setting up informal support networks that more or less guarantee a certain level of basic assistance. These networks are not exclusively formed by Spaniards but also incorporate Portuguese, Italian and even Senegalese migrants, as I had the opportunity to witness during my visits to Eva's home. In her case, examples of mutual support range from practical help e.g. cleaning, changing the bed, or doing the shopping, given Eva's mobility problems, to more involved favours, such as accompanying Eva on a trip to the Spanish Consulate in London or to the airport. In exchange, Eva might look after her neighbours' children or give them small gifts.

Perhaps not in so vulnerable a position as Eva, Jacinta, another Spanish migrant who has been working in a hospital for nearly 30 years, has relied on Manolita, an Andalusian migrant and work colleague who gives her lifts to work, cuts and dyes her hair, invites her for dinner when she cooks *cocido,* and gives her emotional support when needed. Although Jacinta lives far from 'Little Lisbon', somehow she knows Eva, and both know Carmina, another Galician migrant who has also remained in

Bournemouth for many years after divorcing her husband and suffering some health problems.

These women do not seem to be aware of the existence of associations such as the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* or similar networks to *La Tertulia*. Some of them still remember the former *Casas de España*, although they may not have been regular attendees. Preserving language and culture does not appear to be an issue of concern for these women, who continue to struggle with the English language in the course of their day-to-day lives, but who have become reasonably fluent in the languages of other migrants that they have come into close contact with, e.g. Italian, Portuguese, Galician. For them, 'Spanishness' is not something that is re-enacted, preserved or promoted, but an unavoidable occurrence in their daily lives.

On meeting these women, who know each other and who make constant references to other Spanish women who live locally and whose life circumstances are similar to theirs, another picture emerges of some kind of associational structure which, whilst it is not visible or articulated enough to constitute a Spanish community, does have a certain solidity in that it connects its members to a common migratory experience, a similar working past, and a vulnerable present where solidarity and mutual support have become essential.

Interestingly, like *La Tertulia*, this working-class Spanish network appears to consist mostly of women, which leads us to wonder whether gender is a key determinant factor in generating and shaping certain types of associative practices, a question that whilst not being the focus of this study warrants research in its own right.

Prior to reaching my final conclusions on the social topographies of Spanish migrant presence in Hampshire and Dorset, we can tentatively begin to sketch an outline. Whilst we cannot talk about a visible and cohesive Spanish community in these areas, we can nevertheless locate some pockets of Spanish migrant presence whose socio-cultural manifestations depend upon the socio-economic and educational provenance of their subjects. The higher their educational and professional background, the more invisible the migrant becomes at an individual level, and the more articulated, formalised, and visible their anglicised presence becomes in the public sphere. Public visibility is

achieved through a series of cultural associative practices aimed at sharing homogenised notions of 'Spanishness' with their British hosts in what could almost be interpreted as a need to have their 'otherness' accepted and valued.

In contrast, the lower the social and occupational status, the more visible migrants become at individual level, due to social vulnerability and language problems, and the more invisible their collective presence becomes in formally structured ways. Yet, if one identifies a key gatekeeper one will gain access to what emerges as a solid migrant web that operates in the private sphere involving not only Spaniards but also other working-class emigrants.

Chapter 5 Migration, language and identity

In this chapter I explore the relationship between language and identity in the context of migration as it relates to the Spanish informants that participated in this study. Focusing on the tension between the maintenance of the mother tongue/s, often considered to be the last remnant of identity, and the acquisition of English (the majority language that had to be learned in order to function in the host society), my aim is to establish the extent to which a language shift has taken place as a consequence of the informants' permanent settlement in the UK, and how this, in turn, has shaped their individual and collective identifications. Like Joseph (2004: 11), my concern is as much 'the linguistic aspects of identity' as 'the effects of identity in language', and how individual and group identities interact with the directly observable roles of language in people's lives.

There is a vast amount of research in areas of sociolinguistics, social psychology and social and linguistic anthropology that highlight the importance of the language-identity nexus (Joseph, 2004: 12). Language determines one's knowledge of the world, of others, and of oneself, thus providing a basis of support for one's identity (Grinberg and Grinberg, 1989: 109). According to Schaff, language is a social product with a genetic and functional link to all practical activities carried out by humans in society. As such, it is one of the most traditional elements of culture and the most 'resistant to change', which explains the great effort it takes immigrants to change their language (1969, in Grinberg and Grinberg, 1989: 99).

At a theoretical level, I have drawn on the framework adopted by Gibbons and Ramírez in their study of language maintenance amongst Hispanics in Australia (2004). To a lesser extent, I am also informed by Zentella's study of bilingualism in a Puerto Rican community in New York (1997). Whilst the former provide a useful analytical model to examine the societal, interactional and attitudinal factors that support language maintenance in migrant communities, the latter highlights the importance of socio-economic constraints as a key variable that impinges upon language attitudes and the development and sustenance of bilingualism amongst the second-generation.

Based on archival information and oral narratives, I have traced what appear to be the most salient factors supporting the processes of language maintenance and language

shift amongst the group of Spanish migrants that I studied in the Hampshire and Dorset. I have framed my analysis of these factors chronologically based on three key stages of the migrants' life cycle that tend to bring to the fore the tension between the resistance and survival of their mother tongue on the one hand, and their linguistic assimilation on the other: arrival and initial settlement; rearing and educating children; and retrospection after long-term settlement.

5.1. Initial states of migration: The struggle to learn English and the initial neglect of Spanish

Reading the migrant periodical publications of the 1970s one would gain the impression that Spanish migrants remained clustered around Spanish associations and migrant circles and strongly focused upon their return to Spain. Consistent with that context, constant references contained therein highlight the collective efforts of the Spanish emigrant population to preserve the Spanish language and culture, which were explicitly vocalised in their ongoing demands for Spanish language classes and Spanish curricular education for their children.

Whilst not fully contradicting the above, the oral accounts collected revealed a wide variety of migration and settlement projects and experiences, not only with regard to the migrants' geographical and spatial distribution within Hampshire and Dorset, but especially in terms of their complex patterns of language use and maintenance. Amongst the informants we could identify two main variants. Firstly, those who remained inserted in Spanish and migrant environments following their arrival in the UK, something that for many would considerably limit their language competence in the majority language, leading to restricted employment opportunities and, in some cases, to a certain degree of social isolation and exclusion from mainstream society. Secondly, those migrants who, eager to learn the majority language from the moment of their arrival, initially sought separation from other Spaniards and non-English-speakers as a conscious strategy of immersion in the language and culture of the host society. An examination of the individual life trajectories revealed that socio-educational background and employment and educational aspirations at the time of arrival were the most salient factors determining the mode of their initial insertion into British society and their specific language behaviours.

Learning English: Instrumental and integrative approaches

Besides the circumstances that led to their eventual settlement in the UK, most of the informants believed that achieving fluency in English would lead to improved employment opportunities and increased social mobility. In this respect, some of the informants reported having embarked on the study of the language even before leaving Spain. This is the case of Ramón, for whom a high competence in academic English was a condition sine qua non for meeting his main migration objective in 1950: to study physics at a British university. Or for Julián, employed by a British firm in 1960 to carry out a highly technical job that required a complex knowledge of English.

Not all migrants, however, considered that learning English was as an essential requirement in order to achieve their migration objectives:

> Yo no vine aquí por aprender inglés, vine porque lo que se ganaba en una semana en Inglaterra no se ganaba en España en un mes. Aprender inglés me ha costado 30 años y aún no lo hablo. (47)
>
> (Manolo, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Southampton on 22/05/2002)

Manolo's blunt statement regarding his difficult relationship with the English language, combined with the fact that he has remained in the UK for over thirty years working in the catering industry, suggests that some migrants could certainly limit their acquisition of the majority language to the minimum required by their employment circumstances. However, the interviews and ethnographic observations exposed a considerable variation in English competence and fluency across informants that had similarly remained employed in the catering and domestic sectors, like Jacinta, Eva, Ana, Dora, Mario and Aurelia. Amongst these, the most prominent circumstance that determined a higher linguistic competence was undoubtedly self-employment. Informants who managed their own businesses, like Aurelia, Mario, and even Manolo – despite his apparent indifference with regard to learning English – who run Spanish restaurants, or Ana, who managed a food shop for a number of years, displayed higher levels of fluency in spoken English than Jacinta or Eva, who had always been employees in the domestic sector (48). Moreover, two of these participants, Aurelia and Mario, were found to be active members in the business circles of their trades and in their wider local communities, as is suggested by their frequent organisation of Spanish banquets,

parties, and *romerías*. These events inevitably engage them in a series of activities that are circumscribed to communicative interactional contexts requiring higher levels of fluency in spoken and written language as well as competence in formal registers e.g. liaising with local authorities, seeking planning permission, compliance with health and safety regulations, sub-contracting services, advertising, etc.

The different commitment to learning the majority language very much depended on the migrants' different sets of aspirations and migratory targets, both of which were subject to modification and constant re-appraisal through the different stages of migration. In any case, the actual process of learning English was reported by most informants as having been a very difficult task. Whilst some had begun to acquaint themselves with the language before leaving Spain, others only started to learn English after arriving in the UK, when they became unavoidably exposed to it through the course of their daily work.

According to their accounts, informants learned English in various ways including formal tuition in adult education classes funded by the government, private tutors, training courses funded by employers, independent study with books, exposure to written and visual media, or through their day-to-day contact with the English-speaking population. This diversity of learning methods is reflected in the marked variation of fluency and literacy that is noticeable across the informants. Whilst those who engaged in formal instruction often developed high levels of fluency and literacy, others, who acquired English 'accidentally', consider their learning as a yet unfinished and endless process:

> Aprendí el inglés sobre la marcha, dos palabras aquí, cuatro palabras en el otro lado y así. En casa tenía bastantes libros porque Alberto llevaba cuatro años de inglés porque iba al Instituto masculino en La Coruña, y yo miraba los libros pero no como para ir a una escuela o a clase (...) y bueno, aún estoy aprendiendo. Como ves soy una charlatana y no me importa hablarlo mal o decirlo mal, el caso es que tú me entiendas. Si a lo major digo las palabras mal, te hago señas y a lo major tú sabes lo que voy a decir ¿me comprendes? O sea que no me daba reparo el decir las cosas mal. Que lo digo mal, al otro día lo diré mejor. (49)
>
> (Ana, born in 1936, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Southampton on 6/12/2001)

Gibbons and Ramírez have pointed out that belief about proficiency may not necessarily correspond with measurable real command of certain aspects of the language (grammar, vocabulary, phonemic and phonetic system, and register) (2004: 198). From this perspective, it has to be stressed that the informants' perceptions of their linguistic abilities is based on self-assessment, something that is permeated by attitudinal elements such as self-identification as a speaker of a language (Gibbons and Ramírez, 2004: 199). The contrast between Eva and Jacinta's current difficulties dealing with complex interactional contexts and formal registers and the confidence and optimism with which they remember learning English and overcoming 'the language barrier' could be interpreted in this light, as a desire 'to be seen as linguistically belonging' to the host society:

> Aprendimos trabajando y la señora le decía a mi marido cuando cobrábamos, mira, ¿tu mujer hablaba inglés en España? Porque yo tenía un ansia, y un día un español me regaló un libro de inglés y español, y mi marido salía detrás de mi y yo me ponía ahí frente al mar en esos bancos frente al mar que están en lo alto, y me ponía ahí dale que te pego a estudiar pa que me entrara en la cabeza y me quedaba mucho. (50)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 21/07/2003)

> No iba a clases, me aburrían, me gustaba más ir a bailar y hacer otras cosas. Aprendí a través de la television, la televisión me ha ayudado mucho, y la comunicación con los ingleses claro, eso muy importante porque ellos me corregían, y yo prestaba mucha atención cuando hablaban. Leía mucho, pero pienso que más que nada ha sido la televisión y la gente con la que me desenvolvía, y un día casi sin darme cuenta pues hablaba inglés, y ya hoy pues no es un obstáculo. (51)
>
> (Jacinta, born in 1946, emigrated to the UK twice, first in 1964-65 and permanently in 1971, interviewed in Bournemouth on 23/0/2002)

Language difficulties were also experienced, at least initially, even by those who received formal language instruction in anticipation of their arrival in the UK, who reported being unable to understand spoken English when they arrived in the country. This is the case of Ramón, who enthusiastically embarked upon the study of the

language while he waited for his passport application to come through. He attended classes at both the Berlitz Language School and evening lessons organised by the University of Valencia, an early indicator of the unofficial recognition already attached to English in Spain in the early 1950s:

> Empecé en la escuela, nos enseñaron un libro con Big Ben, 3 o 4 palabras, lo mismo que francés, pero empecé un poco de inglés, claro como mi padre estaba en Inglaterra era muy interesante. Entonces lo que pasó fue de que cuando yo ya terminé mis estudios secundarios, que tenía 14 años y estaba esperando a salir de España, que al final me costó 6 meses, yo me puse en la Academia Berlitz que en aquellos tiempos era la academia más importante para inglés, pero el profesor se puso enfermo y entonces el único otro sitio donde ir era la universidad por la noche. Así es que yo estaba con toda esta gente mayor, un pequeño de 13 o 14 años (laughs) y todos eran de 60, 50, 30, 40, pero yo me iba todas las noches a dar clase y efectivamente aprendí un poco de inglés. Pero cuando llegué a Inglaterra no estaba acostumbrado al sonido, y verdaderamente me costó 3 meses de empezar a oirlo, ¿sabes?. Cuando hablaban yo no entendía nada, pero al ponerme de interno en la escuela me hicieron, digamos una cosa especial donde en vez de estudiar todas las asignaturas sólo estudié las mínimas, o sea 5. (...) Lo interesante era que el inglés era la asignatura que no podía sacarme. No podía sacarla, cuatro veces tuve que coger el examen y todos los veranos los pasaba estudiando inglés, durante cuatro años (...) Ahora comprendo lo que hacía mal, el problema era que yo no podía oir las palabras, y me costó 3 meses darme cuenta de que la palabra 'blackboard' (Spanish phonetic pronunciation) era 'blackboard' (English pronunciation), ¿ves? La cantidad de veces que yo la había oído: 'blackboard', y un día de repente dije ahhhh 'blackboard' es 'blackboard'!, incluso ahora hay algunas palabras que continúo pronunciando mal. (52)
>
> (Ramón, born in 1938, arrived in the UK in 1953, interviewed in Winchester on 19/02/2002)

For other informants, the specific difficulties attached to their learning of the language were compounded by the fact that on arriving in the UK they often found themselves sharing spaces with other non-English-speaking immigrants. This caused a certain degree of frustration, especially amongst Spaniards for whom learning English was a key objective in their migratory project. Amongst those who managed to work alongside native English speakers, they often found that the English language they were

exposed to was of a 'working class' variety, markedly different from the received standard version they had learned to expect from English language textbooks.

Fleeing migrant 'spaces' and being 'the odd one out'

Sharing accommodation and working spaces with other migrants was almost unavoidable for Spaniards working in the hotel and catering industry, an employment sector that has traditionally attracted migrant labour, and also amongst migrants employed in health care, nursing and au-pairing. Even migrants, who did not seek employment in these sectors, often found themselves sharing spaces with other migrants as a consequence of the accommodation arrangements available to them during the initial stages of their migration, e.g. hostels and guesthouses. As a result, and often contrary to their expectations, they found themselves first coming into contact with foreign languages and cultures other than English to the extent that some even managed to achieve a reasonable competence in other migrants' languages such as Italian, French or Portuguese.

Migrants for whom learning English was a priority stressed in their narratives that as soon as they identified the limitations of remaining in immigrant circles they sought to detach themselves. Seeking separation from Spanish and other immigrant communities and dwelling on the benefits of 'being the only Spaniard' in their immediate interactional contexts is a pattern that was identified across many oral narratives. In some cases, informants explained that being 'the odd one out' did not only result in a faster acquisition of the language but was also an advantage in terms of acceptance by the autochthonous population. I highlight below three cases relating to three informants who arrived in the UK and settled in Southampton at the beginning of three different decades (1950s, 1960s and 1970s) all of whom were to actively pursue this detachment strategy.

Sebastián's account is particularly interesting for what it reveals about the attitudinal factors that underlie his language shift: the desire to become quickly acculturated, and henceforth, accepted in the host society. On arrival in the UK in 1950, Sebastián already spoke some English that he had picked up during a previous stay in the country between 1937 and 1939 as a child evacuee from the Spanish Civil War. He explained in his

account that when he arrived in the UK the second time, as well as working as a lithographer, he immediately started to attend English evening classes. However, he is convinced that his quick acquisition of the language was due to being 'the only foreigner' in his immediate communicative contexts both at home and at work:

> En la casa eran todos ingleses, incluso los otros 10 trabajadores que se alojaban allí. (53)
>
> (Sebastián, born in 1925, arrived in the UK as an evacuee from 1937, repatriated to Spain in 1939, re-emigrated to the UK in 1950, interviewed in Eastleigh on 5/02/2002)

The case of Madalena is also interesting as she justifies having trained as a nurse in the UK – an occupation to which she devoted the rest of her career – for the sole reason of separating herself from the 'other' Spanish, French and Italian care workers that inhabited her living and working spaces so that she could learn the majority language, which was the reason that had brought her to the UK in the first place:

> Mi madre era de la opinión que que la única manera de aprender bien un idioma es mezclarse con los nativos. La hija de una de sus amigas estaba trabajando en un hospital y le pareció buena idea el que yo hiciera lo mismo por unos meses. Así que se hicieron los tramites para obtener un permiso de trabajo en el mismo sitio. Recién cumplidos los 19 años, en junio de 1959, llegué a un hospital en Surrey con lo que yo pensaba que sería bastante inglés para defenderme. En realidad la pronunciación y acento de mi profesor de inglés, americano, en la escuela de idiomas al que yo estaba acostumbrada a oir no era el inglés que empecé a oir a mi llegada. Por fortuna pude defenderme y pronto me acostumbré al *proper Queen's English*! (...) Había un gran número de españoles, italianos, franceses, irlandeses, de varias partes de Africa y las Antillas. Aparte de conversar con algunas pacientes y el personal inglés a cargo de las salas y la administración, era difícil practicar el inglés. Aprendí bastante Italiano de mis compañeras de trabajo y entre las españolas la tendencia era hablar castellano. (54)
>
> (Extracts from Madalena's written account in 2003) (born in 1940, arrived in the UK in 1959, former member of the Hispanic Society of Southampton and founding member of the Spanish Circle of Dorchester in 2001)

From an attitudinal perspective, it is interesting to note the extent to which Madalena's assumptions of what constituted Standard English were underpinned by social and racial considerations:

> Los únicos que no eran españoles, italianos, irlandeses o negros, de Nigeria, eran los pacientes. Por eso acabé haciendo los exámenes de enfermera, para aprender inglés. (55)
>
> (Extracts from Madalena's follow-up interview in Poole on 12/02/2004)

Similar to Madalena but a decade later, Rosa, who came to the UK in 1971, initially as an au-pair, stressed her desire to separate herself from Spanish migrant circles and to surround herself with English speakers, as she remembered her experiences of living in a Catholic Women's Hostel in London and attending Adult Education English classes:

> (...) (The female residents) Eran todas españolas, becadas por papá, claro. A mi (laughs) no me becó nadie, me bequé yo. Habían solamente dos que hablasen inglés en la residencia, una india y una escocesa, y yo creo que puse el pie en falso cuando entré a pedir si me podían colocar en la habitación con aquellas porque así practicaría inglés. (56)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

As emerges from these extracts and from the rest of the oral narratives, the shift towards English, far from meeting with little resistance in the initial stages of migration, was willingly pursued. The language behaviours outlined above tend to correlate with two sets of attitudes to language proficiency and language learning identified by Gardner Lambert: instrumental and integrative (1972, cited in Gibbons and Ramírez, 2004: 198). For informants with ambitious educational agendas, like Ramón, achieving fluency and academic literacy in English was a pre-requisite in terms of self-advancement. For Madalena and Rosa learning English was in fact *the* reason put forward to account for their migration to the UK, even though they later decided to stay and take advantage of the employment and education opportunities that they identified, which no doubt were enhanced by their improved language competence. For Sebastián, language shift was considered a faster and desired route to integration that he keenly undertook.

5.2. Bringing up 'British' children

Besides their diverse socio-economic background and employment and educational goals, starting a family in the UK constituted for many migrants a vital landmark where the tensions between language maintenance and shift acquired more significant implications. In contrast to the transience that migrants may have attached to the initial stages of their migratory projects, the birth and upbringing of children in the host country implied in most cases a certain degree of permanence and a re-negotiation of their targets and aspirations that often resulted in an acceleration of social integration and linguistic and cultural assimilation.

The socialisation and education of children generated a new set of behavioural patterns involving language choice, use, and transmission that were subject not only to individuals' attitudes and behaviours in the private sphere, but also to external constraints and institutional and political factors.

As Gibbons and Ramírez have pointed out (2004: 191), association of national identity with majority language monolingualism is a common attitude in many societies. This is certainly the case with the UK during the informants' initial migration stages (1950s-1970s), a monolingual country premised upon cultural homogeneity. In such a context, migrants who wished to become incorporated into British society and at the same time maintain a language other than English required a clear and strong alternative belief structure in which bilingualism and national identity were not seen as mutually exclusive. In order to establish the extent to which Spanish migrants in the UK were able to sustain bilingualism and generate a dual cultural identity, I have examined the language dynamics of migrant families and the role of education systems in the process of language transmission taking into consideration the following variables:

a) The ethnic / national / regional composition of the family unit, which, depending on whether one or both parents were Spanish, would determine the intensity of transmission in the home, but also the actual language transmitted – Castilian, Catalan, Galician, Basque.

b) The different objectives pursued by individual migrants at different stages of their migration, which would determine, not only the planned length of stay in the UK, but also the importance attached to the mother tongue and culture and, hence, the different commitment to ensuring that their children learned Spanish.

c) The availability of mother tongue teaching provision by British and/or Spanish institutions in the UK and, in the absence of such provision, the willingness of parents to organise complementary Spanish classes.

5.2.1. Migrant families and language behaviours

An initial distinction could be made between families where both parents were Spanish and those of mixed parentage. Whilst Spaniards with British spouses/partners might naturally shift towards English, often resulting in monolingual English-speaking families (57), Spanish couples that had maintained the mother tongue in the domestic sphere would eventually shift towards English when confronted with choices regarding the education of their children. The first case studies below illustrate how language shift took place amongst families where both parents were Spanish.

Spanish-speaking parents

Ana has three children the first of whom was left in Galicia soon after birth to be cared for by a grandmother. Since the Aliens Order of 1953 restricted immigration by pregnant women and children, this was common practice amongst migrants who sought to maximise their working and saving capacities, although it often led to a certain degree of estrangement and regret (Ruiz, 2001: 65-81), which was confirmed by both Ana and Eva in their narratives. As soon as Ana was able to – which meant, 'on becoming free' from immigration restrictions after four years of employment in the domestic sector – she brought her daughter from Galicia and eventually had two more children who were born and raised in the UK.

Eva had three children. The first two were born in Galicia and raised by relatives. Her third child was born in the UK long after her immigration restrictions had been lifted. At that point she decided to bring her two elder children to be reunited with her, their

father, and their new sibling in the UK. Unfortunately, the elder children could not adapt to British life and asked to return to Galicia. Although Eva's youngest child had been born in the UK, she soon opted to join her brother and sister in Galicia, arguing that she preferred life in Spain.

Dora for her part started her family six years after arriving in the UK and had four children who she raised in this country.

Whilst Ana and Dora are competent and confident English speakers, Eva's spoken and written English remains very basic. She often needs assistance with informal letter-writing and phone calls to service providers and institutions. Today, after separating from her husband, who also returned to Galicia, Eva lives on her own in basic accommodation, and, although she would very much like to, is apprehensive about the idea of returning to Galicia, where she thinks that not only would she lose her welfare support, but, given her medical problems, she would also become a burden upon her children.

