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Local Responses to Transnational Migration: Citizenship, Belonging and the Case of Latin American Migrants in Madrid

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Abstract

This paper critically discusses citizenship, belonging and ethnicity in relation to their spatial dimensions, locating the concepts within individual initiatives, everyday practices and processes of negotiation. Against the backdrop of developments relevant to extra-communitarian (non-EU) migrants in Spain, examples of local responses to transnational migration will be discussed, with each referring to Latin Americans within the urban context of Madrid. Starting from a political-economic approach of the dynamics in the (post-) crisis situation, Ecuadorian vendor's activities will be scrutinised; they use informal economic activities in order to cope with the requirements of everyday life. The examples of the cultural centre La Tabacalera and the church San Lorenzo focus concretely upon place-making activities and the increasing importance of localities for the materialisation, manifestation and reconfiguration of individual or collective migrant belongings and vital urban citizenship.

Introduction

While migrants have to adapt to the new social and cultural environment in Spain, they simultaneously transform the socio-cultural landscape in both Spain and Madrid. This becomes especially obvious when observing how Latin American migrants "make space" for their social, cultural, economic or political needs, by appropriating certain places, which are in turn then transformed through their own practices, presence and creativity. Through place-making activities Latin Americans reconstruct their ethnic roots, build new belongings with the Spanish as much as with other groups and articulate citizenship. It is visible how they actively form the localities of the townscape and thus become important agents of social change.

After an introduction to Latin American migration to Spain, a brief overview of space-oriented studies upon migration emphasises the relationship between space and the concepts of ethnicity, citizenship and belonging. In light of this, the two examples that follow show how local responses to transnational migration manifest themselves: The first example derives from an economic and labour related field. During Spain's economic revival, shortly before and after the turn of the 21st century, the need for disposable labour grew and a segmented labour market evolved where Latin Americans worked mostly on the secondary labour market

in precarious and often informal [1] working conditions. Transnational migration and translocality, understood as a result of processes of flows and mobility, will then be regarded in the field of production of belonging through place-making activities. The demand for cheap housing led to residential concentrations in the central districts of Madrid (Zárate Martín 2003), where vital localities form central points of reference and important benchmarks for citizenship practices and senses of belonging for migrant groups.

Immigration to Spain and Latin Americans in Madrid

Spain, having long been an emigration country, experienced an enormous influx of migrants over the last 15 years and at an overwhelmingly fast pace. Still in 1998, the percentage of foreigners living in Spain measured only 1.6% of the total population compared to 12.08% in 2009 (own calculations based on figures of the *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes* (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)). Latin Americans constitute the biggest group of extra-communitarian (non-EU) migrants with an estimated 32% compared to others in 2009 (INE) and only surpassed by communitarian Europeans who account for 40%. Furthermore, they account for 58.96% of non-communitarian migrants (own calculations based on figures of the *Padrón municipal* (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)). In the *Comunidad de Madrid* (Autonomous Region of Madrid) the composition is somewhat different: Latin Americans are said to make up 41%[2] of all migrants (Figure based on the *Padrón Municipal* for January 2008), thus overtaking the group of extra-communitarians and communitarian Europeans which is second largest at 35% (Consejería de la Inmigración y Cooperación de la Comunidad de Madrid 2009).

With nearly 640.000 Latin Americans living in the *Comunidad de Madrid* in 2010 it has the highest population number of all *Comunidades Autónomas* (INE), coming before Barcelona, the Levante region and the Balearic and Canary Islands. Additionally and in contrast to other major nationality groups, those of Latin American origin have a higher number of immigrant women than men (Consejería de la Inmigración y Cooperación de la Comunidad de Madrid 2009).

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[1] Other notions are "economía sumergida", "economía irregular" or "trabajar/cobrar en negro". The notion "informal" or "informality" is used here to describe work relationships that are not regulated by the state, as it is used by de Soto (1992). There are some approaches to study informality in Spain (Ybarra 1995, Ybarra, San Miguel del Hoyo, and Hurtado Jordá 2002; Aja and Arango 2006); García (2006) uses the notion "informal" to describe the working conditions of Dominican women working as domestic workers in Spain; also Cano and Sánchez Velasco (2002) study women in informal labour situations. Moreno Fuentes (2005) studies the interrelation of regularization of migrants and the informal economy Moreno Fuentes; Martin Díaz (2002) on informality in agricultural work in Andalusia.
[2] Molinero (2010) speaks of 43%.

Examining the city of Madrid, it is clear that Latin Americans rank first in number with 320.109 people and 60.73% of the total foreign population as at the beginning of 2009 and shown in Table 1.

1.1.2009	% Foreign Population	% Lat. Am.* of Total Pop.	% Lat. Am.* of Foreign Pop.	% Ecuad. of Total Lat. Am.*	% Ecuad. of Total Foreign Pop.	% Boliv. of Total Lat. Am.*	% Peruv. of Total Lat. Am.*	% Colom. of Total Lat. Am.*
Carabanchel	23,7	14,44	60,9	33,22	20,23	16,46	12,3	13,65
Latina	19,42	11,64	59,92	29,42	17,63	15,52	14,41	10,83
PuenteVallecas	20,12	11,93	59,3	40,82	24,21	14,98	12,63	8,6
Ciudad Lineal	18,21	11,52	63,27	36,53	23,11	10,78	15,32	12,02
Usera	24,36	14,83	60,91	28,49	17,35	28,93	10,93	13,05
Tetuán	22,26	13,14	59,04	29,29	17,29	9,67	10,45	6,4
Villaverde	24,20	13,20	54,56	38,01	20,74	10,40	12,68	12,26
Centro	27,55	10,76	39,03	25,71	10,04	9,50	8,64	10,34
Total Madrid	16,11	9,78	60,73	29,82	18,11	13,42	12,78	11,5

Table 1: Own calculations based on figures of the Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2003 - 2010 for selected districts of Madrid

* The Total Latin American population is calculated based on population numbers of Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Paraguay, Brasil, Argentina, Venezuela, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Honduras, Uruguay, Nicaragua. Inhabitants of Madrid from other Latin American are only few in numbers and would only slightly augment the percentage of Latin Americans of the total population and slightly lessen the percentages of the respective nationalities of the total Latin American population.

Indeed, a lot of immigrant groups and associations are located in Madrid where they can influence or interfere with political negotiation processes. It is assumed that a feminisation of the migration of Latin Americans to Spain and thus a feminisation of employment markets has taken place (Pedone 2003). In addition, the concentration of Latin Americans is spatially palpable. An especially significant number of Ecuadorians live in Spain with their primary and biggest migrant networks being based in Madrid and Murcia. The Ecuadorians are the third largest group of all immigrant groups in Spain after Romanians and Moroccans, but second only to Romanians in the *Comunidad de Madrid* and first within the city of Madrid itself, thus accounting for the highest concentration of foreign nationals in most central *barrios* (wards) of Madrid (cf. also Table 1). Here the presence of immigrant groups is as visible in the labour market as it is in the recreational field. Latin American migrants have their businesses and shops where Latin American products are sold. They are strongly represented in construction and in the service sector, as employees in supermarkets, internet cafes and as private caterers. A vast number of women work within domestic services under

worsening conditions due to the economic crisis. Nonetheless, the service sector often offers an opportunity to make an irregular residential status, regular.

Informal labour allows *con* - and *sin papeles*[3] to satisfy their basic economic needs and to survive the period through to regularisation. Of course, *sin papeles* are neither in possession of a residence nor a work permit, and as such, are denied access to the resource of "citizenship as formal status". In Spain, several ways have existed to regularise ones status from that of being *sin papel*, each with the common precondition of being incorporated into the labour market.[4] If the temporal residence of an unemployed person expires, then his residence permit will not be prolonged. Indeed, after the economic crisis of 2008, many migrants lost their jobs and in turn later fell back into irregularity.

Space-oriented studies on migration and globalization

In the last two decades studies upon the migration of people and the globalisation of economies, discourses, images, technologies etc. have challenged conventional notions of space, being understood as a container, a detachable surface or simply a physical unit. Instead, space has been increasingly recognised as a socio-cultural phenomenon that is socially produced and constructed. Thanks to Lefebvre (2009) and critical geographers such as Harvey (2007), Soja (1989) and Massey (2005) whose early works induced this paradigm shift, it is nowadays widely accepted that human geography can only be examined considering both social and spatial relations, and how they are intertwined.

According to Low (2003) three approaches can be identified to define how space has been transformed in the social scientific discourse: Firstly, global spaces were examined by Sassen (1991) and (1996), among others, giving the example of "global cities" in order to describe the transformation of local places into de-territorialised spaces through global economies and flows of information and technology. A second approach is connected to transnational studies focussing on people moving across borders and producing transnational spaces and social relationships across these borders (Glick-Schiller, Blanc-Szanton, and Basch 1992, Ong 1999, Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer 2005). A last approach, the idea of translocal spaces (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Appadurai 1996, Freitag 2005, Freitag and von Oppen 2010, Brickell and

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[3] *Sin papeles*' residence status is irregular, as they do neither possess a residence permit nor the papers that would provide them with the possibility of obtaining it, e.g. a work contract, while the documentation they used in their home countries for identification is not sufficient in the host country to prevent detention and possibly expulsion.

[4] Contingencies were used for regularising present *sin papeles*, several mass regularisation campaigns took place, and since this is unlikely to be repeated, since 2005, regularisation through *arraigo* (rootedness) is possible. The latter is conferred under certain conditions after 2 (arraigo laboral), respectively 3 (arraigo social) years of residing in the Spain, while in both cases a work contract is necessary.

Datta 2010) assumes that globalisation radically changes social relations and that "processes of cultural globalisation create new translocal spaces and forms of public culture embedded in the imaginings of people…" (Low and Lawrence-Zúniga 2003, 25). According to Brickell (2010) and Freitag (2010) the concept of translocality acknowledges that place-based processes can have important local-local connections through transnational networks (Brickell and Datta 2010, Freitag 2005, Freitag and von Oppen 2010). Freitag conceptualises translocality as a space that is the result of processes of flows and mobility as well as of processes of installation and preservation:

> In the center of analysis are the effects of spatial mobility and exchange on processes of consolidation respectively institutionalisation of cultural, social and political structures. For this the notion of installation was chosen, in the sense of an installation (of self), of a production of order or creation or maintenance of possibilities of acting in fluid, unregulated situations. (...) These processes of installation are interpreted as attempts of the actors to develop or maintain certain spaces or patterns of practices, communication and imagination in such situations affected by mobility and *flows*.[5]

By this means, notions of state-based territoriality dissolve in favour of the idea of a more mobile theorisation of social sciences (Clifford 1992) or a "dialectic of roots and routes" as Urry (2000, 132) puts it. Recent literature even talks about the "spatial turn" within social and cultural sciences promoting a relational conception of space that allows for the investigation of rather new phenomena such as virtual spaces, cyber spaces and the media, which are considered to cause spatial compressions (Döring and Thielmann 2008, Stichweh 2008).

The concepts of ethnicity, citizenship and belonging are positioned within space-oriented studies on migration and globalisation and have therefore also undergone a conceptual shift from concepts with inherent spatialities, territorialities and boundary making to concepts based upon movement and flows (cf. Introduction in this Volume). The hybridity of the relational and physical space is most present in "place making" processes.

Latin Americans and Informal Labour

The Ecuadorian migrant organisation *Asociación Rumiñahui* acknowledges that "incorporation into the labour market and continuous work can be a key to social inclusion". Cachón Rodríguez also defends the role employment plays for inclusion:

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[5] "Im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchungen stehen die Auswirkungen von räumlicher Mobilität und Austausch auf Prozesse der Verfestigung bzw. Institutionalisierung kultureller, sozialer und politischer Strukturen. Hierfür wurde der Begriff der ‚Einrichtung' gewählt, im Sinne eines (Sich-)Einrichtens, der Herstellung von Ordnung oder der Schaffung oder Bewahrung von Handlungschancen in fluiden, ungeregelten Situationen. (...) Diese Einrichtungsprozesse werden zunächst als Versuche der Akteur/innen interpretiert, in solchen, durch Mobilität und *flows* geprägten Situationen bestimmte Räume und Muster von Handeln, Kommunikation und Vorstellung zu entwickeln oder zu bewahren" Freitag (2005, 3), translation to English by the authors.

> ...como ha señaló [sic] T.H. Marshall, 'el ámbito económico de los derechos civiles básicos es el derecho a trabajar.' El trabajo es una forma fundamental de participación en la vida social. (...) [E]l acceso a un empleo no es una garantía suficiente de integración, pero sigue constituyendo un aspecto fundamental para la inclusión social de las personas y su participación plena en la sociedad como ciudadanos.[6]

Though, Cachón Rodríguez is right to add that inclusion does not only function through labour and that labour alone is insufficient for social inclusion. Still, labour is fundamentally important for inclusion and in this sense social in- and exclusion through the labour market and the respective repercussions for citizenship and belonging are relevant processes here.

Spain experienced a long period of economic growth until 2008 that in turn led to reduced levels of unemployment. As a result of raising the overall wealth and further development of the welfare system[7], the Spanish population was less available to carry out low-skilled jobs (Encarnación 2004, 177). Growth was particularly strong in the construction, tourism, foreign investment and services sectors. Within these sectors, and untransferable to other countries, a gap arose in the labour supply, that was then mainly filled by the in-streaming extra-communitarian migrants (Köhler 2008, Nohlen and Hildenbrand 2005). When the economic crisis hit Spain in 2008, extra-communitarian immigrants were the first to be seriously affected by the new economic climate. Today, under the situation of increased unemployment and a decreasing number of jobs, the usual coping strategies such as the support through social networks, or job opportunities on the informal labour market, are becoming more and more under stress.

In comparison to other countries within the EU, job quality in Spain is rather precarious[8], while Cachón Rodríguez (2006) shows that immigrants that are more often included in the secondary labour market[9], endure precarious, often informal conditions and get lower remuneration. The acceptance of insecure working conditions is especially plausible for people with critically low incomes and restricted opportunities to "formal status citizenship".

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[6] "… how T.H. Marshall showed, 'the economic realm of the basic civil rights is the right to work.' Work is a fundamental form of participation in social life. (…) Access to work is not a sufficient guaranty to integration, but it continues to constitute a fundamental aspect for social inclusion of people and their full participation in the society as citizens (Cachón Rodríguez 2009, 3), translation to English through authors.

[7] Muñoz Bustillo Llorente and Antón Pérez (2010) sustain that the welfare system does not function as a pull factor for immigration and is not overstressed through immigrants.

[8] The share of temporary jobs is with 32 % (2007) highest within the EU-27, where the average is of 14,4%, and the rate of work accidents is also comparably high (Köhler 2008).

[9] Labour geography (Fassmann and Meusburger 1997) and migratory social sciences (Oswald 2007; Pries 1997; Cachón Rodríguez 2009) developed segregation theory (also theory of the split or dual labour markets). Through this theory international labour migration processes are analysed based on the assumption of a primary labour market with relatively high pay-rates and protected, formalised and regularised occupational and employment conditions and a secondary labour market with minor incomes, unprotected, temporary and instable occupational and employment conditions, and a tendency to informality.

Three quarters of non-European migrants were employed in the low-pay sectors construction, tourism, (domestic) services and agriculture. Pedone (2003) speaks of an ethnostratification of the labour market, a notion highlighting that socioeconomic stratification processes often follow (perceived) ethnic categories. Discriminatory practices in the labour market (Cachón Rodríguez 2009) can have a negative influence on a migrant's feeling of belonging, which is strengthened if exploitation takes place, as a Peruvian migrant experienced after completing a handicraft job in a private household without getting paid by his client (author's interview, 09.2010).

One of the first measures taken by the government after the crisis hit Spain, was the adoption of the *Plan de retorno voluntario*, enabling certain extra-communitarians to obtain their unemployment benefit in two instalments, if however, they return to their country of origin.[10] According to the director of the *Asociación Rumiñahui*, this plan might have proven helpful for individuals, but the priority the government gave to this plan as crisis resolution strategy contained a subliminal message of renunciation and change in the political attitude toward certain segments of migrants.[11] In this light, the plan is assignable to the "politics of belonging" (Yuval-Davis 2006) containing a message that not exactly boosts a migrant's sense of belonging. In spite of this new instrument of labour market control, unemployment rates have remained around the 20% mark since May 2010 (European Commission 2010). Latin Americans have been over-proportionally affected, while the total group of extra-communitarians affected is even higher.[12] This relative advantage on the labour market in comparison to other extra-communitarians might be due to "cultural nearness" (Gil Araujo 2010) of Latin Americans, regarding language, religion and interlinked histories.

In wake of the recent economic crisis Latin Americans developed different coping strategies, ranging from diminishing the amount of remittances[13] or receiving economic support from the

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[10] Applying individuals will get 40% of their unemployment benefits before and 60% after returning to their country of origin, having to stay out of Spain for at least 3 years. The plan was adopted by the Council of Ministers in September 2008 and became effective in November 2008, after approbation through the State Council. Nationals of 20 countries (10 of them Latin American), that have bilateral agreements in social security matters can apply, namely Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, United States, Russian Federation, Philippines, Morocco, Mexico, Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Tunisia, Ukraine Uruguay and Venezuela.

[11] Interview with Vladimir Paspuel in the office of the *Asociación Rumiñahui*, Madrid, 17.09.2010

[12] The total unemployment rate reached 17.36% in the first trimester of 2009, - while it was 15.13% for the Spanish population and 30.17% for extra-communitarian migrants; thereby 26.63% for Latin American migrants (own calculations based on *Encuesta de la Población Activa* (EPA), Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Cf. also Pajares (2010)).

[13] A contraction of the amount of remittances sent from Latin American migrants in Spain to their families back home could be perceived. (Bognanni 2009, ibid. 2010).

family in the home country, to return or recurrence to informal income generation.[14] At the beginning of 2009 approximately one million, or between 54.51% and 65%[15] of economically active Latin Americans in Spain were not affiliated to social security, which is thus a strong indicator of widespread informal income generation. Moreover, evidence for overlapping forms of formal and informal work was found, in all likelihood making informal relationships even more widespread than the mentioned numbers reveal. This case is well illustrated by a Venezuelan promotion worker on the streets of Madrid, whereby he conducts 50% of his work on an official basis and the remainder on the black.[16]

Ecuadorian vendors in Casa de Campo

Street vending activities have taken place on weekends in Madrid for at least 10 years: formerly in the more central park *Parque del Retiro* and when no longer tolerated there, transferred to the park *Casa de Campo*. These vending activities are principally fulfilled by Ecuadorian women, while besides Ecuadorians, other Latin Americans mingle freely among the visitors, enjoying the Latin American spirit of belonging produced within this place. Vendors use children's' pushchairs for the transport of their goods, pushchairs that are especially useful when running away from the municipal police, avoiding capture and disposal of their goods, which of course, causes a loss of investment for the individual and further destroys income generating opportunities for the day (cf. fig. 1)

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[14] Vladimir Paspuel in interview, 17.09.2010

[15] Own calculations based on data of the *Encuesta de la Población Activa* (EPA), 1st trimester 2009 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)), *Padrón Municipal* (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)), and the Ministry of Labour and Immigration, January 2009 (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración). In order to overcome some shortcomings of the data of the Ministry of Labor and Immigration a second calculation was accomplished: 58,96% of the category "rest of countries" (mentioned in the data of the Ministry of Labor and Immigration for affiliated) was added, as equivalent to the 58,96% Latin Americans comprise among non-communitarian migrants (according to the *Padrón Municipal*). This calculation is probably overestimated, as the 11 most important non-EU sending countries are within the category "rest of countries", among which 7 are Latin American, which would mean that the number of non-affiliated is likely to be higher than 54,51%.

[16] Interview in Ciudad Lineal, Madrid, 14.09.2010.

Fig. 1: Street vendors offering their goods in Casa de Campo

Since the beginning of 2010 the vendors' association (*Asociación de Vendedores Ambulantes y Promotores de la Cultura Gastronómica Ecuadoriana*) has tried to enhance the situation through cooperation with *Espacios Públicos*[17], (a municipal social service initiative for the development of neighbourhood and public places) and SENAMI (*Secretaría Nacional del Migrante*), an Ecuadorian government institution that supports Ecuadorian migrants. The vendors legitimise their actions by making reference to the situation and high levels of unemployment. According to the president of the vendors' association, the income achieved through the sale of meals can amount to a sum as considerable as 800€ per month[18], while another vendor said that the 260€ she made per month selling drinks had become far more important since she and her husband had their working hours cut by 50%.[19] With reference to the taxes paid when shopping, the vendors further legitimise their practices – of course, a scant argument in the eyes of the authorities.

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[17] The aim of *Espacios Públicos* described by their general coordinator sounds as follows: "Espacios Públicos se ve como puente entre la administración y la gente aplicando una metodología comunitaria y los principios de mediación que a menudo se centran en la pregunta de como usar el espacio. También ha habido mucha migración interna hacia Madrid… y se ha formado una 'ciudadanía global' lo que incluye un concepto de vecindad local madrileña. Espacios Públicos trabaja desde lo local, tratando de formar el sentido de pertenencia a la ciudad, al barrio en los vecinos, en donde se vive." ("Espacios Públicos sees itself as bridge between the administration and the people applying a communitarian methodology and the principles of mediation that often center on the question of how to use space. There has also been a lot of internal migration to Madrid... and a 'global citizenship' has evolved which includes a concept of local neighbourship of Madrid. Espacios Públicos works starting from the local, trying to form a sense of belonging to the city, to the 'barrio' (neighbourhood) among the neighbours, where they live.") Interview with Marta Segovia, general coordinator of *Espacios Públicos*, in their head-office in Madrid, 22.09.2010.

[18] Interview with Guillermo Imbanquingo, president of the Vendors' Association (Asociación de Vendedores Ambulantes y Promotores de la Cultura Gastronómica Ecuadoriana) on 24.09.2010, Atocha, Madrid.

[19] This lady was cut down to working on 50% basis in eldercare since 8 months, earning 450€, and shortly after, her husband, who was working in construction, also got cut down to 50%, earning then 500€. With their income, the couple was financing the university courses of their three children in Ecuador. Interview on 22.09.2010, Madrid.

The first aim of the association is, according to its president, to find political support for their vending activities, an aim which is also central to the success of vendors' associations in Latin America. But the events in Casa de Campo were of no assistance to this aim. Over several weeks the police began to intervene with an increasingly forceful approach, until on 19th of September 2010 a violent encounter between the vendors and the police took place where four policemen were injured and four people were detained respectively for several days. The events of this day demonstrate how controversial these activities can be, activities that are essential for the vendors and their families. The day before the intervention, the policemen in Casa de Campo expressed a strong attitude of opposition, mentioning that besides irregular vending, laws were broken; such as making a fire in an open space, possession of knifes in crowds, fighting, drug use and dealing. The policemen also accused the Ecuadorians of drinking excessively, being dirty and scaring other park users.[20]

In contrast, a supportive posture is taken by *Espacios Públicos* ("Public Spaces" translated literally). This municipal social service was created, in acknowledgement that the encounter of migrants and autochthonous people takes place in public places. According to the general coordinator of *Espacios Públicos*, their aim is to foster the "convivencia ciudadana", the "living together of citizens" and the sense of belonging within the neighbourhood, adding:

> Integración es un proceso de doble via. No se puede integrar uno en los otros. Por eso nuevas normas de convivencia son necesarias, respetados por todos donde se respetan las diferencias, no solo los de origen sino también de género, generacionales, etc.. Preguntamos: ¿Cómo es la ciudad que queremos? No una de extranjeros y autóctonos sino una de ciudadanos y ciudadanas, de vecinos y vecinas. La tarea es de trabajar sobre lo que nos une para que no se generan los estereotips. Y donde más se reúne la gente es en los espacios públicos al aire libre, centros sanitarios, escolares, las plazas, mercados, parques, canchas deportivas, plazas, calles. Y ya que ha habido un fluye de inmigración tiene que producirse un cambio en las normativas, un reajuste para asegurar que la infraestructura sea adecuada.[21]

This statement demonstrates the high sensitivity for participatory approaches and mutual approximation in order to foster inclusive citizenship and belonging, thereby acknowledging ethnic diversity. *Espacios Públicos* cooperates with the Ecuadorian vendors' association, whose long-established practices are acknowledged, while also trying to achieve a change

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[20] Interview with policemen who raided the vendors on 18.09.2010, just one day before the violent encounter took place, in Casa de Campo, Lago, Madrid. For an analysis of the ethical values and practices of Madrid's police officers (cf. García García 2010).

[21] "Integration is a double tracked process. It is impossible to integrate some into others. Because of that, new norms of living together are necessary that are respected by all and where differences are respected, not only the ones of origin but also those of gender, generationals, etc. We ask: How is the city that we want? Not one of foreigners and autochthonous, but one of citizens and neighbours. The task is to work on that what unifies us so that stereotypes are not established. And where people mostly unite is in public spaces open-air, sanitary and educational centres, on places, markets, parks, sports grounds, places, streets. And as there has been a flow of immigration, a change in the legal provisions has to be produced, a readjustment, to assure that the infrastructure is adequate." Marta Segovia, interview on 22.09.2010 in the head-office of *Espacios Públicos*, Madrid.

both in these practices and in the rules and regulations set down by the municipality. In order to make the products more attractive for a broader public and to bring them in line with administrative requirements, they offered the vendors a course on the manipulation of foodstuffs, trying to professionalise their practices, e.g. by using terrines instead of plastic bags for keeping the food, using cans instead of bottles that can break and cause injury, etc. The vendors stated that after having participated in the course they did, for example, pay more attention to cleaning the place before leaving (Interview with some vendors, September 2010). But the changes were not enough and the vendors were finally chased out of Casa de Campo.

From these observations it follows that the municipality may have conducted a dual strategy with a somewhat contradictory approach to the vendors, supporting them on the one hand through *Espacios Públicos* while on the other hand impeding their practices through police intervention. Political conflict exists regarding the question of whether the Ecuadorians have the right to exercise informal vending activities that they claim for themselves every weekend, enacting their citizenship rights, if speaking with Isin (2009) or Sassen (2002). Through having organised the vendors' association they command an additional means by which they can carry out negotiation processes on a political level and publicly represent their claims. It remains to be seen how successful the association will be and whether further adaptations to administrative requirements in Madrid will be necessary.

Place-making activities as manifestations of ethnicity, the making of belonging and the articulation of citizenship in Lavapiés

In order to describe place-making processes that reflect the daily activities and place-based experiences of immigrants, it is necessary to embed these places into context and meaning. Lavapiés[22], being selected as one focus area for the presented study, has been described for its long history of immigration and as a place of transition where people of different ages, cultural and social backgrounds form part of a chaotic social network without foreseeable designation (Etxebarria 2007). The "cosmopolitical" character of Lavapiés arises from a long history that gives the neighbourhood its special appeal, character and image.

As shown in Table 1 the foreign population in the district Centro amounts up to 27.55% whereas within the barrio of Embajadores it reaches as much as 33.60%. It is estimated that the overall population for people of foreign origin in Lavapiés, a neighbourhood of the barrio

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[22] Lavapiés is a 'barrio' only in the social meaning of the notion referring to a spatially or geographically distinct neighbourhood or social framework in ethnic and social structure. In the official meaning of the word 'barrio' Lavapiés is none, as it is part of the 'barrio' Embajadores, which again is part of the district Centro.

Embajadores, amounts to 50% or more, and among these people are mainly Asians, North Africans and a significant number of Latin Americans. Lavapiés, also called a laboratory of interculturality (Gómez 2006), is and has been a place of immigration and transition. The foreign population shapes the appearance, street life and character of the living and working area. The fact that Lavapiés is traditionally a rather poor area with mainly working class residents (Veksler 2004) hints at its vulnerability to economically critical situations. The unemployment rate is respectively high and reaches up to 40% if informal information sources are to be believed. Conflicts about public spaces that are poorly used or inaccessible for local residents are one of the most debated issues in the neighbourhood. A large squatter[23] movement, that attracted public attention over the last two decades, gained a lot of encouragement and assistance from the local population. This kind of civic participation has been quite successful in increasingly place-based identifications and belongings. Other examples for place making activities from below are feminist rights movements being well established and active in legal affairs of (irregular) immigrant women working in social and domestic services, the church San Lorenzo (*Parroquia de San Lorenzo*) in Lavapiés as well as the ancient fabric of Tabaccos, La Tabacalera, both locations with high attractiveness for (Latin American) immigrants. The significance of La Tabacalera and the church San Lorenzo in Lavapiés and its use for the articulation of ethnicity and citizenship and the production of belonging will be discussed after a brief introduction to the history of Lavapiés.

In the 14th and 15th century Lavapiés was the residence of mainly Jews and Arabs who lived separated by a wall from the rest of the town (Veksler 2004). Even though the neighbourhood was christianised and the Jews banished from the area in the course of the 16th and 17th century, the neighbourhood remained as the destination for immigrants from all over rural areas in Spain (particularly Andalucia and Galicia). The foundation of the church of San Lorenzo in the late 17th century resulted from a large need for baptism among a rapidly growing and increasingly impoverished local population, which also gave San Lorenzo the cognomen "Parroquia de las chinches" (Church of the bugs, Veksler 2004). Not surprisingly, people from Lavapiés were great protagonists of political and social insurgencies. Anyhow, the perspective of the quarter changed not least because staff of the court resided in Lavapiés where smaller palaces slowly changed the townscape (ibid.). A long tradition of art and muse due to the dressy elegance of its christianised inhabitants, and a variety of artisans describe another image of Lavapiés, besides being an area of working class and resistance. The rich

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[23] Here the description for people occupying houses that are not inhabited.

handicraft was also the basis for the settlement of factories slightly later at the beginning of the 18th century such as those for the production of carts, beer, and tobacco, La Tabacalera.

The cases of La Tabacalera

La Tabacalera, a tobacco factory until 1999 as the name reveals, is located on Embajadores Street, bordering the neighbourhoods of Lavapiés and La Latina. The gargantuan building with about 28.000 square meters was constructed at the end of the 17th century. Being part of the corresponding Spanish tobacco monopoly, the building today belongs to the Ministry of Culture. Because of its central position it is legally classified as a building of high value in terms of cultural interest (*Bien de interés cultural*). In order to develop and complete a central corner of museums along with the renovated museum Reina Sofia, among others, one part of the building is dedicated to the *Centro Nacional de Artes Visuales* (National Center of Visual Arts). This designation goes hand in hand with the Strategic Plan for the Rehabilitation of the City Centre which aims to integrate Lavapiés into the economic recovery strategy of Madrid (Pérez Quintana 2010).

The second part of the building is a self-managed cultural centre which was launched by the *Red de colectivos de Lavapiés* (a net of associations belonging to Lavapiés) in 2010 after a long period of negotiation and discussion with the community of Madrid about the need for more available public space in the neighbourhood. Even though this initiative can be seen as a consequence of the efforts made by the squatter-movement to appropriate and use spaces for integrated social and cultural activities, artistic experimentation and as quite simply a meeting point, the building has never been occupied. According to one of the initiators and member of the *Red de Lavapiés*, La Tabacalera is organised by a large group of volunteers who compose the concepts and administrative framework for the centre. By offering different workshops and courses, from dancing or creative writing, language courses for immigrants, workshops for bicycle repair and maintenance to horticulture and other kinds of social events, the building can be used by many local workshop suppliers and users at no charge. As mentioned in an internal discussion paper:

> Tabacalera sigue siendo el edificio apropiado para experimentar con un centro integrado de diversas iniciativas y proyectos que sirven para paliar algunos de los muchos problemas de Lavapiés, con un protagonismo activo de sus habitantes, a la vez que para desarrollar el enorme potencial creativo, el rico y complejo tejido social del barrio y, por extensión, de la ciudadanía madrileña.[24]

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[24] The Tabacalera continues to be the appropriate building for experimenting with an integrated center of diverse initiatives and projects that serve for easing some of the many problems of Lavapiés, with an active protagonism of its' residents, and at the same time for developing an enormous creative potential, the rich and complex social patchwork of the barrio (quarter) and, in extension, of the citizenship of Madrid.

Nine months after having put La Tabacalera into operation, it seems that the neighbourhood along with people from across Madrid, Spanish as well as migrants from Latin America and Africa, all these people, benefit from the buildings' designation for public use. There are still slight limitations for participants who have to respect certain conditions and agree to the three main principles: communication and cooperation by means of participation in joint activities and assemblies, copyleft to make sure that all artistic products can be used by one and all, and that each and every activity can be used for free. The arrangement of the building's interior, the materialisation and inscriptions of different artistic groups, political activists and workshops are both visible and appealing (cf. fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Wall painting in La Tabacalera

The centre does not just function as a social roof and meeting point but a lived citizenship for people with different legal and social status, national or cultural backgrounds. The *danzas prehispánicas* (pre-Hispanic dancing) for example: the group was formed in September 2010 by a young Mexican dancer whose self-proclaimed motivation is to circulate and re-vitalize pre-Hispanic dancing tradition in Spain by giving dancing classes to people whom are interested. This fast growing weekly group includes Mexicans and other Latin Americans, as well as Spanish people and other Europeans while the material arrangement of the course is both highly symbolic and ritual. Sacrificial offerings in the form of an *ofrenda* which reifies the ancient Aztecan cosmology with the famous deities *Quetzalcoatl*, *Huitzilopochtli*, *Xipe Totec*, *Tlaloc* and *Tetzcatlipoca* represent the power of the pre-Hispanic combatants and the unarmed resistance against the Spanish conquerors. Through the ritual act of dancing, the participants revitalise a tradition of ethnic representation and translate it into a new context.

The teacher as well as the location form important stimuli and appear as incentives to join the group and the dance. While the participation is for free, as every workshop and event is at the Tabacalera, the participants are engaged in assemblies and activities all around the building and thus formulate their active participation. By this means, participants with or without legitimising documents, inhabitants and visitors, Spanish or non-Spanish, vitally articulate their citizenry and simultaneously constitute a commitment for shared political, social and cultural values at La Tabacalera. Additionally, participants and visitors create new, place-based belongings which are situated beyond conventional categorisations of difference.

The church of San Lorenzo

The church of San Lorenzo was constructed upon the ruins of a Synagogue after the Jews and Arabs where displaced from Lavapiés. The building is located in the Calle de la Fe (Street of Faith) a few streets away from the central area of Lavapiés. Having always been a church for marginalized people, today it is an important reference point for Latin American immigrants. Due to an accidental event of transferring an important Ecuadorian virgin, *La virgen del Cisne*, the church became a hub of faith-based representations and a social meeting point. Later, a Paraguayan and a Bolivian virgin were also added.

Visitors of the Sunday worship, where ritual acts and speeches can be compared to Latin American ceremonies of the Catholic Church, reach up to 500 people whereby the church could even be called overcrowded. According to one of the two priests, the people recognise these similarities and develop a feeling of being "at home". In fact, many Ecuadorians, Paraguayans and Bolivians seem to be grateful for having a place where they feel received and understood. That is also the reason why many visitors come from different corners of Madrid and even from abroad to join the twelve o'clock worship. Accordingly, the parish provides a religious atmosphere and a symbolic appearance by organising musical performances and access to faith-based images such as the different Latin American virgins and other sacral statues.

In doing so, the parish relies on the accordance of the Latin American counterparts who need to approve the installation of such sacral images. One of the priests therefore travels with frequency to Latin America in order to visit the different religious congregations and expand the Latin American community of San Lorenzo. In addition to this, he also serves as a facilitator for the exchange of greetings, information and other resources between Latin Americans here and overseas. As a hub of social networks, churches are often used as a service supplier, even for the informal labour market. These additional services substitute the lack of privately maintained social networks and as a tie for dispersed family and ethnic

relations. In Madrid, San Lorenzo has taken the initiative to actively attract and respond to the religious community of Latin American migrants and their specific religious habits and practices.

Conclusion

Massive transnational migration to Spain has produced a change in the local society in Madrid in the labour and income related practices as well as in leisure and social activities. Migrants have brought with them some of their habits and everyday practices whereas others were changed upon arrival in Spain. Transformations of local spaces and places through migrants' translocal influence can be observed. The contested and inscribed places such as cultural and social centres, churches and market places are important signifiers for the articulation of citizenship for those who use and produce the urban space. They are also reference points in times of economic crisis and among the increasingly precarious working and living conditions by which new belongings are made and produced as a result of social and cultural acts as well as ethnic representations, as has been described above.

Latin Americans have added themselves to the labour market, often under precarious conditions. In Casa de Campo, space for alternative income generation was made by Ecuadorians, simply by turning to the practice of informal vending, a practice so well known in Latin America. In Casa de Campo a feeling of Latin American belonging is produced and open to be experienced by all madrileños, though mainly attracting Ecuadorians and other Latin Americans. Still, the articulation of citizenship in this place is highly contested and finds itself in a process of negotiation, while the same holds true for the sense of belonging which is not fully conceded to be lived by the Ecuadorians by the municipality.

The examples of La Tabacalera and San Lorenzo show the breaking up of inherent spatialities of ethnicity, citizenship and belonging, exemplifying how certain locations serve as reference points for different social and cultural groups and as a place of refuge where ethnicities and ethnic belongings can be reconstructed and vitalised. Citizenship, understood as a vital political participation can be articulated and new belongings that go beyond conventional categorisations of difference (ethnic, class, gender, age) but are situational and multiple can happen.

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