Children of the Motherland: The Otherization of Latin American Immigrants in Contemporary Spain

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"L'absolument Autre, c'est Autrui."
Totalité et Infini, Emmanuel Levinas

Scholars of postcolonial studies have extensively analyzed the Other and what this alterity represents, with its inherent power imbalances between colonizer and colonized, in the context of colonization. They have shown that colonizers (often from the West) record and produce knowledge about subjects labeled as "different," knowledge that often translates into power.[1] Yet, these power dynamics are not enough to fully explain the relationship between the self and the Other. In fact, as Emmanuel Levinas argues in *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (1969), the Other is an entity or a being that cannot be fully known, captured, or recorded.[2] His phenomenological approach challenges Western philosophies that have totalized people via knowledge systems such as history; he contrasts "totality" with "infinity" and claims that "infinity" better captures our relationship with the Other, who is absolute in its Otherness. Crucially, Levinas also contends that we must take this alterity seriously, and that our relationship with the Other must include a sense of ethical responsibility.

How do we think about the alterity of Latin American immigrants in contemporary Spain? In this context, the colonized (the Other) has come to the colonizers, and the encounter takes place in the former colonial power, not the colony. To complicate matters further, Latin American immigrants in Spain share a language and an organized religion (Catholicism) with most of the former colonizers. Indeed, the relationship between Latin Americans and Spanish is rarely characterized as one of Otherness; instead, it has historically been framed in terms of shared cultural identity, encapsulated (and defended) by the notion of *Hispanidad.* However, as this article will show, Latin American immigrants in Spain, contrary to this notion, have been constructed as Others despite cultural similarities and shared language. Noting that the patterns of immigration flows changed after the 2008 global financial crisis, I focus on texts that portray Latin American immigration to Spain from approximately 1990-2008.

Hispanidad and Otherness

The "Hispanic fraternity" of Latin Americans and Spaniards has been emphasized by several Spanish-speaking writers, emerging as a topic of particular interest after what Spaniards call the *Desastre del 98* ("Spanish-American War Disaster"), when Spain lost its last colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines) to the United States. One of these writers was Ramiro de Maetzu, a member of the *Generación del 98* ("Generation of 1898"), who argued in his 1934 essay, *Defensa de la Hispanidad* ("In Defense of *Hispanidad*"), for the existence of a kinship or fraternity between Spain and its former colonies: "La Hispanidad está compuesta de hombres de las razas blanca, negra, india y malaya, y sus combinaciones, y sería absurdo buscar sus características por los medios de la etnografía" ("*Hispanidad* is formed by men of white, black, Indian and Malay races and their combinations, and it would be absurd to look for their characteristics by means of ethnography"; 34).[3] For Maetzu, all American nations owe their "civilization" to Spain and Portugal (the nations of Hispania), and *Hispanidad* is an evident and undeniable fact, a "permanent community" (34), and a source of pride for everyone who claims to be *hispano*.

However, since the end of the twentieth century, Maetzu's argument has been put to the test: hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans have immigrated to Spain in search of a better life, with some of them realizing that *Hispanidad* is nothing more than a fallacy. Once in Spain, these immigrants, especially those who belong to ethnic or racial minority groups, have faced social rejection and even physical violence. In other words, neither Spaniards nor Latin Americans feel the innate fraternity of *Hispanidad*.

This article analyzes how Latin American immigrants to Spain have been constructed as "Others," despite cultural similarities, shared language, and notions of *Hispanidad*. It uses race and gender theory in a transatlantic framework to analyze contemporary literary and cinematographic texts that portray the experiences of these immigrants in Spain. Because Latin American populations are vastly diverse, I aim to examine how different migratory groups deal with their own postcolonial, ethnic, and racial dilemmas. I argue that, contrary to the idealistic portrayal of "Hispanic fraternity" captured by *Hispanidad*, Spanish citizens and those of its former colonies have an Others-versus-Us relationship, one that is complicated further by the intersection of factors such as race, ethnicity, and gender, all of which profoundly shape the immigration experience of Latin Americans in the "Motherland."