From a linguistic perspective, Eva's limited competence in English could be partly seen as the result of having missed out on the shared socialisation and integration processes and opportunities afforded by the bringing up of children in the host country. For most of her working life, she remained focused around her workplace and frequent visits to Galicia, which limited her interactional contact to Spanish and other migrants' circles to the detriment of her English language competence. Over the long term, Eva's limited integration in mainstream society has also led to a considerable estrangement from her family and from Galicia. Her dependency has made her reliant on the support of friends and neighbours, many of whom belong to the Portuguese community that clusters in the area where she lives, no doubt aided by the linguistic proximity between Galician and Portuguese, which in turn, has a bearing upon her sense of identity:

> Porque hay veces que ya no se si soy, y que soy, pienso portuguesa, y mitad inglesa, y española, ay madre mía! (58)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 21/07/2003)

Dora's case is particularly interesting as she is Jacinta's sister, and despite sharing the same socio-economic and educational background, and having worked in similar employment sectors – hotels, hospitals and nursing homes – they display very different levels of fluency in English. Dora's complete shift to English is remarkable. She conducted her entire interview in English, because, as she explained, she expresses herself better in her adoptive language than in Spanish. In contrast, Jacinta's English competence and literacy are very basic, to the point that, like Eva, she often requires assistance when dealing with administrative matters, such as setting up direct debits, ordering goods, paying bills or making formal complaints. The main difference between the two sisters' circumstances is that whilst Jacinta is single and has no children, Dora, although married to a Spaniard, has raised a family of four children in the UK. From Dora's account, as from Ana's, it emerged that the schooling of their children in Britain during the 1970s was a key factor in accelerating the shift to English, which further eroded mother tongue transmission. The following quote explains one of the key reasons for this:

> We spoke Spanish in the house but when the children went to school they told us that we had to speak to them in English because they didn't understand the teachers, so we had to change the way we did it.
>
> (Dora, born in 1943, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 20/05/2003)

In the long term Dora's language shift appears to have been reinforced by the fact that she did not pursue socialisation with other Spaniards, and also as a consequence of her husband suffering a stroke that seriously affected his speech. This brought an end to the last interactional context in which Spanish might have been maintained. Over the ensuing years, Dora has re-focused most of her social interaction and spoken communication on the immediate realms of her children's lives and her workplace both of which are realised in English. Spanish has remained a fossilised language that she clumsily articulates when dealing with her overseas relatives by telephone or on her less and less frequent holidays in Spain.

Families of mixed parentage

In families with mixed parentage, which is the case of six of the informants, a further distinction could be made regarding the gender of each parent, as according to the oral

accounts, this variable could determine different patterns of language maintenance and transmission. As these six families involved Spanish fathers and British mothers, it has not been possible to establish a rigorous comparison between language use in families with Spanish mothers and British fathers. However, the discussions between two informants, both British mothers married to Spanish spouses, allow us to at least hypothesise about the possibilities of the opposite scenario (British fathers and Spanish mothers). Data extracted from two other interviews – that with Rosa, who successfully transmitted her Catalan mother tongue, and that with Marisa, a Spaniard who arrived in a later period (early 1980s) and successfully transmitted Spanish to her three daughters – also suggest that there may be a link between the gender of the parents and transmission of the mother tongue, something that in this particular study would require further investigation before reaching generalisable conclusions.

Amongst the mixed families, the case studies of Andrés and Julián, both from the Basque Country, and Ramón, from Valencia, provide interesting insights into family linguistic behaviour, as they add a regional cultural dimension to the analysis of mother tongue transmission.

Andrés became established permanently in the UK following his arrival as a child evacuee from the Spanish Civil War. He married Marianne, a primary school teacher, in 1947 and had two children. According to Marianne, Andrés was a keen linguist and the President of the British Association of Esperantists who, apart from speaking Spanish and French, spoke very good English, 'although always with an accent'. He was also one of the founder members of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*. However, recounts Marianne, at home they always spoke English and the children never learned Spanish, something that both her and her husband later came to regret. When prompted for reasons as to why the children did not learn Spanish, Marianne explained that attempts at transmitting the language were met with resistance on the part of the children:

> That caused a lot of difficulties with us because Andrés got quite impatient with the children and then the children got upset, you see, and that caused a lot of disharmony in the family, and, I mean, he would be the first to admit he was a very bad teacher (...)

> He just had no patience, he wanted instant perfection which doesn't work with young children, you know.
>
> (Extracts from interviews with Marianne and Winnie with regards to Andrés and Julián who arrived in the UK in 1937 and 1960 respectively, Southampton 25/06/2002)

The case of Julián's family suggests similar language practices in that English was also the language spoken at home and the transmission of Spanish was somehow resisted by the children, as his wife Winnie explained:

> (...) Well we spoke English at home because, obviously Julián had come over to work much later than Andrés so he needed to get his English right, so we always spoke English at home, but the thing is, we never had any conflicts about it, the children all knew, we brought them up knowing certain words, you know, a little prayer, rhymes and little words, so when they did come to learn they found they understood more than they thought they knew (...) And Jonathan for example, he wanted to learn a bit when he was older, which he did, and he's got a very good accent, but he knows very little and if anyone speaks to him he says his few words and his accent's so beautiful that they say oh you speak Spanish and they rush off and he doesn't understand a single word (all laugh). It's quite funny, so, it was never an issue, but Julián didn't want them to think 'who's this strange person trying to...', you know, speak, so it wasn't, it's not natural (...)
>
> (Extracts from interviews with Marianne and Winnie with regards to Andrés and Julián who arrived in the UK in 1937 and 1960 respectively, Southampton 25/06/2002)

Julián's language behaviour in the family appears to be consistent with that of many mixed families where a working father was the key to transmitting the Spanish 'mother' tongue. Successful language transmission was impeded by the fear that teaching what the children perceived as an 'alien' language would become an imposition on them. Julián eventually submitted to the added pressures of having to improve his own English competence for work purposes and gave up trying to transmit Spanish.

Interestingly, during their interview, Winnie and Marianne speculated that if the key transmitter of the mother tongue had been the mother perhaps the children would have acquired Spanish more easily. The justifications adduced by Ramón for giving up

language transmission after numerous ingenious efforts to motivate his children into learning points towards similar assumptions that the parent who spends the most time with the children in the home might be the key language transmitter:

> *¿Y a tus hijos, les hablaste en español?*
> Yo empecé a hablarles en español, pero claro, ellos estaban completamente con mi esposa. Al estar completamente con mi esposa ellos empezaron a hablar en inglés antes que español. La alegría de poder conversar con uno de mis hijos, a mi no me importaba hablar en chino. El resultado fue de que con la intención de siempre hablarles en español, la alegria de poder conversar con ellos se me olvidó. A mi no me interesaba si era español, inglés, lo que fuera mientras podían responder. Al mismo tiempo esa combinación de que yo nunca estaba en casa sino trabajando quiere decir que yo tenía pocas oportunidades para machacarles. Al machacarles ya no era natural porque si le hablas continuamente, eso de sentaros aquí, como decía, además les hacía unas notas y eso, y vamos a dar el cuarto de baño, todos calladitos en coro los cuatro, no querían, con que al final me cabreé, estaba tan ocupado, con que hice una cinta y digo todas las noches, a mi no me necesitáis, ahí está la cinta, si quereis aprender, aprended. Claro que al cabo de un poco tiempo ya no. Resultado que el único español que aprendían era cuando íbamos, que íbamos bastante regularmente, casi todos los años a España (...). (59)
>
> (Ramón, born in 1938, arrived in the UK in 1953, interviewed in Winchester on 19/02/2002)

From the above case studies, it becomes clear that the idea of return did not feature prominently in the migratory projects of Julián, Andrés or Ramón. In this context it would not be wrong to assume that the parents perceived their children primarily as future British citizens, with Spanish being a secondary layer of identity that was available to them but which should not be imposed. This set of attitudes and factors – pressures of work; lack of time to invest in language transmission; the need to practice and improve the migrants' own in the majority language; or the children's refusal to speak in a language regarded as strange – which clearly supported language shift in mixed families, was also found to be common amongst families where both parents were Spanish, as a story within Marianne's own account illustrates:

> Andrés' teacher, who came with them (on the boat), she married a Spaniard from Andalucía and they had a daughter, and they had the same problems, and she didn't

> learn Spanish, much to their regret, because they were both Spanish, although she understood it as a child, because they obviously spoke to her in Spanish, but she came back to it in later life.
>
> (Extracts from interviews with Marianne and Winnie with regards to Andrés and Julián who arrived in the UK in 1937 and 1960 respectively, Southampton 25/06/2002)

Notwithstanding the value that these parents may have attached to the Spanish language in terms of preserving a Spanish cultural identification, the fact that they could not envisage a quick return to Spain appears to be a factor hindering language maintenance and supporting language shift in the family. Interestingly, 'coming back to it in later life', or the desire to re-acquaint oneself with their Spanish linguistic identity as an adult at a later date, was indeed a theme that was brought up by most informants with regard to the second generation, a phenomenon that is explored later in this chapter.

'Spanish' languages: Basque, Catalan, Valencian, Galician, Castilian

With the exception of Rosa, a Catalan informant whose case study I outline below, the general tendency of informants who spoke Spanish regional languages was to concentrate their efforts on transmitting Castilian. According to Marianne, Andrés spoke Basque as a child, and in the house where the interview took place various ornaments with Basque themes could be seen on display. However, explained Marianne, he never disclosed that he spoke the language. According to Winnie, Julián only spoke 'odd words' in Basque, such as 'Amatxu' and 'Aitaxu', that he had used to refer to his parents: 'a bit like my children speaking Spanish' she said, which indicates that it was Castilian rather than Basque that Julián tried to transmit to his children.

Despite being Galician, Eva always spoke to her three children in Castilian. When asked about the relevance of Galician to her, she explained that, unlike her grandparents, she had not learn to speak 'proper' Galician due to the Franco regime's repression of regional languages, something that affected her generation and her parents'. Her granddaughter, she explained, can now speak 'proper' Galician since it has become a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. This is a reminder of the relevance that the political history of a language bears upon its community of speakers, in this case migrants (Gibbons and Ramírez, 2004: 53).

Between maintenance and shift: A success story of language transmission

Rosa's case study is interesting as language use in the home entailed the transmission of both, Catalan and (Chilean) Castilian as "mother" and "father" tongues respectively, alongside English. When asked about the language dynamics at home, Rosa tried to explained the tensions between the recommendations made by educational and health officials regarding language choice for the second generation at a time when a monolingual and assimilationist integration model was the norm, and her own doubts regarding transmission of the mother tongue:

> Como mi marido es chileno, pues hablamos en español entre nosotros dos. A mi hija, por ejemplo, le empecé a hablar en catalán. Luego empecé a tener mis dudas de si servía de algo porque me respondía en inglés y en aquella época parecía diálogo para besugos porque de repente estábamos delante de alguien y te miran porque yo le hablaba en una lengua, y aunque no la entendiesen, oían que la cría me contestaba en inglés, quiero decir, la mujer de mi hermano, que era maestra me decía no, no, tú no te preocupes que todo se registra, ella va grabando todo y en el momento dado, cuando es necesario sale. Bueno y sí, evidentemente en verano, cuando estábamos con la familia, pues la niña hablaba y luego, claro, vino el segundo, el mediano, y claro, entre ellos hablaban inglés, en el *play school* todo el *input* era en inglés, la única influencia diferente era yo. Mi marido le hablaba a la niña de vez en cuando en español, pero cositas sueltas, no una conversación larga y tendida. El segundo chico no es tan bueno para los idiomas, me parece que fue, no sé si sería la *health visitor*, no sé si viendo al niño o qué, me dijo que tenía sus dudas de que eso de hablarle en otra lengua que inglés podía ser nocivo porque le atrasaría la lectura y que empezaría a leer más lento. Bueno, lo único que puedo decir es que la niña es muy lista, me consta, porque en *sixth form* tuvo una amiga mía que la enseñaba y dijo que era, muy lista, y tiene habilidad para lenguas. (60)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

Rosa persevered, sought information, and successfully transmitted Catalan to all her children, improving her methodology with her youngest child. With the benefit of hindsight Rosa argues that education professionals were wrong when they encouraged monolingualism for migrants' children as this caused panic amongst parents who stopped transmitting mother tongues. Today she is satisfied with the linguistic strategies that she adopted since all her children have successfully pursued higher education

degrees involving languages, something undoubtedly enhanced by the language transmission strategies deployed by their parents in the home:

> El segundo estudió *Business Studies* con español y también tuvo que hacer francés. El puede conversar perfectamente en castellano, en catalán, ya digo, mezcla un poco porque no tuve la consistencia que tuve con la niña, y con el tercero, claro se llevan 6 años y medio, en vista de lo que había pasado con los otros dos dije, no, aquí de lo que se trata, y eso lo leí una vez en un cuaderno de UNESCO de hace miles de años que decía que era muy nocivo, en la época franquista, que es lo que hacía por ejemplo mi vecina, que por esnobismo, por el síndrome del camaleón, de que eres del color que te conviene en aquel momento, hablaba en castellano porque hacía más fino, en la casa el padre y la madre hablaban catalán entre ellos, decía que eso para un niño es muy nocivo en su formación psicológica porque está excluído, para él lo concibe como estar excluído de la familia porque le hablan diferente, sí, por ejemplo en nuestro caso Luis le habla en castellano y yo le hablo en catalán, pero entienden porque, bueno, había leído eso. La cuestión es que cuando llegó el tercero dije, bueno esta vez *I'll get it right, so* le voy a hablar sólamente en catalán porque claro, llegan a cierta edad que les da verguenza delante de los otros niños, no quieren que se les hable, en la otra lengua, y te hablan así en voz baja porque tienen complejo, y eso lo he oído de todo el mundo, pero hay que perseverar, entonces con Raúl por ejemplo lo que hacía era, si me decía algo en inglés decía *que dius,* que dices, ah, entonces él sabía que tenía que empezar la frase en catalán y este es muy académico. (61)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

> Sí, y este es, (her third son) bueno iba a decir 'largo', eso es una traducción, una catalanada como una casa, en catalán decimos 'moldad', quiero decir que es listo, y está haciendo griego clásico y ahora va a hacer Clásicas en la universidad. Pero quiero decir que este es otro que lenguas se le dan muy bien, incluso el mediano, que no es tan académico, que mezclaba, toda la vida tuvo, cuando tenía pongamos 10 años, tenía un *reading age* de 13, siempre estuvo más adelantado, o sea, que todo lo que me han dicho es nada. (62)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

I have included the above extracts from Rosa's interview in full as they reveal interesting information on the dynamics of mother tongue transmission within the family whilst reflecting instances of code-switching, interferences, and transfers

between the informant's mother tongue and English, a phenomenon that is discussed later in this chapter. Also interesting to note in this instance of successful language transmission is the fact that both Rosa and her husband came from high socio-educational backgrounds and appeared to have held similar expectations for their children. Although the higher educational and professional status of the parents would not appear to have played a significant role in supporting language transmission in the case of earlier migrants, e.g. Andrés, Rafael and Julián, who raised their children in the 1960s and 1970s, it seems plausible to argue that those migrants of similar status who did so in the 1980s and later were far more concerned with preserving bilingualism and biliteracy amongst the second generation. This is certainly the case of Carmelo and Marisa.

5.2.2. The educational battleground: Spanish education for Spanish migrant children

Given the temporary nature initially attached to post-war European migration, the concerns surrounding Spanish maintenance and transmission were linked to the need to integrate migrants' children quickly into the Spanish education system upon returning to Spain. To a lesser extent, for those who did not envisage a quick return, or a return at all, the transmission of Spanish was nevertheless considered a beneficial part of a cultural heritage which could enhance their children's education and future professional opportunities.

Mother tongue education provision

The British education legislation at the time when most of the informants' children went to school was based on the Education Act of 1944, which established compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and sixteen regardless of nationality who had been residents in the country for at least twelve months. On reaching schooling age, and irrespective of whether migrants planned to settle permanently in the UK, their children were quickly absorbed into the mainstream British education system, which in the 1960s and 1970s was based on monolingual education in the majority language and an assimilationist curriculum that was not challenged until the late 1970s and early 1980s (Tosi, 1984: xi). In the case of Spanish migrants, this clearly discouraged language maintenance and transmission whilst reinforcing language shift.

Prompted by a directive issued by the European Community Council in July 1977, member states were required to promote the teaching of the mother tongue and culture as part of the normal education curriculum and in cooperation with the states of origin. However, they were not required to start complying with the directive until July 1981, and the European Commission did not issue a report on its implementation until 1984. Despite the increasing acknowledgement that Britain was fast becoming a multi-cultural and multi-lingual nation, British policy makers were to use this period of almost a decade to engage in exploration and data collection (63).

Therefore, it was not until the mid 1980s that the debate on teaching and supporting provision of the mother tongue was seriously considered by local authorities in the UK, which meant that any subsequent measures introduced to support mother tongue teaching would have come too late to be of benefit to the children of the migrants that were the subject of this study. In such a context, language transmission was restricted to the interactional contexts of the migrants' domestic sphere, which I examined earlier, and the teaching arrangements organised at 'ethnic minority' level. In the Spanish case, this took the form of *clases complementarias* ('supplementary lessons'), which were organised by the *Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos* (APAs) and the *Asociaciones de Padres de Familia* (PPFFs).

Supplementary education

The limited resources available from official Spanish institutions to provide Spanish supplementary education for the children of migrants further eroded the possibilities of language transmission to the second generation.

Amongst migrant families where both parents were Spanish speakers, and for whom migration was to be temporary, we could distinguish different levels of commitment to transmit the mother tongue which depended on their different migration stages and targets. At the initial stage, when parents envisaged returning to Spain in the short or medium term, one of the main concerns that encouraged mother tongue transmission was the fear that a shift to English would result in the loss of the children's Spanish

identity and estrangement from the family. On returning to Spain they also feared that the children would struggle to integrate, particularly into mainstream Spanish education.

Documentary evidence extracted from migrant periodical publications of the 1970s reveals that together with the demands for a bilateral treaty on social security provision, education was one of the main concerns of Spanish first-generation immigrants in the UK. Unlike their 'assisted' counterparts in Germany, France or Switzerland, whose children benefited from enhanced educational funding and provision guaranteed by bilateral migration agreements, Spaniards in the UK constantly complained about the insufficient provision of mother tongue language and curricular education.

One of the reasons put forward to account for the reduced education provision in the UK stemmed from the 'un-assisted' nature of emigration to this country. Whilst most Spanish emigration to Western Europe was facilitated by the IEE (the Spanish Institute of Emigration), the majority of Spanish migrants that came to the UK did so independently. In practical terms this had consequences at the micro and macro level. On the one hand, Spaniards who had migrated outside of the control of the Spanish authorities were less informed about existing education provision and other officially funded services, as very few received the '*Guía del Emigrante en Gran Bretaña*' (Guide for Emigrants in Great Britain) that the IEE issued to migrants. On the other hand, with most migration to the UK being officially considered 'clandestine', the Spanish authorities could not accurately assess the real number of migrants and children that there were in the country at any given time in order to effectively allocate the necessary education resources. Official underestimates therefore resulted in under-provision and in the concentration of the few available resources in London, out of the reach of other Spanish communities that had emerged unevenly in other parts of the UK. Hence the ongoing demands for the provision of Spanish language classes and educational programmes that were voiced by migrant associations during the 1970s and well into the 1980s. But let us examine the characteristics and functioning of the existing provision in some detail.

According to a report by Evaristo Iglesias entitled '*No tenemos escuelas*' ('We haven't got schools') that was published in 1973 in *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra,* no. 2, the main institutions that provided Spanish mother tongue teaching

were located in London and consisted of: The emblematic Cañada Blanch School, the Institute of Spain, and a Spanish nursery school. The Cañada Blanch School, with capacity for only 150 children, had been created thanks to the private funding of a wealthy Spanish fruit exporter. In addition, the London-based Order of the Sisters of María Inmaculada were known to have established and run a Spanish primary school, a Baccalaureate programme, and supplementary mother tongue classes which benefited a further 200 children from areas with a significant Spanish presence. However, migrants complained that not enough information was provided as to how to find these classes. The report added that some 'poorly resourced' classes were also being taught at the *Hogar Español*. Further documentary evidence in the form of letters to the editor and articles that also appeared in the Spanish migrant periodicals highlighted the poor functioning and lack of reliability and resources as well as the poor training of the teachers that staffed these schools. At a time when return was still a certainty in the migratory project of many migrants, the lack of adequate mother tongue education provision was a source of great frustration and despair, something which the same report emphasised, appealing to the strongest support to preserve a Spanish cultural identity:

> No hace falta que insistamos en la primordialísima importancia que la enseñanza de nuestra lengua y de nuestra cultura tiene para nuestros hijos y para nosotros mismos. Al nacer y crecer en un ambiente inglés, nuestros hijos absorven [sic] la cultura inglesa, desligándose así de la realidad y del mundo de sus padres. Se crea así en el niño un estado de ánimo muy delicado y muy peligroso. Los padres no tenemos tiempo de enseñarles nuestra lengua y pocos de nosotros podemos enseñarles otra cosa. En una palabra, el niño crece lejos de España, algunos de ellos no hablan nada de español. O sea, crecen también lejos de la familia, ya que la lengua es el más importante medio de comunicación familiar. Y esto se agrava si pensamos en el retorno a España, más tarde o más temprano, es algo que deberá ocurrir. ¿Qué pasará entonces con nuestros hijos? Se sentirán desplazados en la propria tierra de sus padres y se sentirán extranjeros en su país. Y tendrán serios problemas para ambientarse y para integrarse. (64)
>
> (Extract from 'No tenemos escuelas', *Emigrante – Boletín del Trabajador Español en Inglaterra,* Londres, no. 2, 1973, pp.4-5)

The report then denounced the lack of interest in addressing the education problem on the part of the Spanish authorities, despite the prominence that the new Law of

Education had given to the education of Spanish migrant children which justified the migrants' legitimate entitlement to demand adequate education provision, a right that was constantly flagged up in migrants' discourses during this period. The fact that migrants felt that they were actively contributing to Spain's economic recovery and development with their remittances further fuelled their sense of injustice.

Thus outlined, the 'educational problem' was one of the main concerns constantly being raised by Spanish associations in the UK which was to remain on the agenda of the migrants' federations until the late 1980s.

In the absence of sufficient provision migrants initially took it upon themselves to organise supplementary Spanish classes for their children as a complement to their British mainstream education. Often these classes started in the parents' own homes with improvised materials and resources. Progressively, the parents organised themselves into formal associations – the *Asociaciones de Padres de Familia* mentioned earlier – and liaised with British local authorities in order to negotiate better premises in community halls and centres. Some of these classes were also held at and partly funded by the official *Casas de España*, provided that parents could justify guaranteeing a minimum number of children.

Only two out of the eleven families that participated in this study reported having sent their children to *clases complementarias* available in their local areas. These two families were made up of native Spanish-speaking parents. In Dora's family both her and her husband were Andalusian Castilian speakers. In the case of Rosa, she is a Catalan-speaker and her Chilean husband the main Castilian speaker.

Rosa's experience, examined in the previous chapter in relation to associative practices, revealed the difficulties that she faced when trying to prove to the Spanish authorities that there was a substantiated need to maintain the local *clases complementarias*. In the case of Dora, her four children attended the Spanish classes provided at the *Casa de España* in Bournemouth for a number of years. Although their regular attendance did not enable the children to acquire Spanish in any substantial way, it may nevertheless have set the foundations for a later return to learning as adults, something that two of her four children have recently embarked on.

In a more reflective tone than previous criticisms, an article by Rafael Girón published in the newsletter of UAPA *(Unión de Asociaciones de Padres de Alumnos)* evaluated the situation of Spanish migrants after a stay of fifteen to twenty-five years residence in the UK. Interestingly, the article suggested that after that period of time Spaniards had 'forgotten' that they were 'emigrants' and now considered themselves 'residents'. It then exposed the shortcomings of the *clases complementarias* in a rather dispassionate and moderate manner, which marks a departure from the confrontational tone that had characterised the educational demands of Spanish associations in the previous decade. The extracts that I reproduce below provide candid insights into the process of what we could label as 'identity re-definition recognition':

> (...) Yo creo que la mayoría de los españoles residentes en este país llevamos aquí entre 15 y 25 años; vinimos al final de los cincuentas o principios de los sesentas y nos hemos olvidado de que somos emigrantes para considerarnos residentes y no es que no me guste la calificación de emigrante, es que como solo hemos emigrado una vez nos pasa aquello de que "una vez que mate un gato, me llamaron mata-gatos (...).(65)
>
> ('Emigrante', Boletín Informativo de UAPA, no. 4, 1981, p.8)

Not surprisingly, in his readiness to accept his new identity as a resident, the author of the above statement, most probably unconsciously after 15-25 years in this country, had already began to anglicise his mother tongue (e.g. 'al final de los *cincuentas* o principio de los *sesentas*').

