

Title Page

**“Voices from the Periphery: Representations of Marginalised Women Immigrants in
Postmillennial Spain.”**

by

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“If the counter-universal exists it is in the common experience of alienation, of exploitation, of exclusion itself.”

(The Gathering of Voices, Gonzales and Treece, 1992, xiv)

Dedicated to Sara-Jane, Ailsa, Mary and Malcolm Whatley

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Abstract

Despite an alleged move towards open, democratic politics in Spain, representation of immigrant women in recent cultural publication is still predominantly that of the exotic, pathetic or visually fetishistic and spectres of paternalism remain in the sociological mind-set. Women immigrants often appear voyeuristically, as peripheral, two-dimensional characters, who validate extant colonial and social prejudices.

Through scrutiny of selected works, this thesis aims to reveal any recurrence of prejudice and stereotype within the sociological experiences of immigrant women in Spain and simultaneously searches for notable indications of progressive, egalitarian portrayal of them in Spanish literary publication.

My research brings together a novel analysis of postmillennial Spanish literature and film, discourse analytics, immigration laws, and a history of gender and women's writing in Spain, with a view to establishing how liminal immigrant women are imagined and represented in the postmodern Spain from 1997 to the present day, a study that reveals both empowerment, prejudice and their ability to preserve their identities.

In this thesis I investigate filmic and literary representations of women from China, Latin America and Africa. Each chapter of the thesis considers representations of women immigrants by the most widely published or influential immigration authors and directors in wide-ranging genres and via labels alongside which they have not previously been considered and which therefore include original discussion on terms such as: inundation; contamination; disorder; indigestion; (re-)generation; (re-)occupation; communication; emancipation; vulnerability; and resistance. This thesis also reflects on any evidence of empowerment and

equality of opportunity for immigrant women. These new frameworks reveal a much more nuanced vision of the immigrant woman in Spain than heretofore conceived.

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Finally, but most importantly, I would like to thank my wife, daughter and family for their encouragement, belief in me and understanding when I had to spend weeks locked in libraries or immersed in books and journals at my desk. You are very special, and I thank you.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wife, Sara Jane Whatley, to my daughter, Ailsa Matilda Whatley, to my parents, and to all people around the world for whom this area of research and public life signifies more than a PhD paper.

I hope my work is in some way valuable to you, too.

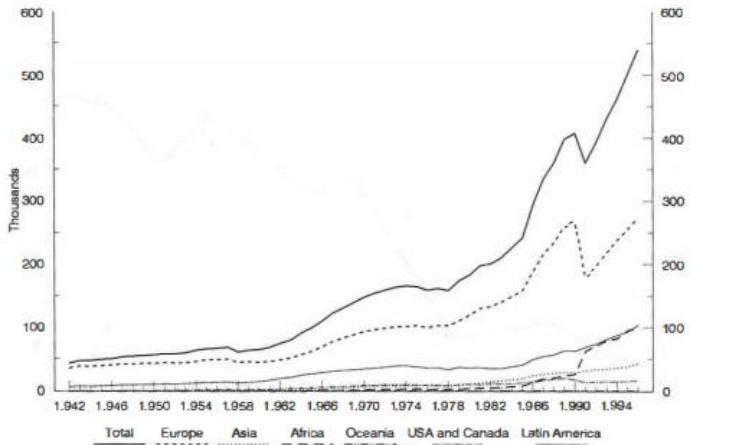
Niven Whatley, 21st February 2021.

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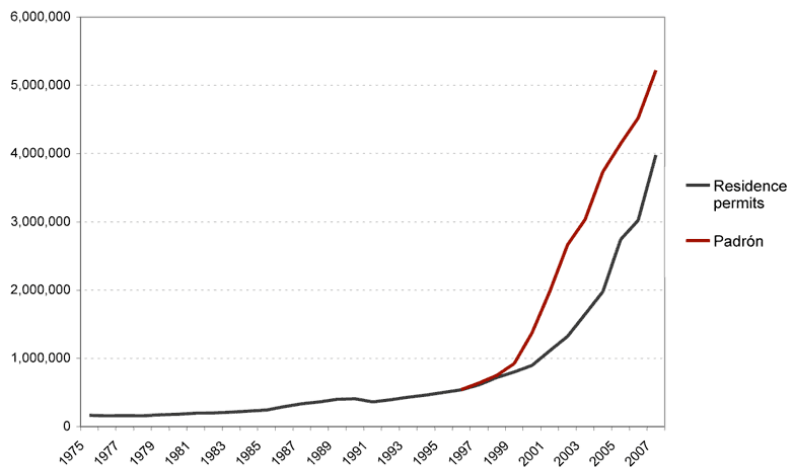
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Focus Migration

(www.focus-migration.hwwi.de, 2008)

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Valores absolutos.

Año 2011

	Número de víctimas
TOTAL	32.242
Nacidos en España	20.713
Nacidos en el Extranjero	11.529
Europa	3.935
América	5.506
África	1.888
Asia y Oceanía	200



Dentro de las víctimas nacidas en el extranjero, las de África y América presentaron las tasas más elevadas, mientras que las de Asia y Oceanía registraron las más bajas.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística

(<https://www.ine.es/prensa/np780.pdf>, 2011)

Introduction

This thesis will contribute new observations to the burgeoning work on feminist issues and migration within arts and literature by exploring how the voices and experiences of immigrant women are presented in postmillennial Spain, both within public discourse and within the representative narrative of immigrant women in literature and film. From a socio-literary standpoint, my thesis will consider how the condition of the marginalised immigrant woman is portrayed and imagined by writers and directors in the more culturally open Spain of the 21st Century and explore whether and how a realistic, empowered and subjugation-challenging woman's voice emerges. In so doing, I shall examine the role and treatment of the woman immigrant and the ways in which the very current and important issue of migration and the voices of the women involved are represented.

Palmary (2005) suggests that gender difference is used to perpetuate race iniquity and, as such, I believe that immigrant women's reception and the conception of their experiences act as a sounding board for measuring a society's tolerance and preparedness for intercultural progression. Existing theory, such as Said's on orientalism, Nussbaum's understanding of victimhood (2005) and Bhaba's ideas on spaces of progressive intercultural interaction (1993) are all valid as contextualization for some aspects and instances of immigrant women's experiences but they are also too generalised and I would argue that a thematic consideration of representations by more defined groups will permit further recognition of the individual and allow us to recognise the human reality of these experiences. Similarly, current scholarship tends to be separated into explorations of race (as studied by Coleman, 2018), spatiality and its significance for feminism (as discussed by Flesler (2008) and Butler (2009)) or gender (as explored in the works of Ryan (2016) and Vega-Durán (2016)). My work's novelty is that it pays attention to specificities of people and chronicles reviews of specifically

women immigrants of different cultural backgrounds and as individual and sentient human beings, beyond simply as victims or followers of more empowered and agentic men.

I have found very little previous study which considers the dichotomy between the experiences of men and women immigrants or the contrasting representations of them; indeed, there is a notable absence of discussion surrounding portrayals of women immigrants to Spain from certain parts of the world (such as Chinese). My thesis therefore is the first to be primarily attentive to the political origins of the Chinese and to reference Derrida's theory on "spectres" (1994) as significant as a means to interpret their position within the Spanish imaginary. Furthermore, there is a considerable sociological bias even in critical approaches towards the represented experiences of women immigrants from other parts of the world (such as Latin America and Africa; see for example, the work of Ballesteros (2015), Guillén Marín (2018) and Barker (2017), to name but a few).