First Wave of Latin Americans to Spain: Others Who "Pass"

After the fall of Franco's dictatorship in 1975, the flow of Spanish citizens to Latin America reversed itself: Spanish immigrants and exiles, most of whom had established themselves in Mexico and South America, began returning to Spain. In 1976, dictator Jorge Rafael Videla seized power in Argentina and began to persecute political dissidents. This action caused an exodus of political exiles, most of them settling in the newly democratized Spain, particularly in its two largest cities, Madrid and Barcelona.

These arrivals coincided with a crucial historical moment. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Madrid was experiencing accelerated social and economic changes, thus offering new labor opportunities in a society then ready to embrace capitalism. As Yolanda Herranz argues:

> Estas nuevas ocupaciones de elevada cualificación que surgen en el sector servicios en una ciudad de creciente dinamismo como es Madrid, y el desfase entre la titulación de los trabajadores disponibles y los nuevos puestos de trabajo, posibilitan la entrada en el mercado laboral madrileño de nuevos actores económicos, como es la inmigración latinoamericana, especialmente la argentina, con niveles altos y medio-altos de cualificación y, en algunos casos, incluso con ventajas sobre los trabajadores autóctonos debido a una mayor especialización y formación en áreas en las que en España no existía titulación (caso de los odontólogos). (41)
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> New occupations requiring high qualifications emerged in the service sector in increasingly dynamic Madrid, producing a gap between employment needs and the credentials of available workers. This opened the door for new economic actors to enter the market. These were often Latin American immigrants, especially Argentines, who often had higher qualifications than local workers. Indeed, many Argentines had formal training and specialization in professions that, in Spain, offered no professional certifications (such as dentistry).

Argentinian immigrants then seemed to blend right into their new surroundings. In part, this was because of their desirable professional qualifications and their economic contributions to the new emerging neoliberal economic society. I also argue that they blended in because of a sort of kinship or connection based on shared adverse experiences—Argentines were facing situations similar to those that Spaniards had endured just a few years earlier. But, as we will see, another reason for the Argentines' ability to

blend in came from their racial similarities with the Spaniards; most looked like southern Europeans, and their Otherness was not visually asserted like that of some later Latin American immigrants.

This migratory cycle between the two countries is portrayed in the 2006 Spanish-Argentinian TV production *Vientos de agua* ("Wind Water"), directed by Argentinian filmmaker Juan José Campanella. The televised program tells the parallel stories of two men: José Olaya, a native of Asturias in northern Spain, who had emigrated to Argentina in 1934 as a result of the Asturian miners' strike, and José's son Ernesto, an architect, who seventy years later emigrated from Buenos Aires to Spain because of the Argentinian economic crisis, often referred to as *el Corralito* ("The Playpen"; *Vientos*). José's experience in Argentina is radically different from that of Ernesto's. Once in Spain, Ernesto feels no strong connection with the local Spaniards; rather, his new "family" is now composed, not of native Spaniards, but of individuals from other nationalities. It then seems that, in this production, the immigration experience is related more to that of foreigners whom he meets than to that of those who share his national origin.

While *Vientos de agua* is a fictionalized portrayal of the immigrant experience, Ariadna Pujol's documentary, *Aguaviva* (2006), employs testimonials to demystify the notion of an essentialist connection between Argentines and Spaniards. This production tells the contemporary story of the intentional repopulation of a small Spanish town with Argentinian immigrants. Almost two decades ago, Argentinian immigrants were invited to settle in Aguaviva, a small rural Spanish town in Aragón, on the basis of the assumed kinship between the two nations. The mayor of Aguaviva, Luis Bricio, decided to join an association of towns seeking to avoid depopulation. The association was known as the *Asociación Española de Municipios Contra la Despoblación* ("Spanish Municipal Association Against Depopulation"), whose strategy was to bring immigrants into these areas. They invited Latin Americans to settle in Aguaviva, assuming that there was a spiritual and cultural connection (*Hispanidad*) between the locals and the potential newcomers. But the *Asociación* did not invite just any Latin Americans to move to Aguaviva. As Sohyun Lee notes:

> Selection criteria included factors such as Spanish ancestry, low education credentials, age, health, and sexual orientation, as well as a certain number of young children. The idea was that by carefully pre-selecting migrants who would "fit in" with the existing

> population in terms of cultural background and family situation, they would rapidly assimilate and decide to stay permanently without challenging the existing culture of the small town. Mayor Bricio first invited families from Argentina in 2000 and then, a year later, from Romania. (364)

In other words, Argentines were the only Latin American group invited to move to Aguaviva. I believe it is no coincidence that the selection process took into account the race, religion, culture, education, and gender of its candidates. Mayor Bricio saw Argentinians (racially coded as white) as most similar to Spanish citizens and most likely to integrate in Spain. This is racial discrimination, as N. Michelle Shepherd points out: "the mayor's selection of immigrants from Argentina and Romania, who are racially coded as 'white,' eliminates the possibility of racial miscegenation in a nation characterized as homogenously white and European for centuries" (108). Although Bricio's selection criteria for the potential immigrant families did not specifically exclude people of color, the favoring of a primarily white nation-state is what David Theo Goldberg calls "racisms without racism," which he defines as "exclusionary or debilitating racist expressions where the targeted group is not identified through the use of explicit racial language. Racial reference becomes implicit" (1714).

Pujol's documentary, *Aguaviva,* shows these "racisms without racism" in operation in Spain, a society where "populations defined in classically racial terms—as black, or brown—continue to be excluded, degraded, and humiliated" (Goldberg 1714). In the film, it is evident that no resident, whether "invited" or local, is black, mestizo, or of mixed race; these groups have been constructed as "racial others" who are incompatible with Aguaviva. Yet, what is even more interesting about the film is its demystification of the imaginary fraternity between Spaniards and Argentinians of any race. In one scene, graffiti that reads "in Aguaviva there's no space for Argentinians or Rumanians" is visible. More than one Argentinian immigrant speaks of discrimination and wishes to return to Argentina. Immigrants and locals do not interact in the film, and locals claim that foreigners are "spreading everywhere" (Pujol, *Aguaviva*).

Hispanidad did not seem to help these Argentines to integrate into Spanish society, although most are not visibly Others from a racial viewpoint. On the other hand, the situation has been far worse for other Latin American immigrants who have been unable to "pass" because of their racial and ethnic

backgrounds.

Second Wave of Latin Americans to Spain: Others Who Do Not "Pass"

The second group of Latin American Others who arrived during the 1980s and 1990s received even less solidarity from Spaniards. The 1985 Ley de Extranjería ("Foreign National Law"), eliminated several concessions that benefited Latin American immigrants; in the same year, President Felipe González signed the agreement binding Spain to the European Economic Community (EEC), which became today's European Union. Spain's long-held desire to join the European Union reveals its intention to become increasingly "European" and "Western," and implies a deliberate dissociation with its former transatlantic colonies.

Latin American immigrants of the second wave came from countries with significant non-white or mixed-race populations: mulatto, indigenous, mestizo, etc. Unlike immigrants and exiles from Argentina, who could racially "pass" as Spaniards, Caribbean immigrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic, along with those from Andean countries like Peru and Ecuador, were labeled as racial Others and became the object of hostility. Contemporary Spain now had immigrants who were people of color, a reality that provoked post-colonial anxieties. Unlike the Argentinian immigrants, who were considered "European," these new immigrants were unable to "pass" and were thus more violently rejected.[4]