The exchange of the label 'emigrant' for that of 'resident', combined with the emphasis placed upon the migrants' contributions to the UK, suggests that rather than a 'host country' the UK was becoming a 'second homeland':

> (...) de los residentes españoles que llevamos 20 años en este país, creo, sin lugar a duda, que me refiero a una buena proporción que para empezar está agradecida a este país, por la acogida, y las facilidades que nos ha concedido y que nos ha permitido establecernos permanentemente, considerándolo como una segunda patria. (66)
>
> ('Emigrante', Boletín Informativo de UAPA, no. 4, 1981, p.8)

In such a context, mother tongue education for Spanish children had by now ceased to be a problem to become simply a concern. Similarly, this represents a turning point in the construction of identity for the second-generation, which is seen as already deeply integrated into British society, to the extent that even the term 'second-generation' becomes questionable. Nevertheless, there is still a sense of anticipated regret that whilst the children thrived within the English education system they might never develop the Spanish facets of their identity:

> Esas familias que tienen hijos en edad escolar y cuya principal preocupación es la educación de sus hijos; y digo preocupación y no problema, porque el problema no existe, ya que nuestros hijos asisten a las escuelas inglesas, donde no solo no sufren discriminación, sino lo contrario, donde normalmente alcanzan niveles más bien superiores y si les ayudamos y animamos pueden llegar hasta donde su inteligencia y voluntad de estudiar les permita. Pero lo que nos preocupa es que en la escuela inglesa, nuestros hijos se vuelven ingleses y aunque agradecidos a este país, nosotros nos sentimos españoles y queremos darle a nuestros hijos la oportunidad de ser españoles también. (67)
>
> ('Emigrante', Boletín Informativo de UAPA, no. 4, 1981, p.8)

Hence the expressed need to maintain and improve supplementary education. The following extract of the same article exposes the inadequacies of this supplementary provision in a much less aggressive tone than was used in previous demands that criticised the lack of educational provision and support from the Spanish authorities. Limiting its criticism to outlining what was wrong and proposing complementary activities:

> (...) Las clases complementarias de Lengua y Cultura Española son una ayuda, pero desgraciadamente no es suficiente, los alumnos aprenden el idioma muy lentamente. Estas clases son insuficientes y carecen de material y libros adecuados para la enseñanza de niños que en la mayoría de los casos tienen el inglés como idioma base. Estas clases están tan mezcladas; niños de diversas edades a diversos niveles, que encontarmos la paradoja de un niño de 15 años estudando con el mismo libro que otro de 8 o 9 años (...) Como complemento de estas clases debemos organizar otras actividades culturales: documentales, grupos de baile, teatro o canto, conferencias, conciertos, exposiciones, bibliotecas, ...etc. (68)
>
> ('Emigrante', Boletín Informativo de UAPA, no. 4, 1981, p.8)

Despite the longing to retain the option of a Spanish identity for the second generation, in a resigned tone the article concludes with the acknowledgment that the future lies in a European identity, a compromise between the Spanish and British duality in which the 'migrant' identity can be fully diluted:

> El futuro de nuestros hijos se espera mejor todavía, a la entrada de España en la Comunidad Europea que se prevee para el 1 de Enero de 1986. No podemos esperar que sea la panacea que cure inmediatamente la enfermedad económica que sufre nuestra Patria, pero sí un remedio que la vaya mejorando hasta ponerla lo suficiente fuerte para una total integración. Nosotros ya estamos aquí, ya estamos viviendo en Europa y debemos mirar al futuro con esperanza para nosotros y más todavía para nuestros hijos pues se multiplicarán los puestos de trabajo para todos aquellos que posean la ventaja de dos idiomas. (69)
>
> ('Emigrante', Boletín Informativo de UAPA, no. 4, 1981, p.8)

The above article is representative of a stage of consolidation of the migratory process that coincides with the Spanish political transition, a time when migrants who had not yet returned to Spain began to contemplate permanent or semi-permanent settlement as a certainty. The realisation that the transition had not directly translated into improved economic conditions that would facilitate a quick return and reintegration, coupled with acceptance of the fact that the second generation was becoming integrated into mainstream British society through schooling, supported language shift to the detriment of language maintenance and mother tongue transmission. Through this process, many Spanish parents started to realise that their children might have better education and employment opportunities in the host country than in Spain, a country that continued to endure high levels of unemployment and oversubscribed universities. In many cases, this led to the resignation that the children's Spanish cultural identity would only resurface sporadically, in the course of holiday visits to Spain, and was thus relegated to a secondary, more dormant, position in the development of their identification patterns.

5.3. Linguistic belongings: Traceability of foreign accents and language variation amongst first-generation migrants

'Bloody foreigners!'

Unlike their offspring, who through the acquisition of English as a mother tongue became indistinguishable from the British native population, the informants studied in this thesis always retained distinctive linguistic characteristics that singled them out as non-native speakers. For some, this was to reinforce their feelings of alienation, something that is regarded as a problem by many informants. Julián, for exampled arrived in the UK aged 35 after being recruited by a British firm to carry out a highly technical job. During the interview with Winnie, his British widow, language came up as *the* only area of difficulty that Julián experienced throughout his life in Britain:

> *Did Julián experience any problems in England?*
> Well, no, except people didn't understand him very well because, because his English, in fact, his knowledge of English was excellent, he learned to read and write before he learned to speak, so he never lost his accent and some people found him quite difficult to understand (...) and I think that that did stand in his way at work, and at one point when he was having an appraisal they said, well, you know, they said 'your English isn't good', but his English was very good for reports, 'cause he had to write written reports when he did a contract and they were always excellent, but they'd say in the appraisal your spoken English isn't, so Julian said, well, if you think that send me on a course. So we went off and had an assessment somewhere and they said it was perfectly alright but anyway. Out of that we went down to Bournemouth a day a week to have elocution lessons (laughs) (...) He said it was so funny at the elocution lessons, *how – now – brown – cow* and all that, it was hilarious (...) But in fact he never got better because, really, I used to say, you must try hard, if you try you can speak perfectly clearly and he'd say oh, well, I understand the other people so I don't care if they don't understand me. Yes it was a bit naughty.
>
> (Extracts from interviews with Marianne and Winnie with regards to Andrés and Julián who arrived in the UK in 1937 and 1960 respectively, Southampton 25/06/2002)

For Sebastián, acquiring a non-foreign-accented English was a key factor to achieving greater acceptance and integration within British society. At the same time as he praised the advantages of being the only Spaniard within his immediate interactional contexts,

he acknowledged feeling that 'having an accent was a handicap and a factor that could lead to exposure as a foreigner when speaking to English people'. According to Sebastián, this exposure, which he describes as a feeling of being 'distanced' from his British counterparts, is punctuated by the question 'where are you from?'. In his view, foreigners are often made fun of due to their accents, and for that reason, he argued, mixing with Italians and other Spaniards was a negative influence, and something that he ensured his son would not have to undergo by sending him to a non-denominational comprehensive school rather than the Catholic schools that some of the children of Italian and Spanish migrants that he knew attended.

Similarly, a migrant's story contained within Rosa's own migration account illustrates this type of perception with regards to the role of accents. In this case, having a foreign accent is not only seen as a factor that triggers mockery and separation, but is also used by the informant herself to construct her own identity in terms of separation from the 'other' Spanish migrants forced to emigrate out of economic need, and by opposition to 'their' very differently perceived migration and language experiences:

> Pagaba £1.75 a la semana, creo, y eran 3 horas o algo así. Era regalado. Le llamaban *adult education*. De calidad pues estaba bien, no era intensivo pero bueno, tampoco lo hubiera podido hacer intensivo. Había una señora mayor, mayor para mi entonces, de 40 o 50, española, ni sé de dónde. Bueno, la mujer llevaba como 40 años en Londres y su acento era atroz, y claro, la visión que que tenía yo es que claro, habían habido todos esos que habían ido antes que yo, claro, en los sesenta, cuando la gran emigración de España a Suíza y Alemania. Esa gente se mantenía en ghettos porque como los trabajos que podían hacer sin la lengua eran la mayoría en hostelería, entonces ahí no hablas mucho, aprendes 'buenos días', 'buenas tardes' y 'aquí está el café o el periódico', pero no pasabas de ahí y entonces lo que pasaba en la cocina, o dónde fuese, es que hablaban entre ellos con italianos. Nunca aprendían.Yo estoy segura de que cuando yo trabajaba, por ejemplo, en la oficina toda la gente eran más o menos culta, quiero decir, con un inglés normal, pero si te pasas la vida con alguien que habla *pidgin English* nunca vas a hablar inglés, y esa española, me acuerdo que la pobre decía cada una, te reías, se inventaba el inglés (...). Claro, yo, bueno, no se me puede clasificar porque vine de motum propio. (70)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

The above accounts provided by informants from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds reveal a similar conflictive relationship between migrants and the English language. As we saw earlier, in some cases, the struggle to acquire the new language quickly became almost an obsession that led some to even seek voluntary exile from migrant communities. However, whilst the tremendous efforts invested in learning the language have significantly contributed to the achievement of their objectives, the indelible traces of their Spanish accents continue to act as a constant reminder of their origin and their foreignness. The realisation that achieving a native English accent was perhaps an unattainable aspiration may underlie the mixture of resignation, irony, and humour with which some of the participants concluded their accounts when asked questions that made them consider their position with regard to their current identifications and sense of belonging. Their answers denote that, despite the length of time they have lived and worked in the UK, and despite their willingness to actively integrate, they still regard themselves as not quite fully belonging. When making such reflections, language almost always comes up as the last obstacle to achieving complete acceptance which might finally allow them to drop the qualification of 'immigrant' or 'foreigner', as the following quotes very tactfully reveal:

> *¿Entonces, no has tenido ninguna limitación en Inglaterra?*
> No, ninguna, pero aquí siempre serás un extranjero.
> *¿Por qué?*
> Porque sí, un extranjero aquí será siempre un extranjero, porque el inglés es así. Pero claro, dentro de eso, por ejemplo, yo no dejo que personalmente me afecte, al contrario, porque me han pasado casos, por el inglés, por el acento, y todo con ingleses porque estamos siempre con ingleses, y hacen comentarios sobre el acento que tengo o que lo he dicho mal. Pues no me afecta en absoluto, todo lo contrario, ataco de tal manero que lo dejo bajos. ¿Comprendes? Si me dicen ah, tu inglés no es bueno, que tú eres extranjero y tal y cual, yo le contra-ataco: por lo menos sé hablar algo que tú no sabes hablar nada en absoluto. Pero eso soy yo, hay otros a quien le afecta. No ahora que llevo tanto tiempo. Al principio pues también, por ejemplo, cuando en un bar hablando con un español en español y de repente uno de al lado sin no tener que ver nada decía *bloody foreigners*. Pero bueno, eso es porque el inglés si te digo que es racista yo personalmente sí lo diría, aunque ellos dicen que no, porque es una isla, ellos no se encuentran lo que llamo yo integrados, ellos no se llaman europeos, pero claro esa es su opinión. (71)

(Mario, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Bournemouth on 30/05/2002)

¿Y cómo te sientes después de tanto tiempo en Inglaterra?

Mientras no abro la boca como ellos (laughs). Así que abro la boca ya me dicen ¿y de dónde eres? Y muchas veces yo les digo así en plan de coña, 'de Wincanton', 'de Wincanton? that's English, that's England!'.'Yes, ¿tú sabes dónde están las carreras de caballos tan populares? pues de ahí vengo yo'. O sea, me lo tomo a coña. Pero tuvimos suerte en ese aspecto. Nadie nos desprecia, nadie nos mira como extranjeros y es más, muchas veces, yo qué sé, será por la forma en que también tratamos a la gente, o la gente que hemos tratado que mira lo que somos, que no nos mira como extranjeros. En ese aspecto estoy muy contenta de estar aquí porque si no fuera así no estaríamos. (72)

(Ana, born in 1936, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Southampton on 6/12/2001)

Madalena also treats her 'foreignness' with a sense of humour and as something that she has used to extricate herself from awkward situations, as she explained in her interview when recounting an incident that occurred to her soon after arriving in the UK. Riding with a friend one day, they decided to trot on a very inviting tract of grass that, unknown to them, was out of bounds to the general public. When the groundsman saw them he reacted angrily chasing and shouting after them to get out. Madalena said to her friend, who happened to be an English native speaker, not to worry, as she would handle the situation. She then shouted back to the keeper 'sorry, not English, don't understand', to which the keeper shouted back: *'Bloody foreigners!*. Madalena said that she laughed about it and that since that day she likes to think of herself more as a 'foreigner' than as an 'emigrant' or a 'British citizen'. Similarly, Carmelo's irony during his interview went as far as to suggest that he was currently working on improving his Spanish accent when he spoke English.

It could be concluded that even though the battle to achieve perfect language competence in English, understood by migrants as an ideal non-foreign-accented version of the language, was never fully won by the first generation, this did not deter them from achieving most of their migration objectives. In terms of integration though, and judging by their current reflective positioning with respect to the host society, rather than full assimilation, what these migrants seem to have achieved, according to the

conclusions of their accounts, is various degrees of comfortable accommodation at the social, economic, and professional-occupational levels.

Spanish language variation

As the quotes from the informants so far cited in this chapter reveal, there are frequent examples that indicate that the Spanish spoken by the first generation has changed considerably as a consequence of long-term contact with and influence of English. Language changes could be detected across most participants regardless of socio-economic and occupational background. I outline below some of the most regularly occurring types of language variation that I was able to observe.

Accent

The main variation in the pronunciation of Castilian Spanish is perceptible in the following phonemes: /t/ /v/ /r/ /rr/ /l/ /p/, which tend to be anglicised. This variation was particularly noticeable amongst those participants who arrived in the UK at a very young age, who either married British people and/or brought up their children in English as their mother tongue. This is the case of Ramón who left Spain in 1950 aged 15, carried out his studies at a British university, married a British wife and raised his children in an English-speaking household.

In contrast, Sebastián, who has lived in the United Kingdom for the same length of time as Ramón, displays no traces of English sounds when he speaks Spanish. Since both Ramón and Sebastián worked in English-speaking dominated environments – IT. research and printing respectively – as opposed to traditional migrant labour sectors, the fact that Sebastián married a Spanish person must have been a contributing factor to avoiding accent variation. Like Sebastián, Ana, who also married a Spaniard, displayed no accent variation in her spoken Spanish. On the other hand, despite having also married a Spanish person, Dora did display a strong accent variation towards English that probably derives from the lack of communication that ensued after her husband suffered a stroke. All of this suggests that family composition and communication dynamics in the home were contributing factors to accent variation amongst the group of informants that I interviewed.

Despite the strong influence of English sounds in Ramón and Dora's spoken Spanish, a foreign accent is still detected in their spoken English.

Code-switching and loans

The instances of code switching between English and Spanish that were noted during the interviews seem to operate at different levels and in different ways for different participants. Sebastián's Spanish, for instance, was often marked by English connectors or exclamatory expressions such as *'mind you', 'oh yeah', 'well'*, which he would automatically insert as punctuators to frame his speech. In a similar way, Rosa frequently naturally resorted to English expressions, such as *'you know', 'oh well'*, to seek acknowledgement or to mark transitions in her speech.

Participants also resorted to English loans when discussing issues that directly related to processes or events that had only been experienced in the UK, and for which they could not provide Spanish equivalents. This applied particularly to references to social encounters or communicative contexts related to employment, education or health services, where terms such as *'health visitor', 'baby-sitter', 'social worker', 'council tax', 'sick benefit'*, frequently appear inserted in Spanish speech without any explanation, which presupposes a shared linguistic awareness with the interviewer.

Equally, some participants, such as Sebastián, Eva, Dora or Jacinta, often resorted to English terms, such as *'blood pressure'*, *'stroke', or 'prescription'* when discussing medical problems that they had encountered in the UK for the first time. It must not be forgotten that most participants arrived in this country at a relatively young age and perhaps were not directly familiar with the Spanish terminology of medical ailments that they had not directly suffered.

An interesting and more complex type of code-switch was revealed when participants purposely used certain English terms or expressions that contained or summed up realities that they could not express effectively in Spanish. For example, it was not without a certain degree of irony that Sebastián reflected upon his use of the term 'partner' to refer to the relationship between his son and his son's girlfriend, which interpreted in the context of his later reflections about the 'more detached' nature of

family life in Britain, seemed to denote a certain scepticism towards the changing nature of relationships for the younger generations with regards to his own.

Rosa, on the other hand, also resorted to conscious switches to English expressions that she considered self-explanatory when defining herself, or rather her 'anglicised self', throughout her narrative:

> No, no, la única memoria que siempre me digo, oh, a veces de pequeña, qué sé yo, sueño, nunca he tenido así, no sé, sueños de esos, no sé, soy tal vez, tal vez *hands on*, soy *I'm a doer rather than a thinker*, (...)
>
> (...) pero cabe decir que nunca he estado *pennyless* (...).
>
> Soy bastante *resilient* (...). (73)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

A type of variation that was specific to Eva, the only participant that has remained immersed in a Portuguese-Spanish migrant community, involved the borrowing of etymological roots of English terms which she then 'hispanised' by adding open vowel endings. The following are frequently occurring examples in her speech: el shopo (the shop); el recipe (the recipe); un flate (a flat); Purbecke Roude (Purbeck Road); un tipe (a tip); Butes (Boots).

5.4. Retrospection after long-term settlement: The rediscovery of a 'fashionable' mother tongue

In the consolidated stages of their migration, when it is more appropriate to talk about permanent settlement, having achieved a reasonable level of English fluency, many migrants have embarked upon a journey of re-discovery, not only of the Spanish language, but also of Spanish history, politics, and other aspects of Spanish culture. What is interesting about this 'cultural exhumation' is that, not only does it appear to be used as a means of exploration and reconstruction of the original identity, but also as a way of promoting what is now perceived as a valuable cultural heritage that is considered worthy of sharing with the host society.

At the time of the interviews few amongst the informants' children appeared to have become bilingual or to have achieved substantial fluency in Spanish. When discussing

the reasons why the mother tongue had not been successfully transmitted, the informants stressed their current frustration and regret at a time when they have become aware of the unofficial recognition that the Spanish language has acquired. The widespread 'hispanisation' of popular culture, which in 'anglo' cultural contexts is evident in various ways, ranging from the increasing popularity of Latino music and dance to the international success of the Spanish film industry, and even the infiltration of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultural symbols in various manifestation of printed and visual media, has contributed to making knowledge of Spanish more appealing not only to British young people but also, amongst them, to the children of the informants.

In this context, some members of the 'second generation', now working adults, have undertaken the task of learning or improving their fossilised knowledge of Spanish as a second language. In most cases, this process is guided by practical considerations, such as the perceived potential enhancements to career and leisure opportunities through the development of communicative skills in a language that is not completely unfamiliar. Furthermore, in some cases, they are taking steps to ensure that their children – third-generation – acquire some knowledge of Spanish. One of the informants in an effort to encourage the transmission of her mother tongue had recently bought her granddaughter a doll designed as a teaching aid that sequentially speaks and sings in English and Spanish. The very fact of the existence of this doll (74) goes a long way to support the future maintenance of Spanish, itself a reflection of its increasing global recognition and marketability.

The Spanish language and culture of Hispanic associations

At the collective level, the current role of Spanish associations in the preservation and promotion of the Spanish language was discussed in the previous chapter. However, further considerations can be made here with regard to language use and to the specific ways in which language is promoted. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that rather than a mother tongue, the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* promotes Spanish as a cultural asset, and thus as a second and foreign language. When I commenced ethnographic observations in the autumn of 2001, most of the activities of the Society were carried out in English, which suggested that the promotion of Spanish cultural topics was more important than the language in which they were delivered. During the

following year, the Society started to introduce more recreational activities in Spanish, such as wine tasting, *tapas* evenings, Spanish card games, and quiz competitions, all of which involved a certain use of Spanish words and sentences. With a recent influx of new members there has been an increase in the number of younger people and visitors, mainly of British and Latin American origin, and to a lesser extent, Spanish. This has been perceived by the Society as a kind of 'revival', which has infused its members with new enthusiasm and optimism. Contrary to the traditional format of the Society's activities, requests by some of the new British members asking for the talks to be carried out entirely in Spanish are meeting resistance. These new members would appear to be more interested in hearing and practising the Spanish language than in the actual topic of the talk, which suggests a reversal not only from my initial observations back in 2001, but also from the dominant pattern that has characterised the Society since its origins in 1963.

With regards to the cultural content of the Society's activities, there appears to be a demand for more popular events, such as *salsa* evenings and Spanish *tapas* meals and competitions to be held in alternative and more lively venues than the current university premises. An informative website has recently been created to promote the Society and any other local events related to the Spanish-speaking world (http://www.sociedadhispanica.co.uk). The Society still maintains its presence at key events held by official Spanish institutions in the UK, such as the Spanish Embassy and the Consejería Laboral, and its relationship with Modern Languages at the University of Southampton continues to be cherished.

As it emerges from the individual trajectories of this group of informants and the evolution of the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, after decades of 'suppressing' their mother tongue and 'diluting' their ethnicity as a way to become integrated in British society, it is almost ironic that they now find themselves re-discovering that their culture and their language have become a fashionable commodity in the host country. Although it is too early to anticipate the extent to which this might fuel a reversal in the past language shift, the current popularity of the Spanish language is undoubtedly a factor that will support language maintenance in the future.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

In this chapter I outline the main findings of the thesis which I believe contribute to answering the two main questions that have guided its research: the extent of the interwoven political and economic dimensions of Spanish migration in the 1950s-1970s, and the scale of the impact that this migration appears to have had upon the migrants' identifications and attachments. I conclude with a review of some of the methodological insights gained through working with migrant oral histories before finally considering the thesis' scope for future research and alternative lines of enquiry.

6.1. On the political-economic dichotomy of Spanish emigration

Migration as an 'economic' phenomenon

At a macro-structural level, approaches to the study of migration and migration discourses have traditionally been characterised by an underlying assumption that migration is an 'anomaly', a 'deviance' from the norm, the norm signifying the rooting and attachments of individuals to fixed places of origin. In this context, both emigration and immigration – the two dimensions of this form of human mobility – seen as a problematic 'transgression' in both the country of origin and destination. Whilst social and political discourses have been busy debating the 'phenomenon' of migration, scholars across the disciplines have tended to focus their attention on establishing the root causes and impact of migration. This emphasis on causality, which is found in the study of other problematic and conflictual aspects of human experience, like war and political violence, hinders rather than contributes to our better understanding of human mobility. As Zulaika points out (1999: 74), the subordination of scientific enquiry to the idea of 'cause' leads to the disregard of important categorical differences between various forms of causation.

At the micro-structural level, the emphasis on the 'causes of migration' has translated into an emphasis being placed on the motivational factors that lead people to migrate. Accordingly, a narrow distinction between 'economic' and 'political' migration has come to dominate migration discourses. Contrasting with this over-simplistic framework, one of the main findings emerging from this thesis is precisely the wide range of motivations, aspirations and life trajectories that characterise Spanish migration

to the UK during the 1950s-1970s, which transcend both categories and challenge the purely economic nature that has traditionally been attached to this migration episode. Few amongst the informants that contributed to this study solely fitted either migration category, and, in most cases, the boundaries between the political and the economic realms of their migration experience became blurred in the analysis of their motivations, personal backgrounds, and life trajectories.

As Bateson argues (1985: 429), the focus on the positive causes of a given phenomenon highlights the functional, non-probabilistic and causal aspects of such phenomenon, restricting the factors on which predictions are based and leading to simplified teleological analysis based on the concept of means and ends. In the case of migration, when considering the aggregate of motivations expressed by the informants through their narratives it becomes increasingly difficult to interpret their presence in the UK as the mere result of post-war demand for foreign labour in industrialised Western Europe combined with the high levels of unemployment endured in Spain during its phase of economic *desarrollismo*, which is what a causal analytical framework would require.

From the two informants who remained in the UK after being evacuated as children during the Spanish Civil War to those who came to work and/or study English or engage in higher education, and those who married British citizens, the reasons for coming to the UK present themselves as complex and multifaceted. Amongst those migration narratives that contained explicit references to the precarious employment and economic situation of Spain, further factors often compounded the informants' decisions to leave the country. Amongst three female informants, for instance, disillusionment and the prospects of escaping the oppression of a patriarchal family weighed heavily, as was the case of Jacinta:

> (...) Bueno lógicamente como te he dicho antes ha sido económicamente, cuando tienes 18 años quieres tener muchas cosas y yo no tenía nada. Esto me creó un estado de frustración, no no se puede decir que he sido muy feliz en España yo. Carecía de muchas cosas. (First migration: arrived in the UK in 1964)

> (...) Pues estaba aburrida de andar de un lugar para otro con trabajos oscuros, trabajos simples, que lo único que me creaban era una isolación terrible, claro que yo me

> aprovechaba porque salía más, cosa que mi padre me impedía. (Second migration: 1971). (75)
>
> (Jacinta, born in 1946, emigrated to the UK twice, first in 1964-65 and permanently in 1971, interviewed in Bournemouth on 23/05/2002)

For other informants who appeared less pressed by economic need, the new possibilities opened up by the regime's liberalisation of emigration facilitated an added sense of adventure and a climate inducive to leaving the country and trying out new experiences:

> Sí porque después cuando los contratos estubieron ya en la mano pues vamos, a lo mejor el dia de mañana nos pesa el no haber experimentado esta aventura, además mi madre estaba encantada de quedarse con la niña (...).(76)
>
> (Ana, born in 1936, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Southampton on 6/12/2001)

One of the informants, who objected to being considered a migrant, was amongst those who had married a British citizen and decided to transfer his life to the UK:

> *Entonces no te consideras un emigrante?*
> No, no, no en absoluto, yo vine solamente por mi mujer si no no vengo (...) yo era un señor que estaba trabajando allí en España y conoció a una mujer y se vino para acá (...) ella trabajaba, era bailarina para un grupo para esta organización inglesa que tienen campings en España y en Inglaterra y al final de temporada iban allí (Majorca). (77)
>
> (Mario, born in 1954, arrived in the UK in 1972, interviewed in Bournemouth on 30/05/2002)

Just as the above motivations transcend the simple logic of the economic-political migration dichotomy, so do the informants' life trajectories as they unfold through their narratives. In them, personal achievements are acknowledged not only in terms of improvements to their pre-migration economic conditions, but especially in terms of enhancements to their social, cultural, and professional projections. From a gender perspective, female informants often expressed the achievements that they had derived from their migration in terms of acquisition of new spheres of social agency through employment, greater independence, and sexual freedom that were unavailable to them in Spain at the time of their departure.