Whilst most published scholarship on the subject matter considers the politics of immigration and whilst the available data perhaps initially shows some degree of increased support and liberation for immigrants, I have chosen to research into the ways in which *women* immigrants are presented. I have selected this key social group to investigate whether their double liminality (as women and as foreigners) is presented as hindering their chances for social assimilation and economic success or whether there are indications of imagined equality which might symbolically reflect change in Spanish society itself.

I believe that my work will enhance current scholarship by reconceiving how significantly attitudes and opinions might have changed regarding this group of marginalised women over the past three decades. Through its novelty of scholarly contribution, my work introduces a first recognition of the dichotomy, complexity and even paradox around the simultaneous liminality and hinted prospective empowerment of the immigrant woman in

Spain. My work therefore is the first to deal with immigrant women's representations as differentiated from those of men and to also consider the women within this group as non-homogeneous. As such, this thesis focuses more than any precedents on literary employment of alienating aesthetics, multisensory and alimentary imagery and symbolism. In so doing, it explores the double liminality (female and foreign) and binary dichotomies (man versus woman/ vulnerability versus resistance/ fiction versus account/ victimhood versus agency) of immigrant women's experience and societal perception of them and reflects on whether the presentations of immigrant women propose their failure or the fomenting of a new more egalitarian empowerment.

By placing emphasis on previously unexplored or stereotypically misrepresented topics and frameworks such as orientalismⁱ, to name but one, I propose that this thesis will enrich the fields of immigration, race and gender studies, generating a nuanced understanding of a very current topic in Hispanic and European Studies. New areas which I explore in relation to the postmillennial Spanish opus include: aesthetic bias within woman immigrant characterisation; contrasting images of woman immigrant sexuality; occurrence of domestic violence against women immigrants; expositions and limitations of gender spatiality; considerations of limited access to or rights within the Spanish labour market; and the conventions and preconceptions associated with maternity amongst immigrant women.

Through this rigorous and multifaceted exploration of the roles and depictions of immigrant women in contemporary Spanish arts, together with an evaluation of the associated literary commentary, I hope to establish the conservative and liberal dimensions of the literary and filmic representations of women's immigration in present-day Spain and to look for any evidence of hope for increased gender and race equality and social harmony. The overarching research was conducted to provide answers to ten key questions (discussed in my

methodology), which can be categorized under four broader investigations of: whether immigrant women have empowered voice; what the unique experiences of immigrant women are and if these reveal incongruities between those of real women with first-hand immigration experience and the imagined experience of fictional characters; if there is indeed any dichotomy or variance, why might this be and where is it to be observed; and what these findings mean as ciphers for the status quo of democracy and equal access in Spain.

I will now proceed to contextualise the phenomenon of the migration of women within its sociohistorical context, to identify why Spanish society both struggles with its newfound heterogeneity and is at a crossroads whereby any hints at increasing acceptance or empowerment of immigrant women would represent a cipher for rationalized and widespread interculturalism and progress towards equality of opportunity for all.

Throughout the history of Spain's present-day 17 autonomous regions, political flux has been the norm and migration and the associated experiences of loss, displacement, bigotry, subjugation and liminality are and have consistently been central to the Spanish psyche, serving as building blocks to both the inclusive fortress and the exclusive frontier of any universal Spanish national identity.ⁱⁱ Similarly, motifs of religious and sociopolitical repression, xenophobia and patriarchal dominance have reverberated down the ages in Spain and even journalistic writing from the last 30 years reveals a suspicion of immigrant labourers, full of angst-ridden and sodomy-obsessed historical memory from the Moorish invasions centuries before and with numerous hyper-sexualised legendary references to rape and sodomy against both native Spaniards and, tellingly, immigrant females, such as in the stories of King Rodrigo.ⁱⁱⁱ Immigrant women in the Spanish collective imaginary thus become the embodiment of everything there is to fear from Spanish history. Daniela Flesler refers to these fears as ghosts of a past that has not stopped haunting them and the return of the

repressed. (2008, 80). In the period from Franco's death to present, Spain's sense of national identity has lurched from being that of a xenophobic and culturally repressive conservative union (where marital rape was legal until the mid 1990s), to that of a developed, capitalist, heterogeneous Western nation. However, it has remained a nation confused about how to come to terms with the emergence of political agenda around democracy, gender equality, women's rights, sexual liberation and the shift from being a peripheral country of economic emigrants during the times of Franco to a European destination for global immigrants in the last 25 years.^{iv}

In the period from Franco's death to present, Spain's sense of national identity has lurched from being that of a culturally repressive conservative union, to that of a developed, capitalist, heterogeneous Western nation. However, it has remained a nation confused about how to come to terms with the emergence of political agenda around democracy, gender equality, women's rights, sexual liberation and the shift from being a peripheral country of economic emigrants to a European destination for global immigrants.

Rapid and sustained increases in immigration at the beginning of the millennium saw the population in Spain who had been born overseas rise by around 10% (www.sem-ete.gr, 2014) and this led to the enactment of new laws, such as the *Ley de Extranjería* (updated 08/2000) which have grappled with foreigners' rights and proposed limitations thereof. Within this law, there was, at times, a focus on limiting immigrants' abilities to access employment and on restricting immigrant families' opportunities to reunite in Spain. This reveals the temporariness with which the predominantly male Spanish government viewed postmillennial immigration rights and the inevitable chance of marginalisation and isolation to which successive immigrant families would potentially be subjected.

While Spain has sought to come to terms with its newfound European commitment and prestige and battled with postmillennial financial crises, its population has increased overall (between 1980 and 2013) (www.tradingeconomics.com, 2013). However, more recent statistics state that: “By contrast, the lowest fertility rates [of 1.33 live births per woman] in 2015 were recorded in ... Spain.” (www.ec.europa.eu, 2011). With these figures in mind, the importance to the Spanish economy of immigrant women, as a source of labour themselves and as progenitors and ‘renewers’ of a competitive workforce for the future becomes more apparent. Recent statistics from European Community country profiles state that the “employment rate of women in Spain is lower than the EU-27 average. Also, women still do not participate in the labour market to the same degree as men. 52.0% of Spanish women were employed in 2011 as opposed to 63.2% of Spanish men.” (www.ec.europa.eu, 2011). Immigrants women’s access to the labour market is further hindered, as demonstrated by the variance in immigrant men and immigrant women employment figures between 2008-2009, where the *Ministerio de Igualdad’s* (2009) report remarks that: “el número de mujeres ocupadas se ha reducido en 321.700 y el de hombres en 1.158.500.” Cruz, Zecchi et al. note the reactive, as opposed to proactive, stance of successive Spanish governments towards these variances. They assert that Spain’s circumstances are economically inferior to European country averages and that, while Spain’s situation appears to be following some trends in developed countries, there is still something of a lag. (Cruz and Zecchi ed., 2004).^v I propose that this lag also reflects the unpreparedness of Spanish society for the progressive move towards assimilation and equal opportunities for immigrant women and that this will play out as themes of exclusion and disempowerment across both fictional representation and the associated context of immigrant women authors.