Indeed, in 1992, the year when Spain achieved total integration into modern Europe,[5] Lucrecia Pérez, a young black Dominican woman, was brutally assassinated in Madrid's Aravaca neighborhood by a neo-Nazi group headed by an active member of the Spanish Guardia Civil.[6] Timing here is important because, not only did Spain become fully absorbed into the EU that year but, as critic Luis Martín-Cabrera has noted, this was also when the *Quincentenario* (five-hundredth anniversary) of Spain's "discovery" of the "New World" was celebrated. The *Quincentenario* evoked colonial and postcolonial memories that translated into cultural exclusions, neo-racism, and racial violence (Martín-Cabrera 43). According to Martín-Cabrera, Pérez's murder was "tragically symbolic of two relatively new phenomena in Spanish culture: the formation of immigrant communities and the appearance of racial violence as a response to the visibility of these groups. . . . As a Dominican, Lucrecia is a remainder—and reminder—of Spain's violent conquest of the Americas" (43).

The violent attack against Pérez is a marker of the Spanish response

to the visible presence of Latin Americans immigrants of color in Spain. She and Aravaca stand as tragic reminders of a dark side of Spain's modern history. Just a few days after her murder, a controversial newspaper article by Juan José Millás, "Cuando los españoles éramos los árabes de los alemanes" ("When we Spaniards were the Arabs of the Germans"), tried to remind Spaniards of what it felt like to be discriminated immigrants. Millás reminds his fellow citizens that, in a not-so-distant past (1960s), Spanish immigrants in Germany were the Others.

The disapproval in Millás's article is undeniable, but even he participates—perhaps involuntarily—in Eurocentric discourse that objectivizes the Other. Luis Martín-Cabrera characterizes the process and its aims thus: "the classification of colonial or peasant societies as backward or primitive, in order to justify the civilizing mission of the metropolis, and their subsequent hierarchization in schemes of progress, is one way in which modernity's project is enacted" (44).

Millás plays on readers' sympathies by framing Perez's journey as a dream-turned-nightmare, but in his portrayal of her poverty in the Dominican Republic, he also depicts her as being primitive, backward, and naïve, the Other from a tropicalized place:

> [Lucrecia] se vio volando y atravesando cosas que llamaban fronteras, y moviéndose por espacios donde no había plátanos ni cocos, y trabajando en una casa, con grifos y lavadora eléctrica y, a lo mejor, un aparato de esos que le sacan el líquido a las frutas.
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> [Lucrecia] imagined herself flying, going through things called borders, moving through spaces where there were no bananas or coconuts, working at a home with faucets and a washing machine and maybe even one of those appliances that extract the liquid from fruits.

Millás's portrayal of Pérez, someone who "did not even know what an elevator was," frames her as the Other who came from a different society, a backwater one in the current of progress. It seems that he here practices what anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls "denial of coevalness"—that Millás portrays the Dominican Republic as existing in almost a different time stream than that of the European West, and Pérez as, by virtue of her gender, perhaps more naïve than a Dominican man might be. As Anne McClintock has pointed out in her book *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*:

> In the industrial metropolis . . ., the evocation of anachronistic space (the invention of the archaic) became central to the discourse of racial science and the urban surveillance of women and the working class. Racial scientists and, later, eugenicists saw women as the inherently atavistic, living archive of the primitive archaic. (41)

Pérez was killed because of her status as the Other: her "backwardness," her "antagonism" to modernity, her visible racial features. This "primitive," "archaic," black Dominican woman could not "pass," and her multiple subaltern identities constructed her as an undesirable Other, and, as we will see, black Caribbean women have not been the only vulnerable ones.

Other Latin American women of color, including women from the Andean region, have also been victims of racist violence in Spain.[7] For example, on November 7, 2007, a sixteen-year-old Ecuadorian girl was physically and verbally attacked by a twenty-one-year-old local Spanish man on the Barcelona subway system. According to the *Guardia Civil* report:

> Tras insultarla y gritarle al oído varias veces que se fuera a su país (el agresor) comenzó a golpearla cada vez con más agresividad, hasta que el tren paró y se bajó mientras continuaba profiriéndola insultos de contenido racista. (*La Voz de Galicia*, October 21, 2007)
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> After insulting her and yelling in her ear several times, telling her to go back to her country, [the aggressor] started to beat her more and more aggressively until the train stopped. He got off while he continued to shout racist insults.[8]

Although this was not a lethal aggression like that directed at Pérez, this young girl was physically attacked to remind her that she was not welcome in Spain—a common occurrence involving Latin American immigrants of color who cannot racially "pass."

This Ecuadorian girl is one of the hundreds of thousands of Andeans who have emigrated because the economic and political instability in their home countries. In fact, in the 1990s, the Andean region was considered "the most unstable and violent area in the hemisphere," plagued by economic crises and other problems, including "drug trafficking, corruption, violence and human right abuses, fragmented party systems, weak national identity, and autocratic executives" (Burt and Mauceri 1-2). All of these problems exist within the context of colonial and postcolonial discourses, inherited and reproduced by the socioeconomic power structures in the region. Critic Aníbal Quijano calls these structures the "coloniality of power."[9] Quijano

explains it thus:

> Social relations founded on the category of race produced new historical social identities in America—Indians, blacks, and mestizos—and redefined others. . . . Insofar as the social relations that were being configured were relations of domination, such identities were considered constitutive of the hierarchies, places, and corresponding social roles, and consequently of the model of colonial domination that was being imposed. In other words, race and racial identity were established as instruments of basic social classification. (534)

According to Quijano, the social power structures that hierarchized people based on race are still currently present in Latin America, especially in the Andean region, where a large number of indigenous people live. These social power structures now operate within neoliberal economic systems, directly affecting racial minorities who, in most cases, live in deep poverty. In countries such as Ecuador and Perú, a significant number of indigenous people have been forced by economic conditions to leave their rural homes for large cities or for other countries, such as the United States and Spain. For these people, immigrating was the only way to "seek other opportunities to break away from oppressive local conditions caused by globalization" (Kempadoo 17).

A telling case is the emigration of hundreds of thousands of Peruvian citizens who have left their country during the last three decades. According to critic Ulla D. Berg:

> [E]migration has since the 1980s become an everyday reality for hundreds of thousands of Peruvians from all class and regional backgrounds and a major social and political issue for that state. The civil war of the 1980s and 1990s with the Maoist organization Sendero Luminoso severely challenged the state's authority and legitimacy. This political instability undermined its ability to maintain a viable national economy and sustain its population. As a consequence of this national political and global economic crisis, Perú became a labor-exporting nation, relying increasingly on migrants and the resources they acquire abroad to capture foreign currency and support the country's financial sector. (122)

Moreover, in the same year when anthropologist Berg published her article, it was reported that one million immigrants from Andean nations (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú) were living in Spain—more than 67% of all

the Latin American immigrants there.[10] Intentionally or not, the experiences of these immigrants have been rarely told and depicted in literary and cinematographic works. Although very few works include the experiences of Andean Latin American immigrants in Spain, two novels do: one, the story of a Peruvian man; the other, that of an Ecuadorian.

Sergio Galarza's 2008 *Paseador de perros* ("Dog Walker") tells the fictional story of a thirty-year-old unnamed Peruvian who immigrated to Spain.[11] In Madrid, he decides to go into a sort of self-exile, à la Juan Goytisolo. (Even in his native Perú, he had felt alienated.) He describes Madrid as a city where its inhabitants (including himself) feel like Others, in part because of the high number of "immigrant Others" settled in different parts of the city.

The Madrid of the story is bleak, a "sick city" that suffers from "schizophrenia, Alzheimer, Parkinson, arthritis, diabetes, chronic depression and other diseases" (61).[12] To survive in this grey and gloomy city, the young Peruvian immigrant works as a dog walker. In his walks around the city, he witnesses the Spaniards' negative perceptions of immigrants. On an occasion, one of his clients tells him that she had just had an argument with her Dominican neighbors who were driving her crazy because of the noise they made all the time. She then continued to complain about immigrants as people who "don't respect anything" (44). The dog walker attributes this to the Otherness of immigrants, believing that older Spaniards do not like immigrants because these are "are a threat to their customs" (44). Raquel Vega-Durán has characterized the feeling of Otherness that surrounds immigrants in Spain as follows:

> On the Spanish side of the borders, Spaniards belong to the in-group. As part of this group, Spaniards have a notion of "us" that exists because there is also a "them," the out-group comprised of not-Spaniards. These Others are not seen as a positive difference or as carriers of heterogeneity and cultural diversity that enriches Spanish culture and society. Rather, for Spaniards, immigrants often evoke discord, dissemblance, dissonance, and difference. These feelings soon translate into threats and fear toward immigrants, who in turn are construed as a homogeneous group against which "Spanish identity" emerges. (125)

This attitude is evident in Galarza's novel. But what is surprising is the main character's internalization of this rejection of other immigrants; he

feels that immigrants like him are a "deplorable spectacle," clearly including Andean immigrants in this group, since he describes them playing music on the streets with Andean musical instruments such as *quenas*, *zampoñas*, and *charango* (34–35). Although it is unlikely that Peruvian immigrants in Spain feel this way toward other immigrants, the book seems to indicate that the dog walker sees himself and other immigrants as vulnerable Others who feel like "subterranean animals" (46). In reality, it could be argued that the dog walker feels like a dog himself.

A similar feeling is experienced by the main character of *La memoria y los adioses* (*Memory and Goodbyes*), a 2006 novel by Ecuadorian writer Juan Valdano. It tells the story of José Hipólito, a young man who travels from the Andean region of Ecuador to Spain, searching for economic opportunity and his cousin, the love of his life. Not long after arriving, he starts to feel what is like to be an undesired "Other"; he becomes another "sudaca" who is unwelcome in the "Motherland."[13] To survive in Spain, José works as a farm laborer in the Autonomous Community of Murcia, where he soon starts to feel like part of the "ejército anónimo y subterráneo de forasteros ilegales: gente sin nombre, sin rostro y sin derechos a quienes la policía española pronto empezó a dar cacería" ("anonymous army of underground foreign illegals: people with no name, no face and no rights, whom the Spanish police soon started to hunt"; 37). His feelings of nostalgia and alienation increase as he considers himself to be an undocumented Other (67); he fears that he will become a somber and wandering shadow (100). Both José Hipólito and the Peruvian dog walker feel invisible though they are targets of panoptical surveillance. Carlos Celaya has articulated this feeling of being invisible:

> El inmigrante [en España] es un miembro más de una comunidad de fantasmas anónimos que se reparten lo que sobra de todo: lo que sobra de la ciudad, lo que sobra de la vivienda, lo que sobra del trabajo. Restos de una sociedad que [los inmigrantes] jamás verán. (328)
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> The immigrant [in Spain] is just another member of the community of anonymous ghosts who share among themselves everything that's left over: what's left of the city, what's left in housing, what's left of employment. Leftovers of a society that they [the immigrants] will never see.

In other words, immigrants become ghostlike subjects, marginalized from Spanish society and, consequently, not included in the project of

reconstructing Spain's contemporary national identity, despite the fact that in January 1, 2017, the INE reported that 9.5% of the Spanish population was foreign-born.[14]

Though as mentioned, the Other and Otherness itself are infinite and can never be fully determined, this fact does not diminish our ethical responsibility, articulated by Levinas, to work to integrate the immigrant Other into host societies. Philosophers such as Jürgen Habermas have preached for the creation of a European "national" identity, a more homogenous Europe, thus failing to recognize the heterogeneity and complexity of the Other. Habermas believes that all European societies should be bound by a universal social contract that includes a set of laws that bind all multicultural societies. Following Habermas, Mikel Azurmendi, an anthropologist, writer, and former member of the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) organization, argues that a shared social contract is essential to the successful inclusion of Others in the context of Spain: "The main key to integration was the law and the political agreement to uphold the law. We are all equal, and for people to have autonomy, groups of people who have common complaints must have political representation. They should be politically accepting of the general state of things, of the democratic state of Spain" (2).