The 'political' as 'economic background'

If the 'economic' as motivation does not appear to contribute anything other than a partial contextual perspective at the macro-structural level, an emphasis on the 'political' also provides only partial insights that do not complete our understanding of this migration episode.

Even though the informants' narratives often contained critical references to the social and political situation of Spain at the time of their migration, these criticisms were in most cases not strong enough to articulate themselves in political activities in the UK. With the exception of Carmelo, who engaged in open political activities through the Labour Party and various solidarity campaigns with Latin America – and who prior to coming to the UK had been active in the Spanish anti-Francoist student movement – most narratives tended to express apathy rather than enthusiasm regarding politics:

> *Había cambiado España en algo cuando volviste la primera vez?*
> No, no mucho, aún estaba Franco en el poder, las cosas no habían cambiado mucho, no había libertad de expresión, ni de prensa por supuesto, la cosa es que me decepcionó, la prensa siempre hablaba de lo mismo, Franco ha inaugurado un pantano, el tío se lió a hacer pantanos, era lo único que hacía. España estaba sumida en ...
> *Lo político te motivó alguna vez en tu decisión de irte de nuevo?*
> Um, es posible, inconscientemente, sí, que me haya afectado, porque yo veía mucha diferencia de clases, a mi me tocó la peor claro. Sí, sí que me influyó.
> *¿Pero no fue el principal motivo?*
> No, no porque no estaba envuelta en política, nunca estuve en la universidad o sea que, yo pienso que la transición se debió a los universitarios más que nada. (78)
>
> (Jacinta, born in 1946, emigrated to the UK twice, first in 1964-65 and permanently in 1971, interviewed in Bournemouth on 23/05/2002)

In contrast to this apparent disinterest the public discourse contained in migrant documentary sources dating to the late 1960s and early 1970s revealed active levels of politicisation amongst Spanish associations who openly supported Franco's internal opposition and demanded the democratisation of Spanish migration institutions abroad. Although these political awakenings would not appear to have manifested themselves

overtly in the Spanish networks that I researched in the South of England, the covert presence of the political was often inescapable. The very efforts to de-politicise their activities, as I have shown in the case of the *Casas de España* and the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, were themselves interpreted by migrants and informants as signs of Francoist affiliation, something that often determined their non-participation in those associations, as was the case with Carmelo, Cora and Ernesto. The 'political' therefore, also permeated migrant associational practices by its very absence.

The political is also present as background in the informants' narratives, which are often intertwined with willing and unwilling references to the political situation in Spain. Sometimes these references are made in passing, others they constitute time markers in their narrations and standpoints from which to contrast the different living conditions in Britain and Spain and the changes observed in Spanish society through visits and holidays. Only in a few narratives are political circumstances or situations put forward as direct triggers of migration, as is the case of Carmelo, Andrés, and Sebastian's initial migration. In other cases, it is with the benefit of hindsight that migrants realise the significance of the political contexts that surrounded their departure from Spain.

Interestingly, the informants whose socio-economic backgrounds and motivations most appear to conform to the categorical traits that are normally associated with 'economic' migration were the ones who most strongly rejected political factors as motivational in their migration. However, it was precisely in these narratives that the informants disclosed attachments to families where the father was associated with Republican Spain, and hence, with the losing side of the Spanish Civil War, which brings to the fore, once more, the complex relation between the political and economic factors of this migration. Indeed, in the aftermath of the Civil War, Franco's strategy to 'legitimise' his regime through violence and through the continual threat of violence (Richards, 1998: 171) not only contributed to the elimination of political dissent, but also unchained a pervading fear of political repression that instilled amongst many Spaniards who might have initially escaped direct reprisals an urge to remain anonymous. Safety in anonymity entailed an unavoidable social paralysis that was akin to a 'civil death' (Casanova, 2002: 23). Arguably, this prevented many Spaniards from engaging in any of the necessary social, economic and cultural initiatives that underlay human activity and self-improvement. In these circumstances, the only activities that escaped the

possibility of scrutiny by the omnipresent state were those imposed by nature: survival and reproduction. From this perspective, the post-Spanish Civil War generation inherited a set of impoverished and restrictive living conditions that were dominated by self-sufficiency, passive resistance, silence and isolation. From the late 1950s the regime's opening up of emigration as part of its economic and development policies gave many of those Spaniards who had remained in the socio-economic and cultural margins of Francoism a new projection that raised their expectations for self-improvement. Economic emigration was thus the ultimate form of escape from an oppressive political regime. At the same, the socio-political transformation of the impoverished losers of the Spanish Civil War into a new servile class that could be comodified and exported at times of economic convenience could also be interpreted as Franco's ultimate revenge upon Republican Spain.

6.2. On migration, identifications and attachments

Between pro-active assimilation and transnational identifications

Beyond migration motivations and contexts, which are only the realm of the initial stages of migration, a second duality that frames the evolution of Spanish post-war presence in the UK relates to the migrants' modes of incorporation into British society, and to the resulting forms of identification and attachments that they have developed. In this respect, I would situate the informants that were the subject of this study as inhabiting one or more of the following often interconnected spaces: assimilated spheres of 'Britishness' and transnational Anglo-Hispanic practices.

I understand assimilation into British spaces of sociability and interaction along the lines proposed by Brubaker (2001) that were outlined in Chapter 1, that is, based on a desired and actively pursued process of civic integration that has gradually taken place through linguistic shift, the socialisation patterns involved in raising a family in the UK, and the insertion of migrants into specific employment and professional sectors. According to this revised conceptualisation, and to the perceptions of the informants, assimilation is considered an accomplishment rather than an imposition. The way in which the narratives frequently dwell on what is perceived as the uniqueness of the informant's experiences and the advantages of being the odd (Spaniard) one out in a given British context mask a rejection of the segregation, ghettoisation, and

marginalisation that they identify in 'other immigrants'. From this perspective, and notwithstanding the almost prescriptive linguistic shift to English that the second generation experienced through schooling in the 1970s and mid 1980s, assimilation is interpreted by most as an achievement. The gradual process of ceasing to feel anxious about a presupposed migrant identity that was analysed in previous passages regarding associative and linguistic practices can be understood in the same light, as a necessary step along the route to a chosen process of assimilation.

The gradual transformation of the former *Casa de España* in Southampton into the current *Hispanic Society of Southampton* attests to this process of pro-active assimilation. Initially conceived with a mixed audience in mind that embraced Spanish emigrants – at the time perceived as isolated and vulnerable – and Britons –interested in the Spanish language or wishing to recreate their romanticised notions of Spain as the exoticised 'other' gained through travel, literature, or inspired by a pervading fascination with Spanish history and culture – the incompatibility between these two conceptions soon became evident. The closure of the Spanish Consulate of Southampton and the gradual transformation of Spaniards into residents accelerated the dissolution of the 'migrant' identity leading to an increasingly anglicised membership. Thus the Society gradually became 'less Spanish' and 'more British', which became evident in its organisation, agendas, activities and behaviour. Today, little remains in the way of a Spanish migrant presence. If anything, Spanish migrants are present by their absence, as evidenced by the response to the words of the current chairperson who, on opening a session, announced:

> Ah, and on the table here are the Spanish newspapers for those who find themselves outside of Spain.
>
> (Hispanic Society meeting of March 2003)

The papers in question were recent editions of *España Exterior* and *La Región,* resonant titles of migrant press that the Spanish Consulate in London sends to migrants' associations and clubs. No one picked up the papers because there were no 'migrants' in attendance, not even the Spanish members that had attended that evening.
This overview of the processes of ' anglicisation' that both the informants and the *Hispanic Society* have experienced, or perceive to have undergone, would be

incomplete without applying two further and interconnected notions of Brubaker's revised concept of assimilation: its multidimensionality and a broader focus on emerging commonalities between origin and destination, both of which necessitate wider frames of identifications and attachments of the assimilated population that transcend the national and ethnic frameworks to inevitably lead us to the paramount role of social class.

Class identities: Becoming 'free' to join the British class system

Focussing first on the multidimensional nature of assimilation, 'class' emerges as one of the key identification frameworks for Spaniards in the UK. As Fielding notes (1993: 57), post-war immigration practices in destination countries were 'class' as well as 'colour-biased', which determined that migration often took place under dispensations which allowed governments to issue work and residence permits for qualified workers in important posts in the host economy. Aided by the 'racial' invisibility conferred upon Spaniards by their perceived skin colour, class was the most determinant factor that shaped their incorporation into British society.

In the migratory context presented here social class can be understood in two not always coincidental ways: the socio-economic group into which migrants belonged before leaving Spain, and the socio-economic group in which they become inserted on arrival to Britain. During the initial stages of migration, the general restrictions that British immigration policies placed on the employment choice that was available to immigrants – mining, hotel and catering, services and the domestic sector – led not only to initial deskilling but in some cases also to social downgrading:

> A los 4 años ya puedes trabajar donde quieras. Los primeros 4 años, no es que fueramos señoritos, o gente muy pudiente en España pero mi madre tenía una señora para fregar las escaleras y cosas estas, ¿me entiendes? Y meterme yo a fregarle a otro. No es que fuera, ¿cómo te diría yo?, una rebaja my grande porque estás en diferente país y tienes que hacer, pero no estabas acostumbrado, no era aquello lo nuestro. Mi marido de estar en la carrera militar a tener que limpiar las botas de los demás. Era la cosa un poco, muy dura. (79)
>
> (Ana, born in 1936, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Southampton on 6/12/2001)

Unless migrants had specific skills that were in high demand in Britain, they had to remain employed in restricted manual sectors for a minimum period of four years, after which time migrants ceased to be 'aliens' and became 'residents'. On achieving this status, migrants were free to work in any sector as well as opening and running businesses. Julián was amongst the informants whose advanced knowledge of microwave technology allowed him to be recruited to a highly skilled job, which liberated him from the compliance of the immigration restrictions that were enshrined in the Alien Order of 1953. Julián's high profile job and marriage to a British citizen thus facilitated his quick absorption into the middle and professional echelons of the British class system. As the local press feature regarding his experiences in Britain entitled *'One of Us'* which I reproduce in Appendix 8 evidences, class perceptions not only aided assimilation but also fostered acceptance of migrants amongst the autochthonous population.

Unlike Julián, whose presence in the UK falls under the realm of so-called 'brain drain' migrations, others who came to swell the working-class ranks of the emigrant population could not escape the restrictive prescriptions of the Alien Order 1953 and the social classification that it entailed, regardless of the socio-economic extract of migrants in their home countries. The metaphor of 'suspended freedom' that emerges from many narratives suggests that the four-year restricted labour period imposed by British immigration policies was experienced by many migrants as a kind of 'penitence':

> Nos daban un libro verde pequeñito y tenías que ir a la policía cada *x* tiempo, entonces a los 4 años te mandaban una carta del Home Office en la que te notificaban que eras libre en el país, que tenías opción para abrir negocio, para cambiar de trabajo, en fin, que eras residente. (80)
>
> (Jacinta, born in 1946, emigrated to the UK twice, first in 1964-65 and permanently in 1971, interviewed in Bournemouth on 23/05/2002)

This is reinforced by the emphasis with which the informants convey the relief that accompanied the moment of their 'manumission', marked by the official communication from the Home Office that they had been relieved of the obligations attached to 'aliens', that is, the prohibition from bringing to or having children in the

UK, the obligation to register at the local police station and the duty to maintain the authorities informed of their whereabouts and changes in circumstances:

> No dejaban venir niños ni embarazadas, y si eran embarazadas antes de ser libres también volvían pa España, porque no querían tener gente a quien tener que ayudar. (...) Yo vine un año, mi marido vino por un año y al cabo de 3 años ya éramos libres, que era una suerte ser libre, tenía que ser 4 y a los 3 anõs nos hicieron libres, nos perdonaron 1 año a los dos, debió de ser porque la *manageress* nos arreglaba todo. (81)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 21/07/2003)

On achieving their so-called 'freedom' and becoming residents, migrants were able to compete for jobs in the general labour market and to feed into the British social class aspirational system with the advantages and restrictions deriving from their own educational and professional background, and most importantly, their knowledge and competence in the English language. But despite the opportunities that opened up with residence, many migrants remained in lower paid employment to this date and some currently find themselves on the fringes of social or cultural exclusion as they struggle to survive on inadequate pensions.

In contrast to Julián's optimistic and welcoming portrayal in the local British press, and despite consistent oral recollections pertaining to the presence of an estimated three thousand Spaniards who were employed in low-grade jobs in the area comprising Bournemouth, the New Forest, and Southampton, the complete absence of these 'other' Spaniards would attest to an invisibility that was perhaps not so much desired by the migrants as imposed by the public discourse of their hosts.

Anglo-Hispanic transnational practices

Under this sub-heading, and with reference to the broader emphasis of Brubaker's revised notion of assimilation on emerging commonalities between origin and destination, I would like to bring together a series of public and private patterns of behaviour that suggest that high levels of assimilation are not opposed to the maintenance and development of transnational practices.

In the public sphere, apart from the transnational orientation that is maintained through obvious business activities such as Spanish *tapas* bars and restaurants or delicatessen shops, traditional and profitable outlays for comodified symbolic ethnicities, the very existence, and persistence, of clubs and societies such as the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* and the shared re-discovery of Spain by Spaniards and Britons that takes place therein serves as evidence that the socio-cultural and linguistic shifts entailed by assimilation have not resulted in the obliteration of the original identifications. Far from that, making sense of Spanish history and culture through the essentialising forms of Spanish-ness that pervade these associations has become in the later stages of migration an important aspect of identity re-construction. Moreover, informants like Carmelo or Cora, who initially 'shunned' the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* as Francoist, have in recent years, due to the prominence of their Hispanic attachments within the university community, gravitated to its inescapable local presence thus contributing to its maintenance.

At the private level, an keen interest in exploring Spain and Spanish culture and history is often deployed by informants in various ways. Carmelo and Sebastián, for instance, appeared to be not only avid readers of Spanish history books, but also collectors of other Spanish memorabilia, such as Spanish stamps, postcards, paintings, or ornaments. Similarly, Ramón has since his retirement embarked on a journey of rediscovery of the different regions of Spain, a task that has led him to read history, listen to different regional music and take large amounts of photographs and slides on trips to Spain, which he now uses to give talks and presentations to other local Hispanic societies and community centres.

Either as a leisure activity or as an employment resource, studying and teaching Spanish language and related subjects is another way in which the recovery of a Spanish identification is enacted. Note for example, how Madalena, an informant who fled Spanish migrant spaces to embark on an 'assimilated' nursing career, has in her retirement set up the *Dorchester Spanish Circle*, which, in her words, aims at 'sharing our language and culture with the British'. The enthusiastic disposition with which Spaniards are willing to share cultural elements of their home country with their British counterparts has been undoubtedly enhanced by the gradual hispanisation of popular culture at a global level. Nevertheless, I would argue that besides the current

hispanophilic atmosphere, these behaviours are clear indications of the desired maintenance of transnational attachments and identifications.

From the perspective of the informants' life trajectories, the intensification of transnational practices in later life raises interesting questions:

- Could we interpret these practices as an attempt to recapture their once neglected 'Spanishness'?
- Are the informants at a stage in their lives in which they try to make sense of their whole migration experiences?
- Before the impossibility or impracticality of return, are these practices not an embodiment of a symbolic form of 'return'?
- Or are they coping strategies to deal with the nostalgia felt for a lost home country which has become *the* foreign country, and, as such, is now subject to exploration by the migrant-turned-tourist, just like their British hosts of yesteryear.

Along these lines, are holidays in Spain, buying a second home on the Spanish coast, or contemplating returning to Spain on retirement not a reflection of the extent to which Spaniards have assimilated into what would appear to be acquired patterns of British social behaviour? What emerges from these questions, just as the political and economic dimensions have shown themselves to be intertwined through the motivations and contexts that engendered this migration, is that after decades of permanent settlement in the UK Spaniards are caught between assimilation and transnational practices that highlight both their simultaneous belonging to and alienation from both Spain and the UK.

Neither British nor Spaniards: European citizens

Despite their perceived achievements and high levels of integration, some informants, more or less cautiously, expressed with a certain regret that they felt that they would never be totally accepted in the host society. As I explained in Chapter 5, the final insurmountable obstacle was for some informants the impossibility of achieving non-foreign accented fluency in English. In other instances, feelings of exclusion were

explained by appealing to what was described as the 'insularity' of the British or their different understanding of certain social relations:

> Son un poco hipócritas a veces los ingleses (...) hay el peligro de confundir la formalidad y la amabilidad que tienen por educacion con afecto, y a veces es puramente *how are you? how lovely to see you?* Eso no quiere decir que te estiman en nada pero es una fórmula que usan y los latinos la podemos juzgar un poco como hipócritas, un poco si, pero son diferentes. (82)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

In many cases, the perceived resignation that the informants would never fully belong to the host country has led them to resort to alternative referential frames that transcend both the country of origin and destination. This research has identified two such forms of identification. The first one is linked to Spain's early-deployed enthusiasm for becoming European, a target that had always been associated with becoming 'modern' and 'democratic', and something that finally materialised with Spain's incorporation to the European Community in 1986. A new 'Spanish European' identity removed the 'stigma' and inferiority complex that was often attached to emigration. At a bureaucratic level, the European identification legitimised the informants' decisions not to apply for a British passport, the ultimate step to achieving full citizenship rights in the host country, as this was no longer deemed advantageous or necessary:

> (...) de haber cambiado el pasaporte hubiese sido en la epoca franquista. Entonces era cuando no queria ser española, ahora, aunque no me sienta *you know* española y todo eso, pero en un momento en que hay democracia encuentro que no es el momento apropiado, ahora hay necesidad. (83)
>
> (Rosa, born in 1949, arrived in the UK in 1970, interviewed in Southampton on 29/05/2002)

The second form of alternative identification has emerged through inter-cultural contact between Spanish and Latin American migrants. The resulting 'Hispanic identity' is based on sharing a common language and what is perceived as a series of common cultural traditions, including family values and certain socialisation patterns as well as some more tangible elements such as food or music.

The influence of this second alternative pattern of identification has permeated formal and informal associations such as the *Hispanic Society of Southampton* and similar societies in Portsmouth, Reading, Basingstoke. Evidence can be found in an increasing Latin American membership and Latin American themed activities. In the case of *La Tertulia,* the 'Hispanic' identification appears to be the unifying element of this informal network. In the words of one of its members, Marisa, 'escaping for a while and sharing common values' is its principal aim. Interestingly, as was noted in Chapter 4, from a historical perspective, the associative practices of *La Tertulia* remind us of the informal social gatherings of previous Spanish migrations, i.e. Spanish liberal exiles in London in the early nineteenth century and Spanish exiles and refugees from the Spanish Civil War. However, the fact that the participants are all women suggests that gender is also an important form of identification. Moreover, the fact that most of these women are engaged in Spanish-teaching related occupations suggests that professional and educational backgrounds, and related class considerations, are equally important sources of identification that transcend the national realm, whilst reinforcing the multidimensionality of migration and assimilation.

6.3. On memory – Forgetting 'migranthood'

In this section I would like to reflect on how some methodological insights gained in the course of this research can themselves be interpreted as reinforcing one of the main themes emerging from this research – the conscious reconstruction of a non-migrant identity by the Spaniards in the UK – has become evident not only in the content of their oral histories, but, more subtly, in the way in which they reconstruct their identities through narrative.

Being relatively young at the time of arrival, in most cases in their early twenties, the informants have now spent a much longer period of their lives in the host country. Notwithstanding the factual information that might not be remembered after the four or five decades that mediate between migration and narration, what is interesting to note here is precisely what has been erased from individual and collective memory. In order to illustrate the dynamics of 'forgetting', I discus below three key examples that have emerged in this thesis: the unawareness of the 'clandestine' nature of Spanish

emigration; the different responses elicited by this research amongst the informants; and the rhetorical resort to embedded stories of 'other migrants' within the informants' own narratives in order to reconstruct a non-migrant past by contrast.

Forgetting 'clandestine migration'

As explained in Chapter 3, one of the main characteristics of Spanish emigration to the UK that sets it apart from migration to other countries of Western Europe in the same period, e.g. Germany, France, Switzerland or Belgium, was its independent nature and the higher incidence of 'irregular' or 'unassisted' emigration, which attracted a significant number of Spaniards. As one participant who had previous experience of assisted migration to Germany put it:

> La emigración a Inglaterra era más libre, mejor que la de Franco. (84)
>
> (Extract from informal conversation with Pepe, member of the former Spanish community of Lymington, Lymington, 7/04/2002)

Emigration to the UK was normally effected under the pretence of tourism with the reliance of existing migration networks or independent means. Networks were usually built around information and support supplied by relatives and friends already established in the host country, or provided by marriage to a British citizen.
In the absence of such networks, informants like Ana and Eva relied on what Castles and Miller call the meso-structures (2003: 28), that is, migration agents, a semi-official figure that operated in an interstitial position between macro and micro structures facilitating arrival into the host country, satisfaction of immigration controls and employment and accommodation arrangements. According to Eva, the Trans-Channel was one such agency:

> Mucha gente escribía a una agencia que había en Londres. Se llamaba Trans-Channel pero era, las pobres vinieron con muy mala suerte, las esperaba un señor con una hoja roja en la chaqueta en Victoria, en Waterloo y las llevaba, algunas las llevaba pa casas, a servir en Londres, por todo Londres. (85)
>
> (Eva, born in 1929, arrived in the UK in 1962, interviewed in Bournemouth on 21/07/2003)

Although Eva, like other informants, remembers with great detail the people and *modus operandi* of this agency, it is at first surprising that their narratives reveal no awareness of the supposedly 'irregular' and 'clandestine' nature attached to these practices by the Francoist regime. More broadly, references made to the general immigration procedures that had to be complied with on arrival to the UK seemed remote and detached from most migration narrations. Unless directly probed, informants would not volunteer much information to this respect, which can be interpreted as a conscious or unconscious desire to conceal and forget those events or details that directly relate to the condition of 'immigrant', especially in the current context in which such a condition has been loaded with negative connotations.

In any case, since arrival to the UK with a valid tourist passport was legitimate, and regularisation of immigration status possible with a contract of employment supplied a posteriori, the perception of the 'irregularity' was only one-sided and held by the Spanish authorities. Once again, it is interesting to note the ambivalent approach adopted by the regime in this respect: whilst irregular migration was denounced publicly, its real extent was not officially admitted nor widely publicised, and at the same time, the Spanish institutions of assisted emigration were deployed in the UK to 'help' independent migrants *in situ*, together with an equally keen network of private Spanish businesses and enterprises that sprung up in areas of high Spanish presence with a view to assist and profit from migrant-related services.

Migration in 'denial' and 'hidden' migration

With the exception of some informants that were accessed through the *Hispanic Society of Southampton*, who willingly volunteered to participate in this study, it was not easy to find outside informants who were comfortable with being interviewed about their migration experiences.

One of the striking features that emerged from the willing informants' testimonies is that their open narratives tended to revolve almost exclusively around their work experiences, which were described in great detail with minimal references to anything that directly related to the factual aspects of their migration (e.g. travel, immigration control, difficulties with integration, etc). As highlighted above, only as a consequence

of targeted probing dictated by the semi-structured nature of the interviews was any such information volunteered, and then, almost always reflecting positively upon the welcome awarded by the host society. In contrast to the view of emigration as a problematic phenomenon that transpires from the examination of archival documentary sources, lack of emphasis of migration as a problem in the narrations provided by the informants was at first startling. In many instances, the narratives almost read as if they had been written by hosts rather than by migrants. This could be interpreted as a strong desire to identify with the host country and an attempt to diminish the role that 'migration' may have played in the individual's life experience.