Rodriguez (2016) comments explicitly here on the fact that women authors themselves have had to resort to contrived marketing techniques to ensure any kind of level playing field for their publications in this male-dominated arena.^{vi} Notwithstanding, it remains the case that men as authors and auteurs still vastly outnumber women and that the ratio of foreign-born to Spanish-born within census figures is not reflected in the comparative demographic of literary publication, which more readily correlates with the data on the lower employment rates (and therefore access to the market and to individual financial success and self-affirmation) of immigrant women.^{vii}

The themes of exclusion, disenfranchisement and portrayed otherness of immigrant women are also evident in imagery and rhetoric in the Spanish press. Conflicting attitudes towards immigrants are brought to the fore in an internet search for the term “inmigrante” in the most widely read print and online Spanish daily newspaper, El País (www.elpais.com, 2021), which brings up six months of backdated articles containing content on immigrants. It is revealing to note that, except for international stories from other countries, all reports on the page feature photographs of African men, including two features from different reports three months apart which have the same attached picture of black African men in an animalistic state of apparent frenzy and undress.

The impression given by media representations of immigration issues, alongside presenting clear undertones of racism and abjection, is to infer that immigration and the responses to it are still a principally masculine phenomenon and to downplay the plurality and personal significance of the issue. Similarly, tables of figures and journalistic articles present a male-dominated influx of registered or recognised immigrants, however in recent years there has been a proportional increase in the percentage of women, Spanish and immigrant, living in Spain. The total population of Spain is now represented by 1 woman for every 0.74

males, which contrasts with the demographics of the power-holding, premillennial age range of 18-54, in which the male population outnumbers the women by 1.06 to 1.

(www.indexmundi.com). In terms of women's immigration figures, recent studies point to the fact that it is of even greater significance within population demographics and within the data which reveals women immigrants' real-time access limitations to employment and social capital. (Brey and Stanek, 2013).

Where media attention is paid to the plight of immigrant women, for example in an article in the alternative independent/ centre-right newspaper, *El Mundo*, there is a focus on the starker facts of the exploitation, racism and sexual predation suffered by Sub-Saharan females following partners or families to Europe. (www.ElMundo.es, 2015). The register of the article is severe and there is an unbiased introduction to the story, which leads in with a series of eye-opening bullet points^{viii} about the extreme intolerance and adversity they face.

Whether in the media or in the eyes of the government, therefore, immigrant women's rights have never been prioritised, and latterly the immigration law has remained largely unchanged,^{ix} which suggests a disregard for the changing circumstances of immigrant women arriving in Spain as potentially legitimate, economically valuable, agentic immigrants – and as sentient human beings.

Whilst these circumstances indicate the need for more focus on the condition of the woman immigrant, Gaye and Jha hasten to point out that the political imagination of immigrant women purely as victims or as hopelessly subjugated family-oriented migrants is misleading and misogynistic (2011, 49-66). They suggest that as great an interest should be paid to immigrant women who are agentic in their own migration, whether for familial, political or economic reasons. To this end, it is noted that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have kept immigration applications and access to permanent citizenship separate, a phenomenon

which speaks to the conceived separation between the imagination of a perpetually foreign immigrant and a recognised Spanish citizen who was born in Spain and holds a Spanish passport.^x

I argue that this hierarchical neglect of immigrant women is reflected in their representations within film and literature and that it is also contextually formative within the storylines, characterisation and politicisation of written works by the immigrant women authors who have had first-hand experience of having to struggle against perceived alterity and victimhood to secure their permanent legitimacy in Spain and any recognition and success. I also contend that this struggle is the reason for the appearance of dichotomic representation (conceived African victim versus empowered hybrid national and fetishised Latin Americans versus roboticised Chinese, for example) and it is from this standpoint that my more nuanced analysis and interpretations takes shape.

Review of Literature and Key Theory

I have considered numerous works in relation to my textual research, however there is a main corpus of relevant scholarship on immigration in Spain, which I scrutinise in more depth throughout my thesis. By way of introducing and re-evaluating these seminal works, the following represents both a summary of key studies and my own opinions on the content, themes, topics, viewpoints, associated key theories and styles presented.

Relevant and established theoretical frameworks in the fields of gender and immigration include, amongst many others: orientalism, racism and neoliberal postcolonial apprehensions; spectrality in the portrayal immigrant women; disembodiment of the female political being; the significance of pain, suffering, abjection, horror and violence as defining experiences within woman immigrant narratives; pervasiveness and replication of stereotype and conservatism in gender roles; imaginations of heterotopias and communities of practice as deconstructed and isolationist microcosms of social liminality; the use of aesthetics and symbolism to alienate the woman immigrant; and the implications of postmodern capital consumerism and importance of access to social capital as ciphers for acceptance and adequacy in society.

The works of scholarship which I have considered are useful, insofar as they present some of the key concepts which I have identified in the portrayals of immigrant women. They also debate, to varying degrees, the theories which I referenced above, and which underpin interpretations of the situation of the woman immigrant, and the precariousness or absence of true social hybridity in postmodern Spain. Nevertheless, placing Spanish literature and film within the previously outlined sociopolitical setting, and in consideration of the complexity, heterogeneity and double liminality of representations of immigrant *women*, my contention is that there has been a cultural lag in the establishment of a genuinely unbiased literary tradition

which reflects Spain's recent political context. My new contributions to the scholarship will therefore provide a more specific, nuanced and updated analysis of representations of marginalised women immigrants, which offers a departure point for considering feminist and racist/ anti-racist discourse in Spanish culture. I also include analysis on: instances of and ongoing obstacles to immigration, integration and belonging; confrontation and reproach of deliberate physical degradation and horrific human castigation; consumerism and capitalism; the self as servile citizen without cultural capital or as elevated, politically-empowered intelligentsia; gender space; maternity; and women's role in society.^{xi}

The following overview of existing scholarship traces the concepts and theories that are pertinent to the representations of the woman immigrant in Spain; they have influenced my own thinking on the issue as well as my ensuing analyses.

Issues of race and gender are immediately evoked in Faszter-McMahon and Ketz's exposition of African immigrant representation *African Immigrants in Contemporary Spanish Texts* (2015). One value of this collection is the multiplicity of genres which are treated and the more holistic view of immigration representation which this therefore provides. For example, Pérez-Sánchez's (2015) inclusion reflects on gender and sexuality issues in novels such as *Los príncipes nubios* (Bonilla, 2003), whereas Connolly's (2015) article considers problematic representations of cross-cultural relationships across web forums and the discourse of social media and the result is a collective which begins to show emergent patterns in the treatment and suffering of new immigrants in Spain.

Within the collective, Coury and Ceberio's (2015) exploration of the use of women's bodies as a metaphorical space for the enactment of immigration struggles. The authors apply the term "dilemma" to the orientalist quasi-obsession of assigning "alterity" or "otherness" to immigrants. This differentiation is presented as alienation and disenfranchisement in the

corpus of works studied and is central to interpretations of the immigrant women characters as both the outsider by nationality and the presumed non-agentic and subordinate by gender.