Here, however, Azurmendi is referring to the integration of Spanish citizens into Spain after the end of Franco's dictatorship—Spanish citizens who, as Azurmendi emphasizes, do have political representation. Habermas and Azurmendi seem to be oblivious to the reality that immigrants of color, including Latin Americans, have no political representation. Therefore, the systems to which they are referring cannot be applied to the context of Latin American immigration to Spain. Moreover, Azurmendi adds that "The backbone of civil society is supported by juridical and political concepts, such as equality, law and law making" (7). However, neither Habermas nor Azurmendi accounts for the fact that, historically, laws have been aimed less at achieving social justice than at perpetuating power. Neither one accounts for the postcolonial relationship between Spain and Latin American immigrants, a relationship that is framed by issues of domination and resistance. Instead, they seem to reduce the experience of the Other to their own understanding, precisely what Levinas warned his readers against. Habermas, however, did recognize that Immanuel Kant's Enlightenment project could no longer be applied to the changing context of contemporary Europe. Similarly, I argue that old social contracts (including laws and social practices) about

immigration must also be revised to include the context of today's Spain. Immigrants must be integrated into Spanish society (and other societies), and the intersection of their multiple subaltern identities, along with factors such as race, ethnicity and gender, must be considered.

Notes

[1] See Edward Said's introduction to *Orientalism* (1978).

[2] First published in French under the title *Totalité et Infini. Essai sur l'extériorité* and translated into English in 1969.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

[4] It is also important to remark that the immigrants from such Caribbean and South American nations were mostly women. These women provided necessary services for low wages: waitresses, domestic work, elderly care, etc., jobs that Spaniards in the late 80s and 90s refused to do.

[5] According to Luis Martín-Cabrera, in 1992, "Spain's history of failed modernization and backwardness was supposedly reversed and sutured," due to three important events that took place that year: the Barcelona Olympic Games, Sevilla's Expo, and the designation of Madrid as cultural capital of Europe (Martín-Cabrera 45).

[6] Spain's law enforcement agency that is organized as a military force and works under the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defense.

[7] For more information, see the report *Mujeres migrantes andinas* (2010), compiled by Ana María Arteaga.

[8]<https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/espana/2007/10/22/camara-seguridad-capta-violento-ataque-joven-ecuatoriana-metro barcelona/00031193080736814491382.htm>.

[9] Throughout his essay, Aníbal Quijano also argues that "Coloniality of Power" is closely connected to the Eurocentric rhetoric that permeates all social levels and spheres of Latin American nation-states.

[10] This statistical data has been taken from the report *Mujeres migrantes andinas. Contextos, políticas y gestión migratoria* (2010).

[11] Immigration from Perú to Spain started earlier than in Ecuador, as the Peruvian aristocracy immigrated to Europe to attend European universities. But subsequent political and economic instability caused the displacement of a large number of non-elite Peruvians to countries such as Chile, Argentina, United States, Spain, Italy, and Japan. According to sociologist Teófilo Altamirano, by 2003, around 2.3 million Peruvians were

residing abroad.

[12] Compare how Sergio Galarza depicts Madrid in his book to how filmmaker Alejandro González Iñárritu portrays Barcelona and its immigrants in *Biutiful* (2010).

[13] *Sudaca* is a derogatory term used by some Spaniards to refer to immigrants from South America in Spain.

[14] < https://www.ine.es/prodyser/espa_cifras/2018/54/>.

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