In contrast to the above 'assimilated' narrators, I encountered many 'reluctant informants' whose reactions and almost unwilling testimonies often conveyed as much useful information as the narratives that were willingly volunteered. When approached and asked whether they would be interested in participating in this study, the 'unwilling informants' expressed their reluctance in various ways. Whilst some declined outright, others agreed but later changed their minds and cancelled the interview. Some agreed to be interviewed, but not to be recorded. Others agreed to be interviewed and recorded but only provided very brief accounts with closed answers that did not engage in significant exploration of their migration experiences. Finally, one of the informants – Madalena – agreed to contribute a written testimony as opposed to a recorded interview in what could be considered an exercise in 'selective remembering'. Fortunately, we were able to deconstruct it in a follow-up unrecorded discussion.

Interestingly, the narratives of the 'unwilling informants' contain more detail about migration-related experiences, including brief discussions of some of the difficulties encountered in England, i.e. language problems, access to resources, and levels of acceptance in the host society. Yet, when discussing these, informants tended to minimise their importance or their impact upon their lives. Similarly, when asked to compare between life in Spain with life in England, or to discuss what they valued most in each country, they struggle to provide examples, arguing that both the home and the host countries were more or less the same and that nothing was missed from Spain. Again, these responses can be interpreted as an attempted identification with the host society along the lines suggested by the 'willing informants'.

In contrast to the detailed willing narratives, the expeditious nature of the interviews with reluctant informants, coupled with their refusal to be taped or to explore issues in depth, suggests that both 'willing' and 'reluctant' informants may be trying to deny or hide the factual realities of migration, the former through complex narrative devices, the latter in less articulated ways. The endemic construction of migration as a problem in current public discourse is a factor that cannot be ignored when accounting for these attempts at denying or hiding the fact of migration. I shall conclude with the examination of one of the rhetorical devices used to erase migration from personal narratives.

Embedded migrant stories within personal narratives

In most cases, the distinction between 'willing' and 'reluctant' informants reflected differences in educational and occupational backgrounds. This differentiation is stressed in the narratives of most 'willing informants' which tend to give prominence to any instances in which the uniqueness of their lives in England could be enhanced in opposition to 'the other migrants'. From an identification perspective, this results in the following oppositional triangle: 'me', 'them' and 'the others', where 'me' is the willing informant whose life in England is considered to be the consequence of a set of unique circumstances; 'them' is the British citizens, equals rather than hosts, alongside whom they have successfully established their lives; 'the others' is who they describe as 'those economic migrants that came to England in the 1960s to work in hotels, restaurants and hospitals, who never learned English properly, who refused to integrate, and most of whom eventually returned to Spain'.

There is no doubt that the post-Franco democratic transition and Spain's incorporation into what is now the European Union have been key contributing factors in the active and passive 'forgetting' of Spain's previous immigrant status by both willing and unwilling informants. At the collective level, a third factor that has fuelled the Spanish 'emigrant amnesia' is Spain's transformation in the last two decades into a country that is increasingly attracting unprecedented levels of immigration. Whilst this has not entailed the end of Spanish emigration, since many young Spaniards continue to leave Spain in order to study or in search of improved employment opportunities, it has certainly eclipsed its relevance. The way in which Spain is now constructing its

immigrant presence as problematic in political and public discourses is very similar to the way in which British immigration has been constructed as a problem since the post-war period. In this context, the lack of awareness surrounding the 'irregular' nature of Spanish past migrations contrasts with the negative perceptions expressed by many informants with regards to current patterns of 'undocumented' immigration into both Spain and the UK.

Although the past has been forgotten, stories of migration tend to repeat themselves, serving as good reminders of what Spain once was and what to a lesser extent it continues to be:

> Es un país que ha acogido la democracia, pero no la ha entendido bien (...) Los españoles han sido inmigrantes, pero han olvidado todo. Se creen que por estar en la Comunidad Europea pueden rechazar a los inmigrantes. (86)
>
> (Extracts from oral history interviews amongst Moroccan immigrants in Madrid in Morales Lezcano, 1993:75)

6.4. Scope for future research and alternative lines of enquiry

Migrations are complex processes that are consubstantial to human experience and whose multi-faceted nature renders them fertile ground for interdisciplinary and comparative analysis. The British class structure and its influence in the formation or suppression of real or imagined communities has emerged as a central variable that permeates the macro and micro-structures of the migratory system that I have examined. I feel this is a perspective that requires further exploration. Understood in terms of socio-educational and professional background, social class has determined whether Spaniards inhabit visible or enacted ethnic communities in the geographical areas that I have researched. Whilst middle-class migrants re-enact their Spanish belongings to a British bourgeoisie audience through cultural representations and events, the working-class migrant inevitably gravitates towards marginal transnational spaces that are shared with other migrant and social misfits that populate the service and hospitality sectors of the host country, as I witnessed in the case of Bournemouth and Southampton, where Spaniards shared work, recreations and aspirations with Portuguese, Latin American and other migrants.

Whilst the dynamics of these transnational communities demand further investigation, gender is another variable whose role in the migratory process deserves to be closely examined, as in the case of Spain, female migration has entailed significant transformations in gender, social, and sexual roles, expectations and aspirations that this thesis has only briefly touched upon.

The cultural impact of the collective representations of the 'Spanish emigrant' at home and abroad is another area that equally deserves further exploration. One case that stands out in particular in relation to the host country is the character of *Manuel* in the BBC Television series *Fawlty Towers,* which was to have a significant and divisive impact upon migrants' identifications. The Spanish migrant's invisibility exposed through the medium of cutting British humour embarrassed working-class Spaniards and encouraged further distancing from their Spanish ethnic identification amongst middle-class migrants. In Spain, the representation of the 'emigrante español' in popular forms of culture as an uprooted self-sacrificing economic hero leaving the 'fatherland' for an uncertain future in alien environments was cleverly manipulated by the regime through a series of cultural representations and public events aimed at maximising their servile compliance and productivity. This mythification of the *emigrante* of yesteryear still impacts upon the collective memories that Spaniards have of what was their last episode of mass emigration, and it occasionally re-emerges as a popular tool of post-Francoist politics, all of which constitutes a suitable subject of study especially at a time when Spain itself has become a major migration destination.

Notes

Chapter 2

(1) Spanish *romerías* are traditional popular celebrations organised around religious processions devoted to the honouring of a specific patron saint.

Chapter 3

(2) Ramón: Do you consider yourself part of the Spanish community in the UK? There is no such thing. If there is, it consists of those who don't really want to integrate and I am not interested, look, it's very important, I react against those people, who come here, who stay, but do not want to accept that the country is different and they continue within that Spanish nucleus, I tell you.

(3) Mario: *Do you think that Spanish migrants are more integrated than those from the former British colonies?* What I think is that we are talking about two different cultures, so one of the cultures does not mix, they only mix with themselves, the Commonwealth. We're talking about Indians, Pakistanis, or from the Caribbean, Asians, so, I don't know, there's always been prejudice, they're also people who don't integrate like the European, they keep to themselves, in a circle within themselves, they've never done anything to integrate.

(4) Whilst respecting the individual's freedom to emigrate, the government will develop migration-related activities within the framework of its existing legislation and full employment targets, favouring the state system of assisted operations and programmes.

(5) 'Primary' as opposed to 'secondary' migration or 'family reunion' refers to the arrival of the first individuals in the host country which initiates a migration chain.

Chapter 4

(6) Dolores: In the 1960s my sister used to send us cuttings, when tergal and nylon appeared, so we could make dresses. She sent us our first anoraks, which were still rare over here, and jumpers, useful clothes. On our birthdays she'd send us a pound in a letter, and it was so stressful having to explain at the bank. My mother had to answer to all these questions, where is this currency coming from?, what is it for?, and all that, in the end he changed it and we could leave with the Spanish money. The first thing that I did was to invite my mother to chocolate and *churros* to relax and laugh about it all. And of course they sent regular giros to buy the flat, to get us out of there, and because the streets had no roads no cars reached, so everybody knew when the money arrived. Some people were envious and someone must have said that we were receiving money from Europe so Caritas stopped the food parcels that we used to get with American powder milk and cheese, oil, butter, pasta.

(7) Carmelo: It was quite a provoking play from the perspective that some of the characters were naked, and that it was something that happened after the war, so it was compromising, (...) Eduardo even wrote to Alberti, who sent him an extra scene (...) and we decided to take it to the Spanish emigrant community of Lymington (...) When the Spanish Consulate came to the performance at the University they were horrified when they saw not only the tone of the play but the fact that, given that the Consul was from Opus Dei, there was a picture of Franco inside a urinal, and Eduardo, before starting the play, would always dedicate it to Grimau, an anarchist who was about to be executed at that time. Anyway, we took the play to Lymington, and the Spanish Consulate wrote to the Spanish community there and said that if they attended the play they would not receive the subsidy that they were thinking of giving them, a subsidy that they never received because the Spanish Consulate did not have such resources. So when we got to Lymington there was nobody but a young couple, children of migrants, so we performed for

them and that's that. Then we took the play to London with the publicity that it was banned by the Spanish government and it was an amazing success.

(8) Ana: You go there and they treat you as if you were a child, a stupid person. Very bad, very bad, because if you go there is because you need a document. They are there and they get their salary to help those of us who are here. It is a service paid by Spaniards, and look at the way they treat us. My daughter's got four children and going to London is a whole day *outing*, very inconvenient, but she was determined to renew her Spanish identity card and passport and, well, I would like to see a big protest, something very nasty happened to her. They wouldn't renew her passport because it had expired, and she said, but look I've brought my christening certificate, my birth certificate, all the papers, the expired passport showing that I am Spanish, the photo, you can see me here in person (...) And they didn't renew it, so, to avoid this nonsense she's going to apply for a British passport now and I think she's about to apply for it.

(9) Dora preferred to conduct her interview entirely in English, her preferred language of communication, therefore I have not included any translations for her quotes.

(10) You have no right to insert my private address in my passport! There is no need for that and I specifically asked for it not to be done. I have been living in this country for over 40 years, how can you continue to treat us like this? I am going to change my nationality, that's it, I'm going to become British! I've had enough! – (These observations were carried out in November 2002, whilst waiting to be received by the Spanish Vice-Consul for a brief consultation in connection with this research).

(11) At the beginning it is very hard, especially loneliness / all those people babbling, you don't understand a thing / thankfully, sometimes the Cultural Embassy sends them Julio Iglesias and a Manolo Escobar (Spanish popular singers at the time).

(12) Jacinta: The Spanish government sent Spanish priests and there were centres called Casas de España, and, well, there were gatherings, there was a small bar, we had television, a dancing floor, they organised excursions, it was lively and people had a good time. There was one in Bournemouth. I started going when I started working in the hospital because the girls went and you could have a good time. Then, sadly, that centre was closed. Things have changed a lot. The Spanish, after the transition, began to return home and opened businesses. They had saved money through hard work and a lot of sacrifice. Here it was easy to find work, especially in hotels, hospitals. You could do overtime in other places. Small jobs, and thanks to that I think that many of the Spaniards that have returned have opened restaurants and small businesses.

(13) Mario: I met many many Spaniards when I came. There was a man called Luis Candal, who at that time was the director of the Pavilion and he was given the freedom of the town and Fraga Iribarne came, who at that time was the Spanish Ambassador in London, and the television also came and I was asked to organise a cocktail at the Casa de España. As a consequence of that I was asked to take charge of the Casa. It had been functioning many years. There was a priest, an association of pupils' parents, a free school paid by the Spanish Embassy for the children of Spanish migrants (...) I had this interview at the Consulate in Southampton and they thought I was the right man. So I ran the Casa. We organised Spanish parties and every Sunday we had dancing and I met all the Spaniards, not only the ones in Bournemouth, but also Lymington, New Milton, Poole (...) Those Spaniards came here to work, they didn't moan about things, unlike the people who come now. All they were interested in was to do their working week, earn their money and send it to Spain via Caixa Galicia (laughs). In the end, like everything that was funded by the Embassy, it was cut, it close, The Spaniards disappeared, as I say, they started to disappear.

(14) Eva: Yes, I remember (the *Casa de España*), they gathered there, there was dancing, I didn't go. I was a member, my husband paid the subscription, but I didn't want to go, I didn't

like the atmosphere because all those people went, all those bad women, women that only came for the money, you see, there are very few Spanish women of my daughters' ages or mine that married English people, because the English knew they were all tarts, the ones from that time, eh?, from the 70's onwards people changed.

(15) '9 Meses de la Casa de España', *Geranio 78*, no.1, enero-febrero, 1978, p.4.

(16) 'Crónica del último trimestre 1978, *Portobello 317 – Revista de la Casa de España en Londres*, no.3, septiembre-octubre 1979, p 5.

(17) See posters produced by Galician and Andalusian associations to announce their cultural activities reproduced in Appendix 2. The activities announced therein constitute examples of what was perceived by many migrants as essentialised forms of Spanish culture.

(18) Rosa: Someone mentioned that there was a Spanish school funded by the Spanish government. Of course, it was another time and I still had some energy so I decided to take the lead to maintain it, but it was obvious that the department, bah, or whoever, the education attaché office or consulate or embassy, someone was determined to shut it and they started saying that there weren't enough students attending, but of course, I never saw anything advertised, I didn't know that such a thing existed for the children of Spaniards, never. You know, keeping quiet like that, it was like 'the least people that knew the better'. When I asked what the condition was to keep it running, because the idea was, certainly, we were benefiting without needing to because the initial idea was to reintegrate those who had emigrated, for economic reasons, or for whatever reasons, when they went back to Spain so the family could integrate immediately because the children had maintained their Spanish (...) What they used to do was to hire a room at the college for instance and a teacher would come from London once a week for a couple of hours. It wasn't a bad idea, it was better than nothing. So I wrote to all the Spanish people I could find in restaurants, etc, and begged them to write to the Embassy. When I proved that there was a need they moved the goal post and said that instead of 25 it had to be 32 students minimum. So it was clear that they weren't interested, they'd already made up their minds that they were going to cut the budget and they stopped it.

(19) Rosa: It wasn't successful at all, if that's the correct word, it was a very small convent, but I'd never been to a convent, in part because my father is not a Catholic (...) I was really the odd one out because they had this little group and the convent was small, there wasn't that much accommodation because it was a small house in a good place in Notting Hill Gate but I think there were more nuns than residents, and the food, was, well (...) I may have made some comment about the food, I guess you'd eat better in any prison, and the Sister must have heard, because they had their own menu. So in the end they more or less invited me to leave. They were used to convent girls, you see, so I didn't fit in.

(20) See Appendix 5 containing covers of three issues of *Emigrant – Bulletin of the Spanish worker in Britain* .

(21) Extract from article 'La Enseñanza en Inglaterra', *ACADE Revista para los Españoles en el Reino Unido*, Year I, no. 1 and 2 (1978), pp.10-11.

(22) *Boletín Informativo de FAEERU*, no. 4, enero 1978, Londres, p.5.

(23) Information extracted and adapted from: *Informa – Boletín Informativo de FAEERU,* enero – 78, Londres, 1978, p.2; *Informa*, Marzo 1982, p.7, and assorted correspondence by FAEERU, Fondo Adolfo y Tina López, CDEE.

(24) Memo Sig 2/19- 96, Fondo Adolfo and Tina López, CDEE, Fundación 1 de Mayo.

(25) Cross-reference to Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix 1.

(26) *Do you remember when Franco died?* / I was here.
And do you remember the time of the transition? / No, nothing.
But you do remember when Franco died / Yes, because it was on television not because I was interested, if they hadn't said it I wouldn't have known.

(27) Discussion:
A: *When Franco died, did it have any impact on the Spanish community? Did they start going back?*
M: When did he die? (laughs)
A: In 1975
M: Ah, yes, yes, yes, I was here, yes. I remember, I watched it on TV, ah Franco, of course being a dictator means that they didn't miss him much (...) I don't know in Spain, I don't know what happened in Spain, I remember because I saw it on television, and, certainly something like that, Franco was an enormous figure at that time because of the civil war, the connections with Hitler, so, so, so of course it was quite big news, yes it was big news..
A: *Do you remember how the Spanish community locally reacted?*
M: No, no, no, I, because if ... (hesitance and silence)
V: No experience? Nothing to remind you for good or bad Franco's regime before coming here?
M: It's because I didn't know different, no. Spain, as I said was a quiet country, quiet, where the Guardia Civil controlled everything, you couldn't answer back, you couldn't even speak to anybody, for fear.
V: How did that affect you?
M: No, no, it doesn't affect you because you only know it when you know another country and you know the system, but if you don't know another system how can you, you cannot say if it's good or bad.
V: Yes, you're right.
M: As I said before when I was asked the question about how Spain was in my time, it was a very quiet country, because, first and foremost, Franco did not accept not even homosexuality, it was persecuted in that time. And, of course, if someone committed a crime, if someone stole, they beat them up.

(28) Eva: They think you are going to talk about Franco, ah (laughs), they are scared (laughs), then they don't speak any more. I tell you about it because I was a little girl and I lived through it. My father slept on top of a tree in the orchard. Those trees were apple-trees, they were big with huge branches, and my father slept there, but it wasn't Franco that came every night to kill him, it was those ignorant people, the V. family from La Coruña, I don't know if they ever went to school. They were right wing, what were they called? Falangist, falangist, they were falangists, but what were they? Because some were reds and others were republicans, and others *micilianos*, I don't remember what the V's were, what I do know is that they didn't wish us well, those that weren't of the same ideas, so some of them wanted to kill the others (...).

(29) This is the song / one, two / you have sun / a gift for good life / wine / beaches and flamenco / yes, a gift for a life to be wasted in the harvests of Rosellon / Long live the Andalusian gift for life with an emigration passport.

(30) http://www.mtas.es/Consejerias/ReinoUnido/emigracion/asociaciones.htm (last accessed March 2005).

(31) See photographic records of the *romería* in Reading of 2004 attended by the Consejero Laboral and other representatives of Spanish institutions in the UK in Appendix 2.

(32) 'Historial 1963-2001', Archival documents of the Hispanic Society of Southampton.

(33) The 'Spaniards of Lymington' emerged in various oral narratives. On a visit to Lymington I was able to informally interview one of these Spaniards, who confirmed the past presence of a significant number of migrants who were employed in a chicken processing plant, but most of whom returned to Spain.

(34) The Instituto Cervantes is a Spanish public institution created in 1991 for the promotion and teaching of the Spanish language, which has as its mission statement to nurture growth of the Spanish and Spanish-American culture (http://www.cervantes.es).

(35) Carmelo: (...) this (the performance of the play "Noche de guerra en el Museo del Prado) caused a rift between us and the Spanish Consulate in Southampton, the Consulate and the emigrants, who were not so much emigrants as people who had come here for business and economic reasons or were married to British people.

(36) Carmelo: There were many Spaniards because the boat Patricia arrived here, and the Patricia brought a lot of business, there was a lot of trade with Bilbao, there was a travel agent, there was a transport agency which continues to be here, there was a fruit import company, which remains, there was an office of the Bank of Bilbao, an employment office, and there were all the Spaniards from Lymington, many of whom worked in a chicken plant, and when I worked there in a paper factory there were Spaniards there too. So that, from the beginning, separated us from the Spanish community. Even though here, the president of the Hispanic Club was an emigrant of the Civil War called Andrés, who was the architect of the local council and one of the Basque children that arrived in the exile from Bilbao in 37, and this man was very socialist but he was surrounded by those that C. called the 'business ex-pats, because the English ex-pats are usually very rich, so we didn't speak to the Spanish-speaking community.

(37) James: I'm under the impression that in the 1980s the majority of the members were English. They used to go to Spain on holidays and had been doing that for many years, and they, well, I think I've already said they were enthusiasts of the Illustrious Deceased most of all, but there were also many Spaniards and amongst them some had a very different politics because there were at least two that, if they weren't refugees, at least they had come to this country because they didn't like Spain.

(38) Discussion:
Have you ever perceived a political ideology or debate during the meetings?
J: Almost never.
E: Well, I'd say yes, because there have been cases, for instance, of political debates at global level, no? When they invited someone from Portsmouth to give a talk about the time of Salvador Allende it was really, eh, disgusting what happened because there was no chance to, how would you say, to answer back (...).
J: Yes but that's very recent, I am thinking about the 80s.
E: Well, imagine if that continues to be the case now, in the 80s it was simply, I suppose, I don't know, they didn't have any interest, I don't know, but I think that each time that there has been an intervention of that nature, when managing global ideas, it is obviously a right wing position, there is never ...
J: Yes.
E: ... a left-wing position, nor a socialist speaker who has come to give a talk.
J: Well, after that about Nicaragua there has been a reaction amongst the right-wingers who said that it was a political issue and the Society must not involve itself with politics, especially Latin American politics.
E: (laughs)

(39) As per the 2003-2004 Hampshire County Council directory of community organisations.

(40) Ramón: The aim was to share, well, the original idea was to provide the Spanish with a meeting place, but we have always said that it was to share Spanish culture, to teach it, so that the British could discover the culture of Spain (...) Recently, there was a group of Spaniards who wanted to make the society more Spanish, but I resisted that because I was the vice-president until recently, and I resisted that because 50% of the people who come to the meetings are English and it is no longer necessary, as it was in the 1960s when the Spanish were a bit isolated, there is no reason to feel isolated now, nothing stops you from having a chat with me or whatever, and if you want to make a group you can, like many of those ladies, the ones who are so interested in changing the society, who I know often meet privately to have coffee or whatever, nobody can stop that.

(41) Palmira: There is Chilean lady and whenever she comes the tertulias are more interesting because she always talks about politics. All I have to do is ask: 'What's going on in Chile at the moment?' And she tells us and we all learn because most of us don't know.

(42) Palmira: One day we gathered at a pub and someone decided to invite a man. It's always women, but that man came and sat in the middle and he spoke and spoke all evening. He was Spanish, very nice, but after that experience we decided that we were never going to invite men because we realised that if there was only one man amongst various women he would become the centre of attention. So, our 'tertulias' are only for women and I have friends who have accused us from being sexist for not inviting them.

(43) Palmira: The thing is that we invited a friend that was a hairdresser from South America. She was a friend of a member of the group, but she came once and never returned. I think that we are, it always happens with university -educated groups, we scare the others off.

(44) Palmira: I think that the problem that we have nowadays is that we don't have time to chat, chatting for just the pleasure of it. We are doing just that, but we are doing it because we have organised it. I have noticed that here at the university we're always rushing, either we have a class or a meeting or we have marking to do. We never sit and chat about anything. Because in the past you would say 'let's have a cup of tea or a coffee' or 'I'm popping in for a coffee' but now we don't do it, we fear getting in touch with others because they're probably busy and we may interrupt them. That's why we have to organise *La Tertulia.*

(45) Marisa: There is a certain escapism. *La Tertulia* is something that is all encompassing, we tell each other little anecdotes in which there is a certain return to the past. We recall our experiences as if they were someone else's, maybe it's the loss of identity. We talk about our first times in England, not about the bad experiences but only the good things. We also catch up with what is going on, maybe some Spanish film that's come out (...) Nationalism is diluted because, for example, the Valencian identification becomes Hispanic and we celebrate Latin-ness and our common social values, family, food, things that are very similar.

(46) Palmira: Love for a Hispanic culture. The women are of Spanish origin, they miss their country and are conscious that they are loosing touch with it, so they like to be able to continue to talk about what happens there and also share experiences, for example, often, Spain is a country of so much variety that if there are people from Galicia and Andalucía they almost don't know each other's cultures and it seems untrue but in this country they talk more about their regions than when they go there, of course.

Chapter 5

(47) Manolo: I didn't come to England to learn English, I came because what you earned in a week here, it would take you a month to earn in Spain. Learning English has taken me thirty years, and I still don't speak it.

(48) No linguistic tests were used in this study to assess English language competence amongst participants. My comments are entirely based on ethnographic observations and information extracted from analysis of interviews, which in most cases draws on the informants' own perceptions of their language abilities.

(49) Ana: I learned English as I went along, two words here and so on. At home we had many books because my husband had already studied English for four years at the Men's Institute of La Coruña. I used to look at the books but I didn't go to school, and I'm still learning it. As you can see I am a chatterbox (...) the main thing is that you understand me. I may say the wrong words, I may have to sign and maybe you'll guess what I'm trying to say. You understand? I mean, I wasn't embarrassed if I made mistakes. If I said things wrong, I'd say them better the next day.

(50) Eva: We learned English working, and the house-keeper used to say to my husband on pay day, do you see that? Did your wife speak English already in Spain? Because I was so very eager, and a Spaniard had given me an English and Spanish book and my husband used to follow me when I went to the cliff and sat there on the benches to study overlooking the sea and trying to hammer the words in.

(51) Jacinta: I didn't go to lessons, I much preferred to go dancing or doing other things. I learned watching television, that helped a lot, and communicating with English people, of course, that was very important because they corrected me and I used to pay a lot of attention to what they said. I read a lot, but more than anything it was watching television and speaking to English people, and one day before almost realising it, I was speaking English and thanks to that it's not an obstacle anymore.

(52) Ramón: I started learning in school with a book with Big Ben, just 3 or 4 words, but of course my father was in England, so it was very interesting. So what happened was that when I finished secondary I was 13 or 14 and I was waiting to leave Spain, which finally took me 6 months, so I registered at the Berlitz Academy which was then the most important school for English, but the teacher became ill and in the end the other only place to go was the evening classes. So there I was, a little 13 or 14 year old amongst all those old people of 60, 50, 30, 40, but I went every evening, and effectively I learned a bit but when I got to England I was not used to the sound, and in all honesty, it took me 3 months to begin to hear it, you know? But before that I knew some, but it was when they spoke I couldn't understand anything, so they made a special arrangement to reduce my subjects to 5 and I lost a year (...) What was interesting was that English was the one subject I couldn't get through, I just couldn't pass it, four times I had to take the exam, and all the summers were spent studying English, for four years. (...) Looking back I now understand what I did wrong, the problem was that I couldn't hear the words, it took me 3 months to realise that the word 'blackboard' (Spanish phonetic pronunciation) was 'blackboard', you see, the amount of times I'd heard it: 'blackboard' and one day I said ahhhh blackboard is blackboard! and even now there are some words that I continue to pronounce wrong (...)

(53) Sebastián: At the house everybody was English, including the other ten workers who also lodged there.

(54) Madalena: My mother was of the opinion that the only way to learn a language properly was to mix with the natives. The daughter of a friend of hers was working in a hospital in England and she thought it would be a good idea for me to do the same, so she sought the necessary permits to get me a job in the same place. I had just turned 19 in June 1959 when I arrived at a hospital in Surrey with what I thought was enough English to get by. But the thing is that I was used the pronunciation of my American English teacher from the language school in Spain, and that was different from what I started to hear when I arrived. Luckily I managed somehow and soon got used to the proper Queen's English! (...) There was a large number of

Spaniards, Italians, French, Irish and people from the Antilles and Africa, so apart from speaking to some of the patients and the English staff in charge of the wards and the administration, there was little opportunity to speak English. I learned a lot of Italian from my work mates and amongst the Spaniards the tendency was to speak Spanish.

(55) Madalena: The only ones who were not Spanish, Italian, Irish, or black, from Nigeria, were the patients. That's why I ended up taking the nursing examinations, because I wanted to learn English.

(56) Rosa: They (the female residents) were all Spanish and had all come over thanks to daddy's funding, of course. I had no funding from anybody and had to fund myself. There were only two who spoke English in the residence, an Indian and a Scottish girl, I think, and I made a mistake when I asked the sisters to be put in the same room as them so I would practice English (...).

(57) The dynamics of English language competence in the context of mixed marriage is discussed further in the chapter with regards to second-generation.

(58) Eva: Because sometimes I don't know anymore what I am, I think Portuguese, and half English, and Spanish, oh my God.

(59) Ramón: ¿Did you speak Spanish to your children? I started to speak Spanish but, of course, they were all the time with my wife. Because they were all the time with my wife they started to speak English before Spanish. The joy of speaking with each of my children, I wouldn't have cared if I had to speak Chinese. In the end, in my efforts to speak to them always in Spanish took away the pleasure of talking to them. I wasn't interested if it was Spanish, English, whatever, as long as they were able to understand. At the same time, the fact that I was never at home but working meant that I had few opportunities to keep enforcing it. Having to keep enforcing it was not natural, constantly going on and asking them to sit here, and as I said, I used to make notes for them, and today we're going to learn the bathroom and all them quiet repeating after me in unison, they didn't want to. So in the end I became angry and I was so busy that I made a tape and every night they could listen to it if they wanted. I said to them, you don't need me, if you want to learn learn, there's the tape. Of course, after a while they didn't. The result is that the only Spanish they learned was when we went to Spain, which we did quite frequently, almost every year.

(60) Rosa: As my husband is Chilean, we speak Spanish to each other. My daughter, for instance, I started to speak to her in Catalan. Then I had some doubts and wondered whether it was any use because she always used to answer back in English. At the time, it must have come across as complete gibberish because suddenly we would be with some people and they'd look at me because I would speak to her in one language and even though they didn't understand it they'd hear the girl answering back in English. I mean, my brother's wife, who was a teacher, used to say, no, don't you worry because she is registering everything and one day, when the time is right, it will all come out. And effectively, when we were with the family in the summer the girl spoke, and then, of course, when the second was born, they spoke English between them, and in the *play school* it was all in English. The only different influence was me. My husband spoke to the girl in Spanish every now and then, but not a long conversation. The second one is not so good with languages and I don't know if it was the *health visitor* who on seeing the boy told me that she had her doubts as to whether it was right to speak to him in a language other than English, as this could be harmful and delay and slow his reading down. But the only thing I can say is that the girl is very clever, I am aware of this because when she was in the *sixth form* one of my friends taught her and she said that she was very clever and had good language skills.

(61) Rosa: The second one studied *Business Studies* with Spanish and he also had to take French. He can speak perfectly in Castilian and Catalan, well, he mixes a little because I wasn't as consistent with him as with the girl and the third one, of course they are six and a half years apart, so in view of what had happened with the other two I said no, what this is about, and I read once in an old document by UNESCO that what was harmful is what people used to do during the Francoist regime, for example, my neighbour, due to snobery or whatever, or because of the chamaleon syndrome, that you change to the colour that suits you at any time, she spoke Castilian because it was considered more elegant, at home the father and mother spoke Catalan with each other but this document said that for children this was very harmful, especially regarding their psychological development as they could feel excluded from the family who addressed them in a different langauge. Yes, in our home for example Luis spoke Castilian and I spoke Catalan, but they understand and, well I had read that. The thing is that when the third was born I said this time *I'll get it right, so* I'm going to speak to him only in Catalan because when they get to a certain age they get embarrased in front of other children, they don't want to be spoken to in another language, and they speak to you like this, quietly because they're ashamed, that's something I've heard from a lot of people, but you have to persevere. Then with Raúl for instance, what I did was that if he said anything in English I'd say *que que dius,* what do you mean, ah, then he knew that he had to start the sentence in Catalan, and he is very academic.

(62) Rosa: Yes, and this one (her third son), well, I was going to say 'largo' but that's a translation, a typically Catalan term, in Catalan we say 'moldad'?, I mean that he is clever, and he's studying Classical Greek and now he's going to read Classics at university. But what I mean is that he is another one who is very good with languages, ah, even the middle one, who is not so academic, who used to mix (languages), all his life, when he was about 10, he had a *reading age* of 13, he was always ahead, so, all that they told me was nothing.

(63) As per her HMI enquiry (1984): Mother Tongue Teaching in School and Community, Department of Education.

(64) There is no need to insist in the primordial importance that the teaching of our language and culture has for our children. Being born and growing up in an English environment our children absorb the English culture, becoming detached from the reality and world of their parents. This generates in the child a fragile and very dangerous mood. We, the parents, haven't got the time to teach them our language and few amongst us could teach them anything else. In one word, the child is brought up detached from Spain. Some don't speak a word of Spanish. This means that they also grow far away from the family, since language is the most important means of communication with the family. This worsens when we consider the issue of returning to Spain. Sooner or later it's something that must happen. What will happen then with our children? They will feel like strangers in the very homeland of their parents, they will feel like foreigners in their country and they will have serious problems to become integrated.

(65) I think that the majority of Spaniards who live in this country have been here between 15 and 25 years; we came here at the end of the 50s or early 60s and we have forgotten that we are emigrants to consider ourselves residents, and it is not that I don't like the term 'emigrant', it is that since we have only ever emigrated once, as the Spanish saying goes 'you kill one cat and you'll be forever known as a 'cat-killer''.

(66) Of the residents that have been in this country for 20 years, I believe without a doubt that I am referring to a considerable proportion that for a start are very grateful to this country, for the welcome and facilities awarded to us which have enable us to settle permanently considering it like a second homeland.

(67) Those families with children of school age whose main preoccupation is the education of their children ; and I say preoccupation and not problem, because the problem does not exist

since our children attend British schools, where they not only don't suffer any discrimination, but if we help them and encourage them they can reach the level appropriate to their intelligence and will to study. But what worries us is that in the British school our children become British and as much as we are thankful to this country, we feel Spanish and we want to give our children the opportunity to be Spanish too.

(68) (...) The supplementary lessons in Spanish language and culture are some help, but unfortunately they are not enough. The pupils learn the language very slowly. These classes are insufficient and lack adequate materials and books to teach children who in their majority have English as their mother tongue. In these classes children of various ages and different levels are mixed together. Paradoxically, we find a 15 year-old studying with the same book as an 8 or 9 year-old (...) As a complement to these classes we must organise additional cultural activities: documentaries, dance, theatre or singing groups, lectures, concerts, exhibitions, libraries, ...etc.

(69) The future of our children will be even better. The adhesion of Spain to the European Community is planned for 1st January 1986. We cannot expect it to be the solution to the economic sickness of our homeland, but a remedy that can gradually improve Spain making it strong enough to face a full integration. We are already here, we are already living in Europe and we must face the future with hope for ourselves but even more for our children, since the number of jobs for those who have the advantage of two languages will multiply.

(70) Rosa: I used to pay £1.75 a week I think, and it was three hours or something like that. It was very cheap, they called it *adult education*. The quality was alright, it wasn't intensive but it didn't matter as I couldn't have attended if it had been. There was an older woman there, 40 or 50, well it seemed to me old at the time, she was Spanish, I don't even remember from where, but she had been in London for 40 years and her accent was atrocious, and of course the way I looked at it was that there had been all those people who had arrived before me, of course, in the 1960s, when there was the big emigration of Spain to Germany an Switzerland. Those people lived in ghettos because the jobs that they could do without the language were mostly in the hotel industry. There you only needed to learn how to say 'buenos días', 'buenas tardes' and 'here is the coffee or the paper', but just that. So what happens in the kitchen or wherever it was that they spoke amongst themselves, with Italians. They never learned. I'm sure that where I worked in the office all the people there were more or less educated, I mean, with a standard English, but if you spend your life with someone who speaks pidgin English you're never going to learn English, and that poor Spanish woman, I remember, the thing is that you laughed at her, she invented English words (...).

(71) Mario: *So you don't feel that you have had any problems in the UK?* No, none, but you'll always be a foreigner here. *Why?* That's the way it is, a foreigner here will always be a foreigner, because the English are like that. But of course, I don't let that get me down personally, because there have been cases, because of my English, and they make comments about the accent, that I have said something wrong, but it doesn't affect me at all, quite the opposite, I counter-attack in such a manner that I put them down. You understand? If jokingly they tell me eh, your English is no good, you foreigner, and so on, I counter-attack: at least I can speak something, unlike you. But that's me, other people feel hurt about it, not me. I used to get angry, for example when at first I was at a bar chatting with another Spaniard, speaking Spanish and then suddenly someone would say *bloody foreigners*, but eh, if you ask me if I think the English are racist, I would personally say that they are, because they're an island, they're not integrated in Europe, but of course that's their opinion.

(72) Ana: *And how do you feel after all this time?* As long as I don't open my mouth, just like one of them (laughs). The minute I start speaking (English) then they say 'where are you from?'. And I often tell them, jokingly, 'from Wincanton', 'from Wincanton? But that's English, that's England!'. 'Yes' I say, 'do you know where they have those famous horse races?' Well, that's where I come from. I don't take it seriously, but we have been very lucky in

that respect, nobody despises us, nobody sees us as foreigners, maybe it's the way we treat people, or the people that we have dealt with that regard us for what we are and don't think of us as foreigners, in that respect I'm quite happy otherwise we wouldn't be here.

(73) Rosa: No, no, the only memory that I always have is, I tell myself, oh, sometimes when I was little, I don't know, I dream, I have never had dreams like that, I don't know, maybe I'm perhaps *hands on, I'm a doer rather than a thinker*, (...) / (...) but I must say that I have never been *penniless* (...) / I am quite *resilient* (...).

(74) Dora la Exploradora is a Spanish/English bilingual singing and speaking doll distributed by Spanish Toys.com, a US educational bilingual toy company that mainly targets the Hispanic market in the US.

Chapter 6

(75) Jacinta: Well, logically, as I said before, it has been economic. When you are 18 you want to have many things and I had nothing. This created in me a state of frustration. I couldn't say that I have been very happy in Spain. I lacked many things. (First migration) / I was bored with going from one place to another, doing dead-end jobs, simple jobs. This gave me a terrible sense of isolation. Of course, I took advantage because I could go out more, something that my father didn't allow me. (Second migration).

(76) Ana: Yes, because once we had the contracts in our hands we thought maybe tomorrow we'll regret not having experienced this adventure. Besides, my mother was delighted to look after the girl (...).

(77) Mario: *So, you don't consider yourself an emigrant?/* No, no, absolutely not, I came here because of my wife, otherwise I wouldn't have come (...) I was a man who was working there in Spain who met a woman and came over here (...) She worked, she was a dancer in a group working for an English company that had campsites in Spain and England and at the end of the season they used to go there (Majorca).

(78) Jacinta: *Had anything changed in Spain when you returned for the first time?/* No, not much, Franco was still in power, things had not changed much, there was no freedom of expression or in the press of course. The thing is that I was disappointed, the press always talked about the same things, Franco had inaugurated another dam, the guy started to make dams, that's the only thing he did. Spain was immersed in ... / *Did the political motivate you to leave again?* Um. It is possible, unconsciously, yes, it could have affected me, because I saw a lot of differences across social classes, and of course, I had the worse. Yes, yes, it did influence me. / *But it wasn't the main reason for you to leave?* No, not because I wasn't involved in politics, I was never at university, so I think that the transition was due to university students mainly.

(79) Ana: After 4 years you could work anywhere. The first 4 years, it is not that we were high class or powerful people in Spain but my mother had a lady who cleaned the stairs and things like that, you understand? And for me to start cleaning for someone else. It wasn't, how could I put it? It wasn't that we were lowering ourselves too much, you are in a different country and you have to do it, but you were not used to it, no, that wasn't our kind of thing. My husband, from being in the military to suddenly have to clean someone else's boots. It was, it was very hard.

(80) Jacinta: They used to give us a little green book and you had to go to the police every so often, then after 4 years they sent you a letter from the Home Office notifying you that you were free in the country, that you had the option of opening a business or changing jobs, in short, that you were a resident.

(81) Eva: They didn't allow children or pregnant women, and if they were pregnant before becoming free they had to go back to Spain because they didn't want people that required assistance. (...) I came for a year, my husband came for a year, but after 3 years we were already free. It was such luck to be free, because it had to be 4 years and after 3 we were made free. They condoned one year to both of us. It was probably thanks to the manageress who used to sort everything out for us.

(82) Rosa: They are a bit hypocritical, English people (...) there is the risk of mistaking their formality and politeness for affection, and sometimes it is just a mere *how are you? how lovely to see you?*. That doesn't mean that they appreciate you or anything, it is just a formula that they use, and Latin people can interpret it as a bit hypocritical, a bit, yes, but they are different.

(83) Rosa: If I had decided to change my passport it would have been during the Franco regime, when I didn't want to be Spanish. Now, even though I don't feel, *you know,* Spanish and all that, at a time when there is a democracy, I find that is not the right time, now there is no need.

(84) Pepe: Emigration to Britain was more free, better than Francoist emigration.

(85) Eva: A lot of people wrote to an agency in London. It was called Trans-Channel but it was, the poor women came with such bad luck. A man with a red rose on his jacket met them at Victoria, Waterloo, and took them, he took some to serve in houses throughout London, all over London.

(86) Moroccan immigrant in Spain: It is a country that has welcomed democracy but has not understood it in the right way (...) The Spanish have been immigrants, but they have forgotten everything. They think that just because they belong to the European Community they can reject immigrants.

List of appendices

Appendix 1: Tables 1-3

Table 1

Year	Emigration to Europe	Return
1955	2,205	2,237
1956	2,263	2,315
1957	2,314	2,239
1958	2,685	1,904
1959	3,260	2,454
1960	19,610	12,200
1965	74,507	120,700
1966	56,373	131,700
1967	25,907	99,900
1968	66,699	106,000
1969	100,821	95,600
1970	98,655	66,200
1971	112,696	88,100
1972	104,134	80,200
1973	96,077	73,900
1974	50,695	88,000
1975	20,618	110,200
1976	12,124	73,900
1977	11,336	64,500
1978	11,996	52,000
1979	13,019	35,900
1980	14,065	19,242
1981	15,063	15,067
1983	19,289	14,715
1984	17,603	14,263
1985	17,089	13,420

(Source: Memorias Anuales. Datos sobre Migraciones. 1979-1989. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo. Dirección General del I.E.E. 1980-1990 & Anuario de Migraciones, 1998)

Table 2

Year	Spaniards registered in the Consulate
1961	16,621
1962	21,952
1963	24,395
1964	26,352
1965	**26,649**
1966	24,791
1967	22,783
1968	21,419
1969	21,241
1970	22,019
1971	**22,527**
1972	21,478

(Source: *Spanish Agregaduría* of London in Durán Villa, 1996:221. My emphasis)

Appendix 1: Tables 1-3

Table 3

Spaniards resident in Europe: 1970-1989

	1970	1975	1980	1987-89
Belgium	52,230	67,563	58,255	55,061
France	659,922	586,203	470,814	335,359
Germany	245,400	247,447	179,952	126,402
Holland	39,000	29,492	23,500	17,381
United Kingdom	39,014	51,329	40,041	69,806
Switzerland	102,341	112,996	97,232	114,688

United Kingdom	1995	1996	1997	1998
	49,503	54,881	60,526	45,930

(Source: Adapted from Memorias Anuales 1970-1989 in Vilar Vilar, (1999: 82) and Memorias Anuales 1998.)

Appendix 2: Spanish associations in the UK

Questionnaire

ASOCIACIONES / CLUBES Y
ORGANIZACIONES ESPAÑOLAS EN EL REINO UNIDO

(Por favor continúe en el reverso de la página si necesita espacio adicional)

1. Nombre de la asociación:.....

2. Año en que se fundó:.....

3. Objetivo inicial con que se fundó la asociación:.....

.....

.....

4. Fines que persigue la asociación hoy en día si el objetivo inicial ha cambiado desde su fundación:.....

.....

.....

5. Socios

Número total de socios .....

Número de socios de origen español:.....

Número de socios de origen latinoamericano:.....

Número de socios de origen británico:.....

¿Cuáles son los requisitos para hacerse socio de su asociación?.....

.....

6. Actividades de la asociación

¿Qué actividades lleva a cabo la asociación? .....

.....

¿Qué lenguas se hablan durante las actividades y reuniones? Español [ ] Inglés [ ] Gallego [ ] Catalán [ ] Vasco [ ] Otras lenguas * [ ]

`*En tal caso, ¿qué otras lenguas?.....

.....

¿Cómo se anuncian las actividades de la asociación?

.....

.....

¿Distribuye la asociación un programa de actividades? Sí * [ ] No [ ]

* Si su asociación distribuye un programa con sus actividades, le rogaría que me enviase una copia si fuese posible.

¿Publica su asociación una revista o boletín informativo? Sí * [ ] No [ ]

* Si su asociación produce alguna revista o boletín, por favor indique el nombre de la publicación:.....

.....

* ¿Cómo se distribuye? .....

.....

* ¿Cuántos ejemplares se distribuyen?.....

7. Federaciones

Si su organización es una federación, qué asociaciones se encuentran federadas en ella?

.....

.....

8. Sede / Locales de reunión

¿Dispone la asociación de una sede o local fijo para llevar a cabo sus actividades? Sí [ ] No[ ]

o

¿La asociación alquila un local para cada reunion o actividad? Sí [ ] No [ ]

¿Tiene o comparte la asociación una sala de reuniones en un 'Community Centre' o escuela local?

Sí [ ] No [ ]

9. Relaciones con otras organizaciones

¿Tiene su asociación contacto o colabora con otras asociaciones, organizaciones o instituciones?

Sí [ ]* No[ ]

* Si respondió que sí, ¿con qué organizaciones colabora? .....

.....

.....

¿En qué tipo de actividades colaboran? .....

.....

10. Financiación

¿Cuál es la fuente de financiación principal de su asociación? .....

.....

¿Recibe su asociación alguna ayuda del gobierno español? Sí [ ] No[ ]

¿Recibe su asociación alguna ayuda del gobierno británico? Sí [ ] No[ ]

¿Recibe su asociación alguna ayuda de gobiernos de países latino-americanos? Sí [ ] No[ ]

¿Recibe su asociación alguna ayuda de cualquier otra institución? Sí * [ ] No[ ]

* ¿En tal caso, de qué instituciones recibe ayuda? .....

.....

.....

11. Seguimiento del cuestionario

¿Le importaría que le contactase más adelante para conversar en más detalle sobre la historia y trayectoria de su asociación? Sí [ ]* No[ ]

* Si respondió que sí, podría indicarme un número de contacto o dirección de e-mail?

.....

¿Le gustaría tener información sobre los resultados de mi estudio en el futuro? Sí [ ] No [ ]

MUCHAS GRACIAS POR COMPLETAR ESTE CUESTIONARIO
POR FAVOR, UTILICE EL SOBRE ADJUNTO PARA SU RE-ENVÍO

LA INFORMACIÓN RECOGIDA EN ESTE CUESTIONARIO SERÁ TRATADA EN CONFIDENCIALIDAD Y CON EL ÚNICO FIN DE CONTRIBUIR EN MI TESIS DOCTORAL A OFRECER UNA PANORÁMICA GENERAL DE LA EVOLUCIÓN Y DEL ESTADO ACTUAL DEL MUNDO ASOCIATIVO ESPAÑOL EN EL REINO UNIDO. PARA CUALQUIER PREGUNTA O DUDA PUEDEN CONTACTARME EN:

Alicia Pozo-Gutiérrez - Modern Languages
School of Humanities, School of Humanities, Southampton SO17 1BJ

Appendix 2: Spanish associations in the UK

Table 4

SPANISH MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS BY FEDERATION	
FAEERU - November 1977	**ACADE - 1978**
-Centro Gallego de Londres -Hogar Español de Londres -Club Antonio Machado -Asociación de Padres de la Escuela de Portobello -Centro Vasco "Euskal Etxea" -Peña "Nuestra Andalucía" -Centro Ibérico -Asociación de Españoles en Hounslow -Club "Reina Sofía" de Oxford -Club Social Español de Eastbourne -Asociación de Padres de familia de Bournemouth -Hogar Español de Epsom (Membership for the above totalled 3,000)	-Asociación Española (Epsom) -"Los Españoles" (Enfield) -Mujeres Españolas (Londres) -Unión Española (Stockwell) -Círculo "Pablo Iglesias" -P. de Familia (Guarderías) -"Casa de Belén" (Islington) -Club Galicia (Hygh Wycombe) -Hogar Español (Cardiff) -Club Español (Bristol) -Casa de España (Bournemouth) -Club Español (Lymington) -Asociación de Españoles (Manchester) -Casa de España (Liverpool) -Centro Español (Basingstoke) -Asociación de Españoles (Chester) <u>Non-federated 'sympathisers' of ACADE</u>: -Sociedad Española del Midlands -Asociación de P. de familia (Edinburgo)

FAEERU – 1982	**ACADE – 1982**	**UAPA 1982**
-Club Deportivo España-Atletic -Centro Socio-Cultural de Addlestone -Peña Nuestra Andalucia -Casa de España en Bournemouth -Asociación Española Familiar de Cambridge -Hogar Español de Cardiff -Club Social Español Eastbourne -Centro Gallego -Club Social Recreativo Español de Guildford -Hogar Español de Londres -Club Cultural Antonio Machado -Sociedad Española Reina Sofía de Oxford -Asociación de PP de FF de Bournemouth -Asociación de PP de FF de Cañada Blanch -Asociación de PP españoles en Gales, Cardiff -Asociación de PP. de Cheltenham -Asociación de PP de FF Finsbury Park -Asociación Española Hersham -Asociación de españoles y PP de FF en Hounslow -Asociación de PP de FF Lymington -Asociación de PP de FF London-Colney -Asociación de PP de FF Manchester -Asociación de PP de FF Oxford -Asociación de PP de FF de la guardería de Portobello -Asociación de PP de FF Portobello -Asociación de PP de FF Watford -Asociación de PP de FF Wimbledon -Asociación de PP de FF Woking	-Centro Casa de Belén -Club Español Cambridge -Club Cosmos -Españoles en Enfield -Asociación PP de FF Epson -Asociación PP de FF High Wycombe -Club Español High Wycombe -Círculo Cultural Ibérico -Centro Ibérico -Casa de España de Liverpool -Club Español de Lymington -Asociación de Mujeres Españolas -Círculo Pablo Iglesias -Peña Recreativa Portobello -Asociación PP de FF Slough -Club Unión Española -Asociación de PP Guardería Victoria	-Enfield -Northampton -Stockwell -Reading -Coventry -Leamington -Victoria y Pimlico -Edinburgo -Cervantes,Birmingham -Wolverhampton -Croydon-Sutton

Non-federated associations in 1982
-Asociación de PP de FF de Deptford Lamberth -Club de Jubilados -Asociación Española de Midlands -Asociación de PP. de FF. Stratford -Asociación de PP. de FF. de Fulham -Peña Cultural Española -APF Colegio Vicente Cañada de Portobello

Table 5

SPANISH ASSOCIATIONS & INSTITUTIONS IN THE UK	
1997	**2003**
-Adoratrices Hostel -Agrupación de Centros y Asociaciones de -Españoles (A.C.A.D.E) -Asociación Recreativa Española de Crawley -Asociación de Padres Centro Casa de Belén -Asociación de Padres de Finsbury Park -Asociación de PP. AA. de Wood Green -Asociación de PP. FF. de Fulham -Asociación de PP.FF. Españolas de Guildford -Asociación de Profesores de Español en R.U. -Asociación Emigrantes Españoles R.U. -Asociación Española de Northampton -Asociación Española de Watford -Asociación Española y PP.AA. de Hounslow -Asociación Española y PP.AA. Brighton -Asociación PP.FF. de Cheltenham -Asociación PP.AA. "Hispano-Escolar de St. Albans" -Asociación PP.AA Colegio Vicente Cañada Blanch -Asociación PP.AA. de Ifield -Asociación PP.FF. Española de Slough -Asociación Española de Aylesbury -Carmelite Hostel -Casa Catala a Londres -Centro Andaluz "Blas Infante" -Centro Andaluz "Peña Nuestra Andalucia" -Centro Español de Reading -Centro Español de Sheffield -Centro Gallego de Londres -Charanga "Andurriña" -Club de Jubilados Españoles en Londres -Club Español de High Wycombe -Club Taurino de Londres -Portsmouth Hispanic Society -Club Unión Española -Sociedad Hispánica de Southampton -Asociación San Vicente de Paúl -Asociación de PP.AA. de la Escuela Complementaria de Cambridge -Asociación de PP.AA. de la Escuela de London Colney Complementaria Esp. Hispano-Escolar -Asociación de Padres de las Clases -Complementarias de Farham -Comunidad Española de Woking -Centro Cultural y Social de Adlestone -Asociación Española y de Padres de Alumnos de Luton -Federación Asociaciones Emigrantes Españole R.U. (F.A.E.E.R.U.) -Federación del P.S.O.E. en Europa -Grupo Hispano -Hermanas de Maria Inmaculada Hostel -Hogar Español -Oxbridge Spanish Forum -Centro de Cultura Española Salvador de Madariaga -Sociedad de Beneficencia Ibero-Americana -Sociedad Española "Reina Sofía" de Oxford -Spanish Society-Sussex University -Spanish Welfare Fund -Spanish Youth Service -The Spanish and Latin American Society -Latin American & Caribbean Cultural Society -City of Westminster Community Information Office Total 56	-Agrupación de Centros y Asociaciones de Españoles (A.C.A.D.E) -Asociación Recreativa Española de Crawley -Asociación de Padres Centro Casa de Belén -Asociación de PP. AA. de Wood Green -Asociación de Profesores de Español en R.U. -Asociación Española de Northampton -Asociación Española de Watford -Asociación PP.AA. "Hispano-Escolar de St. Albans" -Asociación PP.AA. de Ifield -Centro Andaluz "Peña Nuestra Andalucia" -Centro Español de Reading -Centro Gallego de Londres -Club de Jubilados Españoles en Londres -Club Español de High Wycombe -Asociación Española de Brighton -Asociación PP.FF. de Cheltenham -Comunidad Española de Woking -Federación Asociaciones Emigrantes Españole R.U. (F.A.E.E.R.U.) -Spanish Welfare Fund -Spanish Youth Service -Asociación PP.FF. Guardería de Portobello -Spanish Association Midlands -Alianza de Personas Mayores Española en R.U. -Casa Agrupación Catalana de la G.B. -Los Españoles de Enfield -Sociedad Hispánica de Southampton -Asociación PP.A. Colegio Bilingüe -Edinburgh Spanish Circle -Centro Español de Manchester -Centro de Pensionistas Españoles en el R.U. Total 30 *(Source: Spanish Consulate in London (list of 1997) and* Agregaduría Laboral *(list of 2003)*

Appendix 2: Spanish associations in the UK

Photographs taken during the Spanish Romería of Reading 4/07/2004 (1/2)

@ A. Pozo-Gutiérrez

Photographs of the Spanish Romería of Reading 4/06/2004 (2/2)

@ A. Pozo-Gutiérrez

Posters announcing Spanish associations' events in the 1970s-1980s

al-andalus

boletin nº 7 del CENTRO ANDALUZ BLAS INFANTE

PRIMER DOMINGO ROCIERO

EL ARTE LA GRACIA EN

EL CUADRO FLAMENCO DE

EL CENTRO ANDALUZ BLAS INFANTE

GALICIA

O AXUNTAMENTO DA CORUNA EN SOLIDARIDADE COA EMIGRACION GALEGA LONDRES E ORGAIZADO POLO CENTRO GALEGO DE LONDRES

Gran festival

Presentando a

Grupo de danzas do Centro Galego Cabuxos

Coa actuación especial de

cantigas da terra

Coa presencia do Alcalde, Domingo Merino, e da representación de Concellais do Axuntamento da Coruña.

Entradas: Tabernacle Centro Galego Powis Square, Londres W11.

O FESTIVAL TERA LUGAR NO PORCHESTER HALL, Porchester Road, Londres W2. DOMINGO 8 DE MARZAL AS 6 DO SERAN Precios populares.

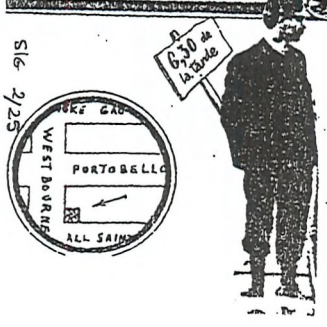
en Londres

CONFE-RENCIAS, COLOQUIOS, CINE...

Mayo-Junio 1981

Club Cultural ANTONIO MACHADO

236, Westbourne Park Road, London, W 11



MES DE MAYO

Sábado 30: "Andalucía y Galicia en la poesía de Federico García Lorca". Conferencia, tertulia, lectura de poesía, música.

MES DE JUNIO

Sábado 6: "Salud y enfermedad en las comunidades emigrantes". Conferencia por el Doctor Carlos Ferreyra y coloquio.

Sábado 13: "The war gase", película que se negó a exhibir la BBC sobre la carrera armamentista y los peligros de la guerra nuclear. Coloquio.

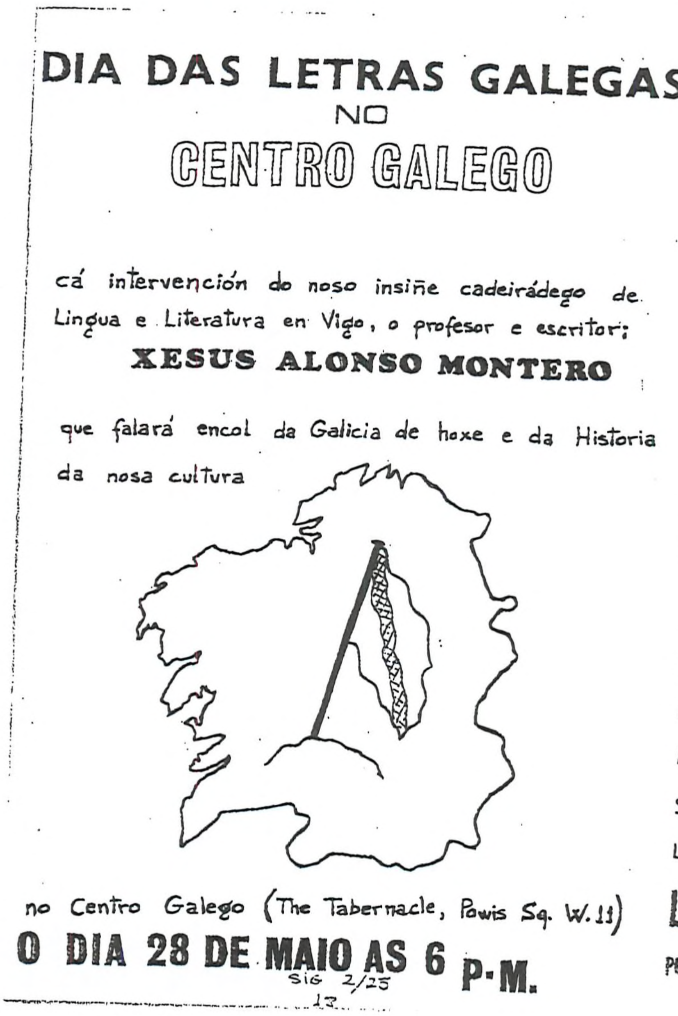
Sábado 20: Café-tertulia.

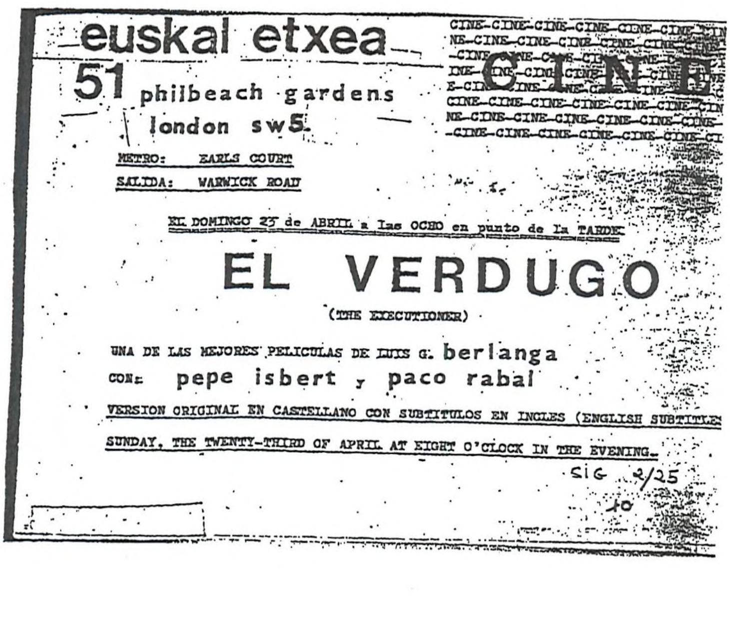
Sábado 27: Asamblea General extraordinaria.

Os esperamos

(Reduced from originals A4 size)

Posters announcing Spanish associations' events in the 1970s-1980s





(Reduced from originals A4 size)

UK work permits issued by the Home Office to Spanish couple in 1967 and sent by relatives already settled in the UK

a) Work permit for husband

(reduced from original A4 size)

1

MINISTRY OF LABOUR PERMIT [illegible]

THE ALIENS ORDER 1953
Article 4(1)(b)

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE
Crown Building,
Bradford Street,
Tonbridge, Kent.

No. of permit	Date of issue	Period covered by permit
TMD 7/67	27.12.1967	Twelve months from the date of landing in the United Kingdom.

Employer's name and address

Swaylands Residential Special School
Penshurst,
Tonbridge, Kent.

Tel. No. Penshurst 369

Alien's name, etc.

Surname [redacted]
Other names [redacted]
Date of birth [redacted]
Sex MALE Nationality Spanish
Employment Resident Domestic Assistant
@ £11.15.0d per week.
jointly with wife M.L.H. No: 872

Foreigner has declared that he has no children.

N.B. Unless otherwise stated the wage offered by the employer is liable to deductions for National Insurance and, if appropriate, Income Tax.

CONDITIONS GOVERNING THE ISSUE OF THIS PERMIT

(Voir Dessous. Siehe Rückseite. Vea al dorso. Vedi pagina seguente.)

1. This permit is not valid for :—
   (1) a worker who has a child or children ;
   (2) a worker who is either under eighteen or is fifty-five years of age or over ;
   (3) a married man unless he is coming to joint employment with his wife.

2. This permit does not constitute any obligation upon the Immigration Officer to give the above-named alien leave to land in the United Kingdom. The alien will be required to satisfy the Immigration Officer on arrival that he (or she) can comply with the provisions of the Aliens Order 1953, which may include a medical inspection.

3. **This permit together with a valid passport must be produced to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival in the United Kingdom. Thereafter it should be carefully preserved by the alien for production at any time to the competent authorities.**

4. This permit may be used only by the alien named thereon. If an unauthorised person amends the particulars upon the permit it will thereby be rendered invalid.

5. This permit is valid only for resident domestic employment with the employer named therein, and the holder is expected to remain in that employment. If, exceptionally, the employment is terminated during the period of the permit, the permit holder should report at once to the Local Office of the Ministry of Labour.

Under no circumstances may the holder take employment other than that specified in the permit without the prior permission of the Ministry of Labour.

6. The alien during the period of stay in the United Kingdom is subject to the restrictions, and must conform to the requirements of the Aliens Order 1953. If the permit is for a period of more than three months, the alien will be required to register with the Police and should produce two photographs and this permit for this purpose. He/she is, therefore, advised to obtain two extra copies of any photograph taken for passport purposes.

7. This permit ceases to be valid if not produced to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival in the United Kingdom within three months after the date of issue.

8. If during his/her period of permitted stay, the alien goes abroad for short periods, he/she should carry this permit and show it to the Immigration Officer on return to this country.

9. If it is desired to employ the alien beyond the terminal date of the period for which the alien has been granted leave to land by the Immigration Officer, application should be made **by the employer** about one month before such date to the Under-Secretary of State, Home Office, 271-7 High Holborn, London W.C.1, marking the envelope in the bottom left-hand corner "M.L. Permit". The alien's passport and Police Certificate of Registration should be forwarded with the application.

OFFICIAL STAMP
MINISTRY OF LABOUR
TONBRIDGE
EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE

Signed on behalf of the Minister of Labour,

[redacted]

The number and date of issue have been noted this permit of six pages should be sent intact to the alien, who will be required to produce it, together with a valid passport, to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival. Tonbridge 3364.

A.R.2 (Dom.)

(5055) M742330 196 20,000 12/64 TS&Co.Ltd. Gp.636

UK work permits issued by the Home Office to Spanish couple in 1967 and sent by relatives already settled in the UK

b) Work permit for wife

(reduced from original A4 size)

1

MINISTRY OF LABOUR PERMIT

THE ALIENS ORDER 1953
Article 4(1)(b)

04908

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE
Crown Building,
Bradford Street,
Tonbridge, Kent.

No. of permit	Date of issue	Period covered by permit Twelve months from the date of landing in the United Kingdom.
TMD 6/67	27.12.67	

Foreigner has declared that she has no children.

Employer's name and address

Swaylands Residential Special School
Penshurst,
Tonbridge, Kent.

Tel. No. Penshurst 369

Alien's name, etc.

Surname [redacted]
Other names [redacted]
Date of birth
Sex Female Nationality Spanish
Employment Resident Domestic Assistant @ £9.0.0d. per week. Jointly with husband. M.L.H. No: 872.

N.B. Unless otherwise stated the wage offered by the employer is liable to deductions for National Insurance and, if appropriate, Income Tax.

CONDITIONS GOVERNING THE ISSUE OF THIS PERMIT

(Voir Dessous. Siehe Rückseite. Vea al dorso. Vedi pagina seguente.)

1. This permit is not valid for :—
   (1) a worker who has a child or children ;
   (2) a worker who is either under eighteen or is fifty-five years of age or over ;
   (3) a married man unless he is coming to joint employment with his wife.

2. This permit does not constitute any obligation upon the Immigration Officer to give the above-named alien leave to land in the United Kingdom. The alien will be required to satisfy the Immigration Officer on arrival that he (or she) can comply with the provisions of the Aliens Order 1953, which may include a medical inspection.

3. **This permit together with a valid passport must be produced to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival in the United Kingdom. Thereafter it should be carefully preserved by the alien for production at any time to the competent authorities.**

4. This permit may be used only by the alien named thereon. If an unauthorised person amends the particulars upon the permit it will thereby be rendered invalid.

5. This permit is valid only for resident domestic employment with the employer named therein, and the holder is expected to remain in that employment. If, exceptionally, the employment is terminated during the period of the permit, the permit holder should report at once to the Local Office of the Ministry of Labour. **Under no circumstances may the holder take employment other than that specified in the permit without the prior permission of the Ministry of Labour.**

6. The alien during the period of stay in the United Kingdom is subject to the restrictions, and must conform to the requirements of the Aliens Order 1953. If the permit is for a period of more than three months, the alien will be required to register with the Police and should produce two photographs and this permit for this purpose. He/she is, therefore, advised to obtain two extra copies of any photograph taken for passport purposes.

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OFFICIAL STAMP
MINISTRY OF LABOUR
TONBRIDGE
EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE

Signed on behalf of the Minister of Labour,

[redacted]

After its number and date of issue have been noted this permit of six pages should be sent intact to the alien, who will be required to produce it, together with a valid passport, to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival.

A.R.2 (Dom.) Tonbridge 3364.

(5055) M742330 196 20,000 12/64 TS&Co.Ltd. Gp.636

MINISTRY OF LABOUR

NOTICE TO PERMIT HOLDER

(NOT TO BE DETACHED FROM PERMIT)

c) Addendum that was stapled to each work permit stressing the restrictions already stated on point 1 of work permit and inserted vertically across left margin

1. This permit is not valid for:

   (1) a worker who has a child or children;

   (2) a worker who is either under eighteen or is fifty-five years of age or over;

   (3) a married man unless he is coming to joint domestic employment with his wife.

2. This permit is valid only for resident domestic employment with the employer named therein and the holder is expected to remain in that employment. If, exceptionally, the employment is terminated during the period of the permit, the permit holder should report at once to the Local Office of the Ministry of Labour. Under no circumstances may the holder take employment other than that specified in the permit without the prior permission of the Ministry of Labour.

d) Aliens Order 1953 Certificate of Registration book cover and inside contents detailing the employment and residence trajectory of a Spanish migrant from arrival and initial registration until the end of the 4 years during which immigration restrictions applied (reduced to 65% from original size).

NOTICE TO THE HOLDER OF THIS CERTIFICATE

1. If you change your normal place of residence from the one last recorded in this certificate you must report the change to the Police within 7 days of your arrival at your new address.
2. A TEMPORARY absence of less than 2 months from your registered address need *not* be reported, but if you are away for more than two months and are still in the United Kingdom you must *report to the Police of the district in which you are registered* your address at that time, any subsequent changes of address and your return home. *This may be done by letter.*
3. You need not report to the Police on your return from a temporary absence abroad unless fresh conditions have been imposed on your stay by the Immigration Officer. If you have been away for more than 2 months you must report your return but *this may be done by letter.*
4. You must report within 7 days to the Police of the district in which you are registered ANY CHANGE in the particulars recorded in this certificate other than those mentioned in the preceding notes. This includes any change in your place of business or employment, or in the conditions attached to your stay.

Failure to comply with any of the above requirements,
making any false statement to a person carrying out registration duties,
failure to produce the certificate when required to do so by an Immigration or Police Officer,
having in possession or using without lawful authority for the purpose of the Aliens Order any forged, altered, or irregular certificate, passport, or other document,
will render the offender liable to a fine of £100 or six months' imprisonment.

SEC15B 57772 1381 100M Bks. 4/61 FEB 873

E 033732

ALIENS ORDER 1953

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION

Produce this certificate if required to do so by any Police Officer or Immigration Officer

If you wish to apply for extension, or other variation, of your conditions of stay, send this certificate, and your passport or travel document, with your application to:—

Home Office,
Aliens Department,
271, High Holborn,
London, W.C.1

See also the Notice on the back of this certificate

Signature of Holder [redacted]

Received the sum of 5s. 0d. for the issue of this certificate [redacted]

Registration Officer Civ. Clerk

1

Date of Issue 23th September, 1962

Place of Issue East Grinstead, Sx.

Name (Surname first in BLOCK CAPITALS) [redacted]

Nationality Spanish

Born on [redacted] in [redacted]

Passport or other papers as to Nationality and Identity [redacted]

Marital Status Single

2

FURTHER REGISTRATION PARTICULARS

Permitted to land on condition that holder registers at once with the Police, does not enter employment other than that specified in Ministry of Labour Permit No. EC2 472.. without consent of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and does not remain in United Kingdom longer than ..12.... months. I.O(123). London Date .19.9.1962. (BY AIR)

Resident at 15, West Street, East Grinstead (Vega) 19.9.62.
(Employed at Ye Olde Felbridge Hotel, East Grinstead).

EAST SUSSEX CONSTABULARY 28 SEP 1962 POLICE STATION EAST GRINSTEAD [redacted]

3

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

The condition attached to the grant of leave to land is hereby varied so as to require the holder

(i) Not to take employment other than that specified in Ministry of Labour Permit No. EC2 472 without the consent of the Ministry of Labour

(ii) Not to remain in the United Kingdom later than 19 SEPTEMBER 1966 [redacted]

for Under Secretary of State, Home Office.

Date 27 AUG 1963

4

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

Reports arrival ~~leaving~~ from ~~for~~ United Kingdom on 25-3-1966
Address [redacted]

STATES OF JERSEY 28 MAR 1966 ALIENS OFFICE

RETROSPECTIVE
PERMISSION GRANTED FOR EMPLOYMENT
AS Resident Chambermaid WITH
St Brelade's Bay Hotel, St Brelade.
UNDER JERSEY LABOUR PERMIT
No T/65128 EXPIRING 19-9-66

STATES OF JERSEY 28 MAY 1966 ALIENS OFFICE

5

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR EMPLOYMENT
AS Resident Chambermaid WITH
Silver Spring Hotel, St Brelade.
UNDER JERSEY LABOUR PERMIT
No T/65123 EXPIRING 19.9.66

STATES OF JERSEY 28 MAY 1966 ALIENS OFFICE

C/A to 6, Bedford Terrace, Tunbridge Wells, on 27th October, 1966.

KENT COUNTY CONSTABULARY
'D' DIVISION
- 3 NOV 1966
ALIENS DEPT.
TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

6

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR EMPLOYMENT
AS Chambermaid
WITH Belmont Hotel (Tunbridge Wells) Ltd
OF 52/2 Linden Rd, Tunbridge Wells, Kent
SUBJECT TO REVIEW AS NECESSARY.

This document and your passport should accompany any application to the Home Office for extension of stay or variation of conditions of stay.

[redacted]

FOREIGN MINISTRY OF LABOUR

FWD 1/1/40/4 1/3/67

7

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

The condition attached to the grant of leave to land is hereby cancelled.

[redacted]
for Under Secretary of State
Home Office.
Date 14 APR 1967

8

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

9

ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

10
ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

11
ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

12
ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

ALIENS ORDER, 1960

The holder of this Certificate is exempt from registration with the police, but should retain this Certificate

[redacted]

for Under Secretary of State
Home Office

Date 14 APR 1967

e) Home Office letter issued at the end of the 4 year period notifying the same migrant that her immigration restrictions had been lifted (reduced to 65% from original size).

CC 1

HOME OFFICE
Princeton House, 271 High Holborn, LONDON W.C.1
Telex: 261867 Telegrams: Alidep, London WCx
Telephones: Enquiries, ~~Holborn 0070~~ 01-405 4321
Other, CHANCERY 8811, ext.

Please address any reply to THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
and quote: G 123305
Your reference:

14 APR 1967

~~Sir~~/Madam,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that he is now prepared to remove the restrictions on your stay in this country. The conditions attached to it have therefore been cancelled.

Cancellation of conditions means that you are now also exempt from the requirement to report changes of address and other particulars to the police.

There is now no necessity for you to obtain permission from a Government Department to take employment in Great Britain. The Secretary of State would, moreover, have no objection if you wished to establish yourself in business or a profession, but it should be clearly understood that this does not relieve you of the obligation, in that event, to conform to any regulations governing the business or professional activities in which you may be interested.

This cancellation of your conditions does not extend to the Channel Islands which have their own laws relating to aliens. You should therefore consult the Immigration Authorities of the island concerned if at any time you contemplate going there to live.

Miss [redacted] /This

This cancellation of conditions extends to Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man only as far as residence is concerned. If you are going to take work in either place, you will have to consult the Northern Ireland Ministry of Labour and National Insurance or the Employment Division, Government Office, Isle of Man.

Your passport and Police Registration Certificate have been endorsed and are returned herewith. The endorsement in the Registration Certificate shows that you are now exempt from registration.

I am, ~~Sir~~/Madam.
Your obedient Servant,

[redacted]

Also enclosed:

Appendix 4: Informants' migration backgrounds and personal profiles (1/3)

FORMAL INTERVIEWS									
Informant / spouse / children	**DOB**	**Place of origin**	**Family migration history**	**Year of arrival in the UK**	**Age at arrival**	**Time spent in the UK (by 2004)**	**Most recent occupation**	**Most recent place of residence**	**Membership of clubs / societies / religion / language**
Marianne (British, 2 children) on behalf of late husband Andrés	1923	Basque Country	*Niño de la guerra* evacuated in 1937 with younger brother. Exile father later migrated to the UK to be cared for by Andrés.	1937	14	59 by time of death in 1996	Architect	Southampton	Hispanic Society of Southampton and Esperantists' Society / Atheist / Spoke Basque and Esperanto as well as English.
Sebastián (Spanish spouse, 1 son)	1925	Village in Burgos	Internal rural migration from village to San Sebastián. *Niño de la guerra* evacuated in 1937. Repatriated in 1939. Remained in contact with British family who had hosted him at weekends during his stay at the Southampton children's colony. With their help migrated to the UK in search of better opportunities in 1950. Son recently bought house in Spain.	1937-1939 / 1950	12 / 25	55	Lithographer	Eastleigh, Southampton	Southampton Philatelic Club / Does not speak Basque. Son understands Spanish.
Winnie (British, 2 children) on behalf of late husband Julián	1928	Basque Country	Internal migration from the Basque Country to Madrid. Sister and brother also emigrated to the UK. Entered the UK with a shortage skilled job contract. Daughter has married a Chilean and moved to Chile.	1960	35	40 by time of death in 2000	Micro-wave engineer	Southampton	Hispanic Society of Southampton / Practising Catholic / Spoke only a few Basque words.
Eva (Spanish spouse, 3 children)	1929	Coruña, Galicia	Assisted failed migration to Dominican Republic in the late 1950s. Father emigrated to Argentina. Emigrated to the UK with husband through a private agent. Separated, husband and children live in Galicia.	1962	33	42	Domestic work in hotels and private houses	Bournemouth	Husband was a member of the Bournemouth Casa de España / Practising Catholic / Speaks Galician and Castilian. Survival spoken English, difficulties with formal registers.
Ana (Spanish spouse, 3 children)	1936	Coruña, Galicia	Friends emigrated to Germany and other Western European countries at the time of their migration. Emigrated to the UK with husband through a private agent. All children live in the UK.	1961	20	43	Supervisory cook.	Southampton	Husband belongs to the Southampton Philatelic Club / Speaks Galician and Castilian.

Appendix 4: Informants' migration backgrounds and personal profiles (2/3)

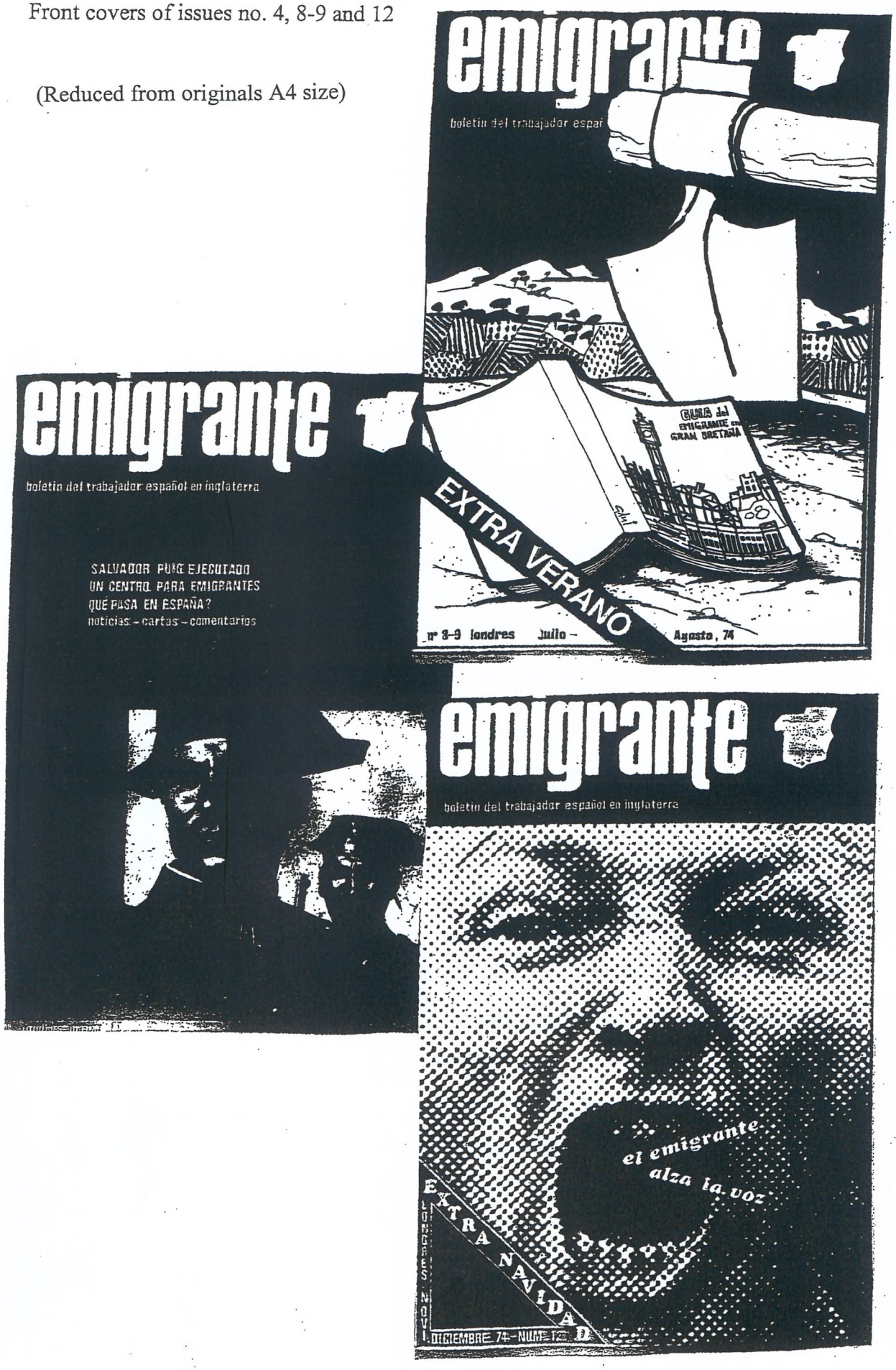
Ramón (British spouse, 3 children)	1938	Valencia	Left-wing father established himself in London as a fruit exporter after Spanish Civil War. Came to the UK to study higher education. Daughter has bought house in Majorca.	1953	15	51	Research I.T. engineer	Winchester	Hispanic Society of Southampton / Practising Catholic / Does not speak Valencian.
Madalena (British spouse, no children)	1940	Valencia	Parents were migrants in France. Emigrated through work placement arranged in care home with the intention of learning English.	1959	19	45	Nurse	Dorchester	Hispanic Society of Southampton; Spanish Circle of Dorchester and member of various charity committees. Does not speak Valencian.
Dora (Spanish spouse, 4 children)	1943	Jaén	Internal migration to Madrid. Uncle already in the UK facilitated her own migration and work in hotel industry. Eldest son emigrated to Canada. Youngest son contemplating emigration to Spain.	1962	19	42	Care assistant	Bournemouth	Husband and children attended the former Casa de España in Bournemouth / Prefers to speak English to Spanish.
Jacinta (Dora's sister, single, no children)	1946	Jaén	Sister above facilitated migration and work in hotel industry.	1964 / 1971	18 / 25	33	Cleaner	Bournemouth	Attended Casa de España in Bournemouth / Survival spoken English, difficulties with formal registers.
Carmelo (British spouse, 3 children)	1946	Zaragoza	Grandfather emigrated to Mexico where father was born. Other family members established in Venezuela. Internal migration to study in Barcelona. Came to the UK with British wife in order to study for a Masters course at university.	1972	27	33 (returned to Spain in 2003 and is now back in the UK)	Lecturer	Southampton	Academic English and Spanish. Also speaks Catalan.
Rosa (Chilean spouse, 3 children)	1949	Barcelona	Initially came on holiday and later as an au-pair.	1969 / 1970	21	34	Worked as accounting programmer before starting a family.	Southampton	Former member of the Hispanic Society of Southampton / Catholic / Speaks Catalan and Castilian. Transmitted Catalan to one of her children.
Manolo (British spouse, 3 children)	1950	Zaragoza	Initially migrated to Jersey.	1970 /1973 / 1976	20	31 in total by 2004	Runs Spanish restaurant	Southampton	Feels that he has not learned English yet.
Mario (British spouse, 2 children)	1954	Almería	Met British wife (dancer) working in tourism in Majorca.	1972	18	33	Runs Spanish restaurant	Bournemouth	Formerly in charge of the Casa de España of Bournemouth.

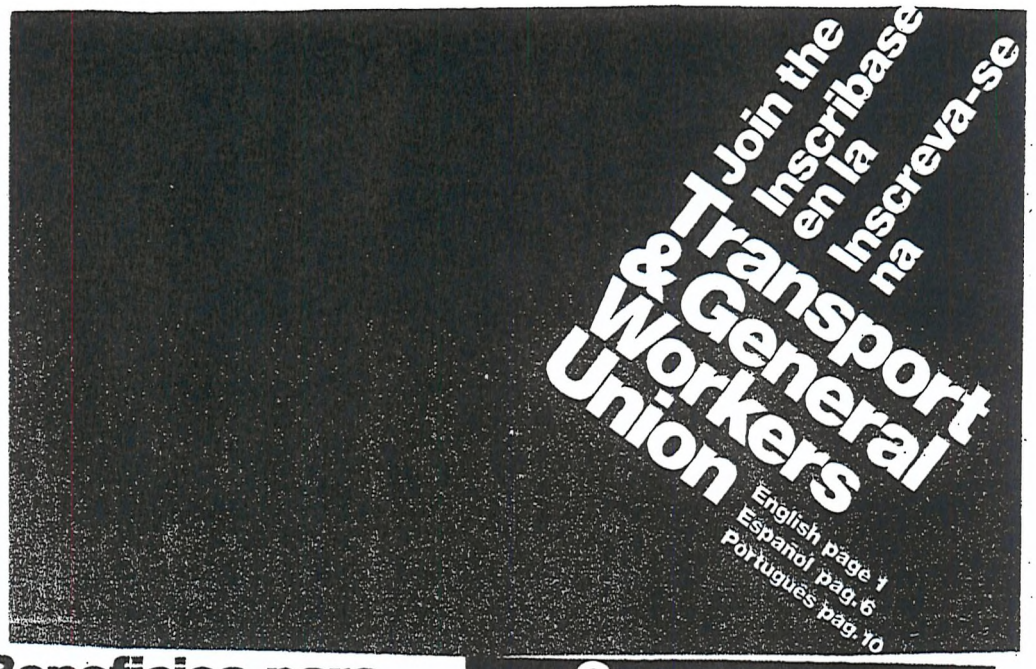
Appendix 4: Informants' migration backgrounds and personal profiles (3/3)

INFORMAL INTERVIEWS				
Informant	**Place of residence**	**Occupation**	**Type of contact**	**Observations / comments**
Gabriela	Southampton	Co-runs transport business with British husband in Southampton.	Refused formal recorded interview but agreed to various informal encounters including a visit to her house in Spain.	Transnational life between Southampton and the South of Spain where her son lives and her holiday home in a village of Aragon.
Aurelia	Reading	Runs Spanish restaurant with Spanish husband in Reading.	Contact established through associations survey.	Transnational life between British home and business in Reading, second home in Galicia and family connections in Aragon. Active member of the Centro Español de Reading.
Pepe	Lymington	Care-taker of Lymington Community Centre	Refused to meet originally but agree to an informal chat on second encounter.	'La emigración a Inglaterra era mejor que la de Franco/ Todos los españoles se han ido, solo quedamos dos'.
Juana	Fulham	Spanish teacher and former member of a PP FF. association.	Contact established through associations survey.	'La asociación se terminó hace poco, ya no existe necesidad.'
Dolores	Zaragoza	Housewife	Informal discussion.	Family history of migration and exile in the UK and France.
ADDITIONAL FORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH NON-SPANISH MEMBERS OF THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF SOUTHAMPTON				
James	Southampton	Radiologist.	Hispanic Society of Southampton	British hispanophile interested in Colombia, Gabriel García Márquez and cycling holidays in Asturias.
Ernesto	Southampton	Poet / translator / independent researcher.	Hispanic Society of Southampton	Chilean exile who arrived in Southampton in 1973. Occasional attendant and speaker at the Hispanic Society of Southampton and active member of the Hispanic circles in London.
INTERVIEWS WITH MEMBERS OF LA TERTULIA				
Palmira	Southampton	Spanish tutor	*La Tertulia*	Italian, founder member of *La Tertulia.* Also attends *Le serate italiane.*
Marisa	Southampton	Spanish tutor	*La Tertulia*	Basque, regular member of *La Tertulia.* Transmitted Castilian mother tongue to her three daughters.

Front covers of issues no. 4, 8-9 and 12

(Reduced from originals A4 size)





Beneficios para los miembos de T&GWU

Asistencia legal y gratuita sobre asuntos referentes al trabajo

Casa de convalecencia gratuita el mejor servicio de casa de convalecencia del país incluidas dos semanas de tratamiento gratuito y viajes de tren pagados

Información y ayuda sobre todos los problemas de salarios, bonos, horas extraordinarias con el apoyo de nuestro departamento de investigación y producción.

Consejo y ayuda relativos a beneficios de asistencia y otros problemas individuales por funcionarios del sindicato y departemento especial del sindicato

Facilidades educacionales gratuitas incluidos cursos por correspondencia y cursos de capacitatión semanales o durante fines de semana.

Representaciones en los consejos Médicos, Tribunales de Seguros etc.

Contribuciones reducidas
Para cualquier semana completa de ausencia del trabajo por indisposición enfermedad o desempleo, está permetido una reducción de la contribución de 3p (1p para la escala de mujeres y jovenes). Las contribuciones son pagadas por entero cuando se está recibiendo beneficios de accidente o incapacidad.

El Sindicato queda siempre a mano

T&GWU, 82 Hammersmith Grove, London W6

Pago mínimo de entrada 5p (excepto para menores de 18 años, que es 3p)

Los beneficios estan sujetos a periodos de validez requeridos por las reglas. Por ejemplo, para la mayoría de beneficios es necesario haber sido miembro del sindicato durante 39 semanas consecutivas habiendo pagado 39 contribuciones semanales y tener menos de 6 semanas de atraso en el pago.

Que es un Sindicato?
(Trade Union)

Un Sindicato es una asociación independiente de trabajadores para defender sus propios intereses, y luchar por la mejoría de salarios y condiciones de trabajo. En la Gran-Bretaña los sindicatos estan controlados por sus afiliados a través de sus cuerpos dirigentes elegidos democraticamente.

Cualquier trabajador en Gran-Bretaña, independientemente de su origen o nacionalidad, tiene el derecho a pertenecer a un sindicato.

Que es el Transport and General Workers Union

El Transport and General Workers Union es el mayor sindicato de la Gra- Bretaña con 1 million 600 mil afiliados de diversas industrias en su mayoría del transporte, industria automovilística, portuarios, alimentación, bebidas y tabacos, administrativos. Fué formado en 1922 y tiene por tanto 50 años de experiencia en la lucha por los intereses de los trabajadores.

Que es la Sección Internacional de la T&GWU

La Sección Internacional de Trabajadores es una seccion de T & G W.U. formada especialmente para defender los trabajadores de la industria Hotelera y de hospitales en su mayoría extranjeros.
(Para resolver el problema de idioma la seccion esta estudiando la posibilidad de dividirse en sub-secciones nacionales elegidas democraticamente por los afiliados.)
Para que todos los afiliados puedan participar, las reuniones de la seccion se realizan en inglés, español y portugues.
La dirección de la seccion es elegida democráticamente por sus afiliados cada dos años.

Nota:
(a) **Los beneficios por incapacidad y accidente son solo pagados después de los primeros siete días de incapacidad.**
(b) **Algunes secciones tienen cuentas extraordinarias para fondos de socorro.**
(c) **La escala de pago incluye un porcentaje para el fondo de la sección y contribución política.**
(d) **A partir del 7 de Abril de 1973, las escalas 1 y 2 seran aumentadas 2p por semana.**

Escala 1 12p por semana

Esta escala esta abierta para ambos sexos.

Beneficios por accidente: £2 por semana durante 10 semanas
Beneficios por accidente mortal (en el trabajo) £250
Beneficios por disputa, Lock out, Despido injustificado £5 por semana
Asistencia y orientación legal
Beneficios para funeral £5 a £20
Beneficio para casa de reposo

Escala 1a (Categorías Especiales) 6p por semana

Las mujeres que no reciben salarios iguales a los hombres y los jovenes menores de 18 años pueden pagar 6p por semana y recibir los siguientes beneficios.

Por accidente £1 durante los 10 primeras semanas
Por accidente mortal (en el trabajo) £125
Por disputa, Lock out, despido sin causa £2.50 por semana
Asistencia y orientación legal
Para el funeral £2.50 a 10
Para casa de reposo

Escala 2 20p por semana

Esta escala solamente está abierta a miembros masculinos com menos de 60 años de edad y a miembros del sexo femenino com menos de 35 años

Por incapacidad (enfermedad o accidente) £2.25 por semana durante 10 semanas
Por muerte en el trabajo £500
Por disputa, Lock out, despido injustificado £5 por semana
Asistencia y orientación legal
Para el funeral £5 a £30
Para casa de reposo

Escala 2a (Mujeres– Jovenes) 10p por semana

Las mujeres menores de 35 años que no reciban salarios iguales a los de los hombres y jovenes menores de 18 años pueden pagar 10p por semana y recibir los siguientes beneficios:

Por incapacidad (enfermedad o accidente) £1.10 por semana durante 10 semanas
Accidente mortal en el trabajo £250
Disputa, Lock out, despido injustificado £2.50 por semana
Asistencia y orientación legal
Para el funeral £2.50 a £15
Beneficio para casa de reposo

SIC 9/34
5

Appendix 7 The Hispanic Society of Southampton

Programmes of activities for the season 1992-93.

SOCIEDAD HISPANICA
ANGLO-SPANISH SOCIETY
SOUTHAMPTON

Para fomentar el conocimiento de la cultura hispánica
To promote appreciation of Spanish-speaking countries and cultures

---

Chairman: Amador Díaz
Secretary: Juan Ozamiz Tel. [redacted]

Vice-chairman: Roser Lavanchy
Treasurer: John Heath Tel. [redacted]

PROGRAMA 1992-93

18 de septiembre	Tertulia y canciones Informal social gathering and songs
16 de octubre	Mª Eugenia Bravo. "La ética de Neruda y el Descubrimiento". "Neruda's ethics and the Discovery".
20 de noviembre	"Cristóbal Colón". Vídeo en español. "Christopher Columbus". Spanish video.
12 de diciembre	Cena de Navidad. Chilworth Hall. Christmas supper at Chilworth Hall.
15 de enero	Cuestionario. Quizz.
19 de febrero	John Heath. "Vuelta ciclista a Colombia". Con diapositivas. "The Tour of Colombia". With slides.
19 de marzo	Diapositivas. Presentadas por los miembros. Slides. Members participation.
16 de abril	Mercedes Ettinghausen. "Gaudí". Con diapositivas. With slides.
21 de mayo	"El amor brujo". Vídeo musical en español. Spanish musical video.
18 de junio	Asamblea general ordinaria con tertulia y música. Annual General Meeting followed by tertulia.

Cuota de socio: £5 al año
No socios y visitantes: £1 por sesión

Subscription: £5 per annum
Non members and visitors: £1 per session.

LUGAR DE REUNION/MEETING PLACE
Avenue Wing, La Saint Union College, The Avenue, Southampton.

La reunión se abre a las 8.00 hrs. The meeting opens at 8.00 p.m.
Se facilitará transporte cuando se precise. Transport may be provided if needed.

Programmes of activities for the season 2001-02.

Sociedad Hispánica
Southampton

Secretary: Janine Shepherdson [redacted]
Treasurer: John Heath [redacted]

HISTORIAL - VEASE AL REVERSO

The aim of the Society is to promote interest in the culture of Spanish-speaking countries. The use of the Spanish language is encouraged but the majority of talks are in English.

PROGRAMME 2001-2002

Meetings THIRD FRIDAY of the month EXCEPT *Christmas Party*

21st September	Tertulia y Música Viva Waldo Carbajal from Chile will start the get-together with live music and song. Please bring snacks/tapas to share.	
19th October	Evita – Eva Perón: Her Argentina The real Eva Perón uncovered.	Phillip Adams
16th November	La Marbella Escondida Discover what lies behind the beach.	Eloísa Maldonado
8th December	Christmas Party & Wine Tasting *At Chilworth Hall, Chilworth, Southampton* Share food & drink, chat, sing and dance.	
18th January	Nicaragua	Jo Cholomondeley
15th February	20th Century Spanish Painting Sorolla and other 20th century artists.	Jean Ladbury and Dorothy Kidner
15th March	La Via de la Plata Spain's southern pilgrim route.	Alison Pinkerton
19th April	Experiences of Chilean Exiles	Martin Roscoe
17th May	The Sights and Sounds of Madrid Talk on Spain's capital with music and slides.	Rafael Pascual
21st June	AGM Short AGM followed by social. Please bring snacks/tapas to share.	

MEETING PLACE

Seminar Room 1177, Arts Block, Avenue Campus, University of Southampton, Highfield Road (off the Avenue). Ample parking. Please note that the venue may change. To confirm the meeting place or request directions to our current venue, phone one of the above.

For safety reasons, all attendees are required to tick the society register on arrival at every meeting. Committee members will welcome and take details of newcomers.

TIME OF MEETINGS: 8 - 10pm

Talks start promptly at 8:30 and last for about an hour. This allows time for greetings and conversation between members before and after. Access is possible before 8pm. Lock-up schedules require that we leave when requested.

SUBSCRIPTIONS/FEES

Members £12.00. Unwaged £6.00. Visitors £2.50.

Occasionally talks have to be changed due to unavoidable circumstances. Please phone one of the above if you wish to confirm the subject and speaker.

Article from the Southern Evening Echo featuring one of the informants (Julián) (31/12/1971)

One of us... from Spain

They thought he was English

WHEN [redacted] took his English wife on honeymoon to Malaga, people at the hotel thought he was English.

The reason?—simply because he said "please" and "thank-you."

As Mr. [redacted] explained at his home in Brookway, Romsey, the Spanish are not so interested in the niceties of the language as we are.

But he had got used to the English politeness . . . hence the mistaken identity.

Mr. [redacted]

First visit

Actually that trip to Malaga was the first time he had seen the famed Mediterranean coast of Spain.

He was born in the north—the Basque country—at a place with the western-sounding name of Durango.

From there he went to university in Madrid where he stayed until coming to England 12 years ago.

Over here he has worked in Harlow and Southgate, London, before moving to Romsey where he now works on microwave research and development for Plessey's at Roke Manor.

New life

He had several reasons for coming to England — the greater opportunities for work and the fact that his brother was already living here. "But the main idea was to start a new life," he said.

Although Spain and Britain have gone down in history as traditional enemies he feels

BY DAVID ING

that the Basques in some ways have closer affinities to the English than the Spanish.

"There have always been commercial links between us and Britain — especially the south," he said.

Deeper ties

The ties go even deeper. Spain's national game is football and that was introduced to Spain by the English who started the first club at Bilbao—the principal town of the Basque region.

One of the first things that struck Mr. [redacted] when he came to England was the politeness of the people. "I thought they were very kind and friendly," he said.

He also found it surprisingly easy to get into this country and get a job.

"When I came here I needed a visa to get out of Spain. It was more difficult to get out of there than to get into this country."

And when he went for interviews for jobs nobody asked him for proof of his degree. "People assume you are honest. It is very nice to think they believe you," he

Little holiday

There were more pleasant surprises in store when he found he had to work only five days a week. "Having week-ends was like a little holiday. In industry in Spain we nearly always worked six days a week."

After all the compliments it was a hard job to get him to admit anything he did not like about Britain—but the main one turned out to be our habit of booking so far in advance.

"Sometimes you have to book a couple of months ahead to get into a theatre—and then on the night you don't feel like going," he said.

More relaxed

Now a British citizen and with both his brother and sister living in England, Mr. [redacted] thought it unlikely that he would ever return to Spain.

But he hopes one day, when his children, [redacted] and [redacted], are a little older, to take them back to the Basque country where he was born.

"I enjoy going to Spain for a holiday but I feel more relaxed when I get back," he said. "I feel quite at home here now."

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