Coury and Ceberio also reinforce the idea of immigrant men being imbued with more empowerment and decision-making authority, as can be seen from their references to specific masculine terminology. As such, “pasador,” “harague” and “raïs” are all Spanish and North African Arabic terms relating to male “contrabandistas” of human traffic (2015, 193-206). Whilst Spanish (as all romance languages) has an engendered bias to masculine neutrality in linguistics, I suggest that the assumption here is that males dictate both sides of the metaphorical frontier: as the power figures in both migrant and immigration control groups. My own hypothesis moves beyond this in my analysis of representations of spatiality, to suggest that women immigrants are still irrevocably restricted to three dominant roles in their consideration in Spanish culture as: maternal protector of the male; object of male sexual conquest; or disembodied alien object within the Spanish male gaze, but that the characters are also subtly written or directed to use spatial tactics to convey messages about their experiences.

The minimisation of women immigrants’ roles and their restrictions in terms of family roles and employment opportunities are also central preoccupations of Isolina Ballesteros’s monograph, *Immigration Cinema in the New Europe* (2015). Referring to Nash’s (2005) theories, which point to a definite women limitation and restriction in society, Ballesteros posits that both public and media discourses are guilty of “reducing the panoply of migrant women’s roles to contributions to domesticity and depicting them as dependent, economically passive subjects, often contextualised solely in terms of family reunification, domestic service, and sexual work.” (65). Furthermore, Ballesteros references Gutiérrez’s (2007) argument that “the character and the location of care and domestic work, traditionally

considered “unskilled” work, done in privacy and *isolation*, and defined by a paradoxical “intimate anonymity” contribute to immigrant women’s physical, societal and political invisibility.” (65-73).

Ballesteros also explicitly embraces the idea of active woman immigrant sexualisation. She presents excellent explorations of women immigrants’ sexual experiences, both through sexual slavery and subjugation and through their sexual prowess or liberation, such as in explorations of the initial youthful, feminine, sexually charged vivacity of Milady. The reference to the sexualisation of immigrant women constitutes a key step towards cultural equilibrium with the aforementioned “white national [man].” (9-16), since Milady is able to take control and restore the power balance by demonstrating dominance over Carmelo in the private, physical arena of the bedroom. Ballesteros says that women immigrants who harbour thoughts of sexual and social autonomy “suffer from still-existing social preconceptions about the exotic women foreigner walking the streets alone” (81), and this notion raises concerns about the dual difficulty faced by women and foreigners in terms of being able to express themselves physically without being labelled whores or subjected to violence. Additionally, Ballesteros recognises that “patriarchal imposition of domesticity” (83) and “domestic violence” (72) are used as weapons to restrict the woman immigrant’s sexual independence.

One key term explored by Ballesteros in this regard is “jineterismo,” (81) which holds sociolinguistic significance in that in Spain it refers to the depravity and vulnerability of prostitution, whereas in the Cuban discourse it is used to describe willing, and often women-engaged, sex work. The connotations are that women have agency in their sexual exploits and a degree of political power. Whether this could be seen to amount to an effective form of progressive social equality for women immigrants is debatable, however it could certainly be

argued that it corresponds to “bios” and political agency of sorts. This is a notion which I explore later in this thesis.

Overall, *Immigration Cinema in the New Europe* presents a considered exploration of immigrant women roles in the European filmic opus, and one which posits some hope for progress. However, there is still space for work on explicitly Spanish cinema and fiction, with a more philosophical slant and there remains an opportunity to explore immigrant-authored and immigrant-acted publication as well; something which Barker reviews more closely in his work.

In *Affect and Belonging in Contemporary Spanish Fiction and Film* (2017), Barker notes the clear correlation between the pan-cultural struggles for identity and belonging experienced by the hybrid Amazigh-Moroccan-Catalan-Spaniard, El Hachmi, and her quasi-autobiographical central protagonists. His assertion is that El Hachmi’s novel “self-consciously responds to expectations surrounding the long-awaited development of an immigrant literature in Spain, part of hopes that Spain’s metropolises will forge a modern multicultural society.” (145). These suggestions point towards a conceptualization of Homi Bhaba’s theoretical system for moving beyond such otherness and non-assimilation: “third space” (1994, 1).

Bhaba proposes third space as a space in which different cultures can interact, communicate and assimilate.^{xii} He suggests that, to have success and equal balance of power in sociocultural interactions between the coloniser (or autochthonous) and the colonised (or immigrant), all individuals must be recognised as unique and of hybridized background and experience. Bhaba suggests that this power-levelling hybridity should form the starting point for sociocultural exchange. Barker’s discussion in relation to this crystallises three concepts mentioned in his work: multiculturalism; the notion of self; and the interplay between people,

spaces and architecture in Spanish urban landscapes. Barker also attributes a living agency to the architecture of the urban surroundings in the works' *mises-en-scène*, referring to the physical crossroads as "arteries." (149). His opinion seems to suggest that these 'arteries' give lifeblood to the formation of the immigrant's sense of self. This notion is progressive and hopeful and illumines the functionality of the urban landscape. My work provides extended consideration of credible psychological viewpoints of women immigrants, to show how space impedes their agency.^{xiii}

Barker's most pertinent reference to the woman immigrant experience (albeit the bleakest) can be seen in the assertion that "the different cultural patrimonies of her world do not exist as strictly divided hierarchies but as shifting assemblages of varied elements and fungible borders," (21) which raises the problem of rediscovering the "self" (1) for immigrant women in their new political surroundings. Barker proposes that the "self" of the immigrant is more "sensuous" (3-17) than identity-based and that a new "self" can be found at the metaphorical crossroads presented by border crossings and urban exchange, "as a way of conceptualising the relations between the self, locality, history, globality, universality, and affective engagement." (3). This represents a differentiation between an intercultural world and an individually interpreted one. Nonetheless, I shall extend this concept by including reference to ideas of "heterotopias" and "communities of practice" within the fabric of the multi-layered settings of the films and novels and to the tactics of spatial resistance, through de Certeau's theories of "walking" and "spatial tactics." (1984, 218-20). The review of spatiality will influence my critical sociological exploration of the respective opportunities, relationships and boundaries experienced by women immigrants and my further analysis on the double liminality of women immigrants which shows how orientalist racism is apparent in representations of their identities and perceived roles.

As concerns orientalism and colonialism in European society, Said's *Orientalism* (1975) speaks to an implicit post-colonial Western ideology of the Eastern world (the world of Islam, Asia and Africa) as one amalgamated space of essentially under-developed, inferior and backwards civilisation. He suggests that this preconception forms a lens through which non-European peoples have been pictured with facile aesthetic curiosity and condescension as innately subservient stereotypes and their cultures as static compositions. Said's arguments include a view that the oriental women presented in colonial and post-colonial works of art and literature are over-sexualised and consciously presented as objects of Western male desire and that the consideration of their human condition is afforded less gravitas than that of their European counterparts. I propose that instances of orientalism and the racism it implies are still evident in postmillennial imagination of character responses to foreign women in Spain and this is a suggestion which is explored in this thesis. Nevertheless, the theory of Western-led orientalism is somewhat self-limiting and perhaps overly simplistic as a framework for considering the complete list of works under study, since review of works produced by African-born female authors, such as Najat El Hachmi and Laila Kharrouch also present a sense of orientalist pastiche, albeit with a heavily ironic tone and from a heterogeneous personal outlook.

Barker's references to the metaphoric agency of the geopolitical backdrop in the interaction between immigrant and host and his references to "cultural patrimonies" and "hierarchies," (21) mention neither orientalism nor stereotype and thus leave space for more detailed historical and sociological examination which reveal more of the dualities of immigrant representation in Spain, such as the distinctions between the experiences of men and women immigrants and the variance in tone and aesthetics.

La inmigración en la literatura española contemporánea (2002), on the other hand, offers a rigorous exposition of both sociological and literary portrayals of Spanish immigration narratives and the impact of aesthetic representations on interpretations of immigrant characters' identities. The three authors do so by adopting a thematic approach to their investigations of immigration issues and by incorporating real sociological data within their introductions: something which helps to understand how fiction mirrors society. The empirical data used in their introduction (9-14) shows the scale and trends of contemporary immigration in Spain and notes the restrictions to success and belonging imposed by successive ministerial initiatives. Evidence from the data refutes the stereotypical view that women immigrants arrive purely as secondary family members, subject to the orders of their male partners. Nevertheless, there remain repeated suggestions within the corpus studied that women's migration is less self-initiated and of less consequence than that of the men.

As well as introducing the sociological context behind Spanish immigration literature, this collaboration establishes the importance of aesthetics within literary characterisation and imagery and broaches the notion of repeated themes and motifs within the literature, such as in Inés D'Ors's observation: "Aquí entra en juego la palabra mágica: *papeles*. No creo exagerado decir que dejar de ser 'un sin papeles' es la obsesión principal de la gran mayoría de los emigrantes.... *Papeles, tarjetas, (green Card), visados, permisos*, se han convertido en verdaderos amuletos, talismanes de la felicidad." (2002, 78). In line with this, my research seeks to look further for recurrent motifs and instances of composite aesthetics which belie the marginalisation of the immigrant women and to offer a first aesthetic-led study. I expand on these aims by considering the significance of these themes and images from both literature and film in a more profound sociological way - to establish the implications that artistic representation make about the de facto political personae and life experiences of women

immigrants, against the philosophical discourse of Bauman's *Liquid Modernity* (2000) and the notion of Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1995).

In his 1995 philosophical treatise, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Agamben argues that, at its purest, most naked level, human life is forced to subject itself totally to the direction and discretion of hierarchical law and office and thereby to the will of those wielding the political power, such as politicians, police, immigration officers and judges. The idea of "bare life" is an applicable concept in the consideration of "clandestina" or "sin papeles" (D'Ors, 78) immigrant women, since the lifestyle opportunities, certification, jurisdiction and therefore success of their ventures is decided entirely by those with superior political capital in their "arrival city." (Saunders, 2012). I argue that the assorted experiences of the woman immigrant, as she applies for or circumvents immigration clearance and work permit, grapples with new customs, languages and living conditions and struggles to eke out a living or scrape together a remittance payment through any form of legal or illegal employment, render her at the mercy of law and politics. Her human rights and humanity therefore become secondary to the politics with which she is governed or chastised. In this way, scenes of solidarity or attempts at relationship-building appear sporadically between the more continuous and perhaps more believable momentum of narratives in which these women are struggling to control their own income, relationships and individuality against a current of disempowerment, desperation and abuse. I argue, therefore, that this is more indicative of the attempts at self-determination on the part of the immigrant women and equally of the discomfort and burden of colonial guilt on the part of the Spanish being awkwardly reassigned to the women themselves, as a reactionary means to somehow make them responsible for the challenges they face in their own situations. Agamben suggests that this interplay between the political and the personal exposes people entirely: "Politics is now

literally the decision concerning the unpolitical” (1995, 173). This notion takes on additional meaning in instances of the vulnerability of women immigrants, whose rights are so often secondary to the male and whose liminal and disenfranchised circumstances render them the epitome of Agamben’s “unpolitical.”

Whilst Andrés-Suárez et al. succeed in recognising and illuminating the representation of the woman immigrant effectively through their considerations of theme and aesthetics in the literature up to 2002, and in establishing a sociological background to their circumstances, my updated and more holistic review will incorporate commentary on political agency as well. As such, my thesis considers the work of politically outspoken immigrant women authors themselves, such as El Hachmi, and also develops a view across the arts, to include observations from explicitly political Spanish immigration cinema. I contend that some migrant women might be more realistically considered as active in their own destiny and their exclusion from employment and political agency deserving of equal comment.

Like Andrés-Suárez et al., Clara Guillén Marin also focuses on Spanish-produced works, however, she suggests a challenge to “the hegemonic structures of power,” (2018, 90) and the questions of consequence, women’s empowerment, spatiality, retribution for patriarchal abuse and personified undercurrent. *Migrants in Contemporary Spanish Film’s* exclusive focus on cinema offers valuable insight into the mise-en-scène and symbolism of props and settings in *Flores de otro mundo*, at times considering the unique subjection of the immigrant women inferred by their imagined experiences. Her observations of the power of modern, hybrid, subtly feminine spaces as places for progress and hope and on the politics of visibility are also important, since they imbue previously withdrawn empowerment of place and identity within the visual context, and I shall explore these notions further.

Overall, Guillén Marin conveys the Spanish writers' previously under-estimated determination to bring women immigrants' experiences and the struggle for equality of representation to the fore and her observations concerning spatiality and context are illuminating. Nonetheless, my simultaneous scrutiny of both the visual arts and more recent literature, as well as my related examination of variations in empirical sociological data which contextualises the actual circumstances of the social groups being portrayed in the literature, such as mothers, the self-employed and women from diverse world regions, will help to identify broader patterns in the narrative and discourse of recent women immigration to Spain.

My thesis will add to Guillén Marin's commentary on setting, spatiality and interpretation by examining the places in which women immigrants appear, the ways in which they control or move through these spaces, the positions (geographical, social and figurative) which they assume, and the restriction or empowerment which this spatiality suggests, whilst simultaneously exposing the male gaze which underlies it and pervades Spanish immigration cinema. To this end, my focus on El Hachmi's and Kharrouch's writing, as immigrant African women within a Catalan-Spanish arena, will add more complexity to the observations about power-plays within the urban social landscape of modern Barcelona and the perceived suffering, fear, hope-giving abilities or individual empowerment of immigrant women.

In *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration* (2008), Flesler suggests that dichotomic representations of fear, power and affirmation of identity versus stereotype and victimisation in literary portrayals and journalistic coverage of African immigration are symptoms of a crisis in Spanish national identity. Key foci in her exposition are those of racism, orientalism, memory, spectrality, voice, "testimonio"^{xiv} and the struggle between regional and national identities. The identity

crisis is observed as a duality in the sociopolitical outlook of a nation conflicted about the historical myth of its own foundation, the struggle to come to terms with its problematic 20th century dictatorship and its determination to be seen as a developed, liberal member of the European Union. Although Spain's more recent alienation from Northern Europe reflects its own historical rejection of the Islamic and Jewish element of its society, Flesler observes that this perceived otherness of Spain within Europe is regarded as an "impurity." (18). She proceeds to define Spain's determination to 'get rid of this "impurity"' as a willingness to ignore the postcolonial orientalism and racism in its own social history and a simultaneous determination to be accepted in the new Europe at all costs.

To extend Flesler's observations, I consider the additional relevance of Kristeva's "foreigner within" (1991, 1) and "abjection" (1982) complexes in the women's imagined projections of self, since Kristeva suggests that coming to terms with a true recognition of the undesirable and responding to situations of horror and abjection are fundamental within our own psyche. Kristeva's theories encompass both the internal psychological effects of immigration and the requirement of society and the human consciousness to separate itself from and physically reject extreme instances of horrific suffering and dehumanising subjugation by others. She reflects that, to cope and recuperate, one needs to overcome the contending needs to both "assimilate" and "reject" the unwanted object or event. Kristeva's two key theories are the idea of "abjection" and that of the "foreigner within" (1991).^{xv} I argue that women immigrants represent both a social group beset with repeated suffering and misery who need to reject experiences such as domestic abuse and xenophobic intolerance and a group whose otherness and presented degradation makes them the object of the native Spaniard's involuntary rejection. Kristeva expresses "foreigner within," as a theory that one must come to terms with being devoid of true personal identity and origin. As she states, in

Strangers to Ourselves, (2002), “the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder” (265). The overriding thought is that ‘otherness’ is inevitable, even within our own psyches. In this way, the idea of a social consensus or of ever ‘belonging’ at any level is entirely absent. This interminable alterity is central to representations of the marginalised women immigrants, since they are deprived of established personality, commonality with their surroundings and native Spanish people and in a ghost-like void of political agency and belonging governed by the vestiges of paternalistic colonialism which Flesler refers to. (94).

Flesler’s treatment of the notion of a national memory is central to her discussions on Spanish present-day engagement with “ghosts” from the past. Rather than focus on the “clichéd, mechanical repetitions” (94) of stereotypical reenactment within imagined historical memory, Flesler notes that the present-day arrival of Moroccan immigrants is conceived in loosely and dangerously creative ways as that of a new-age Moorish invasion. Her thesis is that, whilst spectres of Moorish conquests from the past haunt the Spanish psyche, re-imaginings of them are capable of being either consciously or subconsciously manipulated into “irrational hatred and violence,” (94). Further to this, I propose that Spain’s own national quest for identity could be seen to attempt to ignore, rather than celebrate its own multiplicity.

Departing from Flesler’s discussion of ghosts, I suggest that the representation of the immigrant women brings an additional level of spectrality.^{xvi} Flesler’s interpretations of spectrality borrow from Derrida’s thought that true democracy and equality are yet absent and that the spectral influence of Marxism and the timeless revisiting of past angsts and political omens permeate through postmodern understanding of politics, literature, language and sociology. In *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International* (1993) Derrida discusses the multiplicity of Marxist agenda and the

responsibility of the living generation to continue to consider as relevant past philosophies, so as to accept our heterogeneous make-up. One message is that, to recognise new ideologies and a new world order, ghostly memories from the past are essential. As he describes these recurrent influences and reminders of the old as “specters” (1) he reflects on the fact that they are neither witnessed as present embodiments which can be addressed or adapted, nor as something invisible and irrelevant: they are ghosts, which at once exist and do not exist. The relevance of Derrida’s theories to women immigrants is that, being neither socio-culturally embodied and accepted, nor physically dead and gone, the woman immigrant is critically liminal to society.^{xvii} This reinforces the notion of the marginalisation of women immigrants presented in my research. He furthermore separates language, mourning and work as key incarnations of his theory, suggesting that none of the three can function or exist without invoking history. These three features are intrinsically linked with the woman immigrant narrative, owing to the internationality of their ethnolinguistic backgrounds and the recurrent sense of tragedy, loss and desperation which haunts their stories in parallel with his proposed “specters.”

Whereas Flesler’s own suggestion that “the fixation on ghosts might suggest that what we have today in Spain is an unproductive melancholic attachment to the past” (95), I problematise this concept by proposing that the spectrality of the woman immigrant exists as a symptom of her cultural alterity and her social liminality, rather than as a centrally-defining psychological tendency within the national imagery.^{xviii}

The concept of Spanish national identity^{xix}, both past and present is also examined^{xx} in Vega-Durán’s important monograph, *Emigrant Dreams, Immigrant Borders: Migrants, Transnational Encounters, and Identity in Spain* (2016). As such, Vega-Durán’s most complex consideration is her concept of border spaces, preclusive heterotopias and recurrent

barriers to immigrant assimilation, which she refers to as: “The Place of the Border” (57). Her proposal is that: “The migrant, the paradigm of the border, inhabits the place of the border: both identities of the migrant - emigrant and immigrant - become one and none because here the migrant is neither an emigrant nor an immigrant ... its in-betweenness makes it impossible to define.” (57). Here Vega-Durán extends border spaces to include experiences of all replicated immigration-related barriers, in both the existential plains of reality and heterotopia and proposes that the immigrant themselves “embodies the border” (57).

As opposed to actual disembodiment, Foucault’s notion of diverse “heterotopias” (1984, 2) enriches our spatial understanding of feminine solidarity, social integration, cultural acceptance and equality. Foucault proposes that the social spaces designated by his reckoning as “heterotopias” are mirrored microcosms of the intangible utopian ideal, into which society might willingly pass or be unwillingly assigned or condemned.^{xxi} The relation of heterotopias to women immigration is complex because women immigration, by its very nature, invokes ideas of deviance from the norm, ostracisation, juxtaposition of different cultural backgrounds, struggle for confluence, the open-shut nature of borders and cultural acceptance, simultaneous but conflicting realities and the real moments in time which constitute the departure and the arrival. The type of heterotopia within which the women immigrants might find themselves would depend on the cause and means of their arrival. In these heterotopias, communication barriers with Spanish authority figures and prohibitive legislation might provide catastrophic obstructions to salvation, security or success, however they might also afford commonality with other women migrants. This parallels their failed attempts to integrate, achieve sociocultural acceptance and benefit from economic capital seen in the work, as women are repeatedly observed to resort to prostitution and poorly-paid labour and to suffer abuse, neglect and xenophobia.

Of all of Foucault's conceived types of heterotopia, those of containment within an enclosed border area or of crisis are most applicable to immigrant women. I propose that the destitute, desperate and fugitive women would inevitably fit within these heterotopias, having fled one set of dire circumstances and entered into another. Nevertheless, I propose that some form of mutated socio-normal and shared experience might take place in common with fellow women in similar conditions. Upon arrival in Spain and through the subsequent endeavour to find employment and make roots, women immigrants might be consigned to a second heterotopia along with those *others* who purportedly do not fit in with accepted social norms. Therefore, I argue that this situation, whilst still bleak, creates opportunities for further heterotopias for the immigrant women, in which cultural or linguistic “communities of practice” (Mirian Meyerhoff and Saskia Corder, 2007) and of such things as shared religious backgrounds, might offer potential feminine solidarity.

With reference to Foucault's heterotopias and by extension to Vega-Durán's discussions on borders, my novel contention is that, whilst immigrant men might be seen to embody the border – in that they comprise the recognisable ‘face’ of the immigrant in the press and are either those active within it (as traffickers or economic migrants) - the woman immigrant is instead disembodied by such notional challenges as inescapable chronological borders which restrict her self-determinacy and a presupposition that their intentions are purely dependent on men and thus she suffers from endlessly revisited border-like obstacles and abuses and is figuratively disembodied by it. In these ways, the eponymous (according to the nomenclature assigned to her by the Spanish villagers) “Fátima” in *Fátima de los naufragios*, whilst appearing to choose to remain physically within and thus “embody” the geographical border space, she is also metaphorically disembodied by it, first through her grief and helplessness and then by the villagers emasculating her silence to twist her exposure

into something which will ‘cleanse’ and serve them – and she is further dehumanised through not even being given the opportunity to state her own name.

Immigrant women’s suffering and dehumanisation, such as that in *Princesas*, comprises another of the representations discussed by Vega-Durán: that of their animalisation and imposed alterity. Vega-Durán argues that: “the colonial portrait of the immigrant as primitive, sexual, and uncontrolled turns her into a barbarian who cannot communicate with “civilised” Spain” (139). This image is commonly associated with the African male immigrant and appears with some clarity in *Los príncipes nubios* (Bonilla, 2003) and *Bwana* (Uribe, 1996). However, in terms of representations of the women immigrant, I agree more with Vega-Durán’s subsequent assertion that gender also serves as a “mediator” of colonial discourse by constructing the immigrant prostitute sexually and “animalistically,” portraying her as a “colonized object” (216-20). This notion again raises the issues of orientalism and exoticism as prisms through which women immigrants are observed and, rather than ascribing even the moderate empowerment of animalisation and uncontrollability, it relegates the woman immigrant to the category of dehumanised possession or conquest. These are ideas I shall explore in more depth in this thesis.

Vega-Durán successfully illumines the patterns of representation in filmic and textual Spanish publication and, as such, offers a stark picture of the opportunity for immigrant success and belonging in Spain’s new ‘westernised’ European society,^{xxii} nevertheless, my work seeks to add depth by including the previously undiscussed more chronic exclusion of Chinese women and the more politicised first-person narrative and empowered characterizations of immigrant authors as well, to provide a more universal exegesis on a wider cross-section of women immigrant representation.

As I explore differences between types of representation of immigrant women, I shall consider how vulnerability and resistance are apparent in the aesthetic impressions of their settings, costumes and adornments in the books, and how camera angles, props, perspectives and backdrops create similar effects in the films. I shall use this analysis to establish whether the noted variances of authorial background produce differentiated immigrant imagery and characterisation. This will allow me to consider what the conception of immigrant women is and how their voice is heard, revealing how portrayals of intercultural social interactions are either catalysed by or eventually result in visions of the (often abject or violent) tussle between the pervasive abjection of alterity and alienation and the hopeful eventual redemption offered by success over disempowerment, self-identification over subjection and resolved cultural assimilation over alienation – especially through diasporic works.

Overall, as the struggle for immigrant women's equality is at its foremost and at a time when Spain has been confronting various issues relating to national unity, European identity, economic recession and the migrant crisis, the immigrant woman narrative should also be emerging as a central focus for scholarly investigation. As such, my work will consider whether these established theories are indeed still applicable or whether there is room for additional theory in the scholarship. This thesis will also show how representations of immigrant women and the voice which they project can provide an indication of the state of social progress in present day Spain.

Methodology

My thesis proposes to be as expansive as possible and explores complex and dynamic representations of both liberal and conservative conceptions of the situation of immigration within society (as commented on by Reni Eddo-Lodge, 2017 and Douglas Murray, 2017 respectively). As such, my method requires exploration of changes over time and variations of authorship and character origin (in terms of race, nationality and place of birth). My research in this thesis therefore offers a renewed focus on gender within immigration, moving beyond Ballesteros's focus on limitations. For example, I reveal how orientalist metaphors and contradictory authorial success reconceive women from Africa either as excluded or empowered, whereas observations of socioeconomic engagement temper the overall view of Chinese women as robotic, alien, and how the agency of Latin American women adds nuance to Guillén Marin's conception of them largely as victims or objects of male fetish.

I find answers for 10 specific questions relating to immigrant women's representation in Spain, for which I find evidence across the published arts and which I analyse to reach a conclusion about whether the hypothesis that, amidst efforts to promote multiculturalism, gender rights and liberal public conscience as a founding member of the European Union, xenophobia, bigotry, misogyny and condescension remain in Spanish society, but are now nuanced within literary and filmic representations by subtle signs of immigrant women's resistance, acceptance and agency. The answers to the following ten questions considered inform my conclusions: How the voices of those most peripheral to the traditional centres of power and ethnic norms are represented in postmodern Spanish culture; how cosmopolitan and egalitarian views and portrayals really are; whether works by female authors are more active in giving women immigrant characters voice; whether more recent works are more liberal, inclusive and subjugation-challenging; whether there are any differences between

works written by Spanish-born and immigrant authors; what the perceived characteristic roles are within the Spanish imaginary; what representations in the immigration opus suggest about how clearly the female voice is heard in Spain; whether social progress is indicated and reflected upon in the works; whether there are any signs of a positive change in the condition of the portrayed woman immigrant; whether the evidence is symbolic of any move towards hybridized, convivial egalitarianism in Spain.

In order to accomplish my aims I incorporated the following methodology into my research: examination and exposition of representations of marginalised women; critical review of literary commentaries; comparison of works produced by men versus women, and natives versus immigrants; exploration of concepts such as feminism, orientalism, racism, national identity, abjection and “third space” in relation to issues in the representation of women’s immigration; research on varying stylistic techniques and imagery which have accompanied appearances of women immigrants in Spanish arts and literature over time; and suggested new and unique frameworks through which to consider the representations of distinct groups of immigrant women.

This new and diverse social group ought to contribute voices to Spanish film and literature from a focus group which has been repressed, disempowered and ignored throughout history, from near total exclusion in Early Modern literature and society to repression under the paternalistic rule of Franco, but which also represent a sufficiently broad spectrum of Spanish society to be able to act as an effective yardstick for measuring cultural progress in Spain overall. Through my thesis, I will therefore seek to discover whether their voices genuinely are audible and successfully and realistically portrayed and, thus, whether there has been any noticeable progress in the recognition of gender and socio-political equality rights in a supposedly forward-thinking and prosperous postmillennial Spain.

Through my thesis I shall consider how characterization and the success or failure of the presented women within postmillennial Spanish books and films vary, and is dependent on various factors including their nations of origin; the occupational status of the protagonists; the spatiality and setting within which their roles and characters are imagined; whether they are first generation immigrants or second generation hybrid Spanish nationals; which Spanish region they are in; their varied perceived relationships with ‘native’ Spanish people or autochthonous ‘power figures’ around them; their levels of active involvement in storylines or perceived contributions to active Spanish life within their social surroundings; and any proposed agenda or perpetuation of discrimination and abuse on the part of the women themselves.

I have carefully selected primary works, some well-established and some less studied, upon which to base my own principal exploration and I shall provide brief synopses of each text consider them within the set chapter contexts which follow. I aim to explore whether woman immigrant representations in this opus reflect the real-life cultural circumstances, empirical sociological data and journalistic media coverage of the issue of immigration and about this group in particular and whether they do prove to be a cipher for overall social progress.

In order to set these works against the current philosophical and socio-literary milieu, I shall explore how Michel Foucault’s theory on “heterotopias,” Jacques Derrida’s theories on democracy and “specters of Marx,” Edward Said’s theory on “orientalism” and his thought on literary and artistic diminutive misrepresentations of Eastern culture by Western colonisers, artists and authors and Homi Bhaba’s theory on “third space” may be applied or contradicted in relation to specifically women immigration works, thus elucidating new insights into the

representation of the woman immigrant. the understanding of Derrida's theory on spectres or Butler's concepts of vulnerability and resistance.

Current intellectual debates surrounding these theories have moved to focus on issues such as the alienation or disembodiment of women and the impact of race on stereotyping and perceptions of sociocultural and political alterity within separate and defined boundaries. My initial sociopolitical contextualisation and my literature review of key monographic works identifies the need for a more multifaceted, nuanced and interdisciplinary approach, on the other hand. This approach combines analysis of the effects of literary techniques, such as the use of aesthetics in characterization, with theories from a broader spectrum of schools, In this way, I consider scholarship on food theory, the formation of identity through suffering, and stereotype. I also introduce schools of thought which had previously not been given central consideration in examination of immigration works. These concepts include those of Corder on the values of “communities of practice,” Annamaria DiFabio and Letizia Pallazeschi on the establishment of happiness and self-affirmation through suffering and “eudaimonia,” and Holly Prescott on the communicative implications of women’s body positioning, spatiality and movement.

In the first instance, the methodological approach within the three empirical discussion chapters will be to present a review of Spanish historical, legal, linguistic and political context relevant to each chapter and to consider relevant public or journalistic discourse, including any recognisable stereotypes associated with the groups in question. I shall then explore representations of women immigrants from three different world regions, to look for indications in both sociological data and literary representation that either prejudice prevails or that culturally progressive empowerment of the immigrant women is observed.

My chapter foci establish distinct tropes which I argue depend upon the presented birthplace of the women characters, and I shall therefore analyse instances and implications of these disparate themes and tendencies through my three subsequent chapters:

- *Representations of Chinese Women Immigrants*, incorporating a new four-fold consideration of: ‘Inundation,’ ‘Indigestion,’ ‘Disorder’ and ‘Contamination.’
- *Representations of African Women Immigrants*, exploring these within a suggested new framework of ‘Vulnerability’ and ‘Resistance.’
- *Representations of Latin American Women Immigrants*, elucidating implications of their perceived roles of ‘(Re-)Generation,’ ‘(Re-)Occupation,’ ‘Communication’ and ‘Emancipation.’

In each chapter I consider particularities of the social, linguistic, cultural and historical background of the presented group and provide empirical sociological data to contextualise these. I then draw attention to the ways in which the publications mirror and act as a cipher for real life, by proposing that each sub-group’s real-life circumstances are also evident in the works, but that there is subtle complexity and contradiction hidden within their representations too, which point to the genesis of agency and empowerment. To do this, I follow the sociological discussion by anchoring each chapter with an introduction to two studied works which best conceptualise and represent the dichotomies of representation specific to the particular sub-group. I then analyse these against existing scholarship and theory and explore how the other selected works for each chapter correlate or contradict the effects and styles of these key works.

Within the Chinese chapter, my explorations highlight the profound non-assimilation and ascribed otherness of Chinese immigrant women and introduce concepts such as the Chinese woman as a variant on cyborg (Haraway, 1991), robot or machine. I also identify and

comment on the significance of Chinese women rarely (if ever) being presented as individuals or given opportunities for real or imagined perspectives. However, I then add nuance by asserting that some of these examples of alienation develop from the clash between the cultures and politics of a both communist and superstitious social outlook and the new realities of a European democracy. Finally within the chapter, I establish that the distrust shown towards the Chinese women and their work ethic and self-sufficiency is actually indicative of their business acumen and diligence and that their perceived automaton-like approach to work is actually evidence of an agentic triumph within an economic crisis.

In the African chapter, I examine the implications of the change in authorship and representation across a 25-year time-lapse and introduce the differences between earlier works which were exclusively published as fictional imaginations of exoticism, victimhood and alterity by Spanish-born authors and the latter works by diasporic African-Spanish authors. In this way, I establish the notion that focus on adornment and aesthetics limits the agency and scope for individuality of the immigrant woman character, but that the emergence of authors such as Najat El Hachmi challenges generalisations created by mysticism and symbolism and reinscribes immigrant women's identity, sexuality, politicisation and empowerment through use of irony, taboo, rebellion and the powers of education and linguistic development.

Subsequently, in the Latin American chapter, I note the dilemma between sociohistorical and linguistic symbiosis and the perpetuation of colonialist fetish and imagined hierarchy by revealing how the gender and origin of the women characters contains them within the conceived limited roles of mother, maid, degenerate and victim of sexual aggression and perceived colonial subordinacy. The specific imaginations I analyse include reference to the corporality of the Latin American women and the implications that the way their bodies and

presence occupy space and time reveals both their suffering and their humanity. I then suggest that the roles, experiences, agency, determination and reactions to abuse and abjection which the Latin American women present also positions them as communicators and mouthpieces for the plight and rights of immigrant women and therefore also as active catalysts of emancipatory progress.

Overall, my thesis then considers these proposed dualities and complexities as evidence of a battle across space and time for equal consideration of immigrant women as the neutral or universal figures within the texts and films, and consequently within Spanish society. Finally, I draw together conclusions by looking backwards at collated views from earlier works and previous literary and social commentary and criticism and present an overarching analysis of marginalised woman immigrant representation in film, literature and popular culture, suggesting what it means for evidence of progress and societal tendencies in a nation which has a history of xenophobia and intolerance but which is focusing increasingly on its democratic (e)qualities as an EU member state.

Representations of Chinese Women Immigrants

In this chapter I shall be considering the similarities and differences in the ways in which Chinese women immigrants are presented within the postmillennial Spanish literature and film. In doing this, I shall be exploring what conclusions can be drawn about how more liminal non-native women in Spanish society who do not have a colonial relationship with Spain are represented and what form their marginalisation takes.

Through consideration of the appearances of Chinese women in the films and literature of the last 20+ years, I will discuss any incongruity in literary portrayals of those which might be considered as furthest from the power-holding, white, male, Castilian Spanish and consider what it suggests about the sociopolitical environment in postmillennial Spain. I also intend to look for instances of positive assimilation or economic success for Chinese women in the literature, in the hope of recognising egalitarianism and fair access to the socioeconomic and sociocultural riches for immigrant women in an EU member state.

Academic studies and articles about integration and social cohesion in the media might always refer to migration statistics and reference economic and political data regarding immigrants, however my suggestion is that consultation of immigrant women representation in the arts and literature offers a more profoundly human cipher for immigrant status and public opinion. As such, whereas the numerical information about immigrants in Spain (Ares and Villaseñor, *Elpais.com*, 2019) list European, American and African nations of origin and numbers of overall males and women, it almost ignores its own introductory premise of “no hay países que no cuenten con inmigrantes como parte de su Sociedad [sic]. En la actualidad, como le ocurre a España, es irreal plantear un futuro social sin ellos,” by not mentioning China (or any part of Asia) as a country of origin of the Spanish immigrant population at all. I

will argue that this reflects a pattern of distrusting ignorance or alienation of the Chinese women, both in the texts and in society.

Within immigration theory, Edwards et al. suggest that “discussions about immigration and race have a long and rich history of emotive and literary metaphor. Four main recurrent representations prevail: inundation, contamination, disorder and the previously unidentified indigestion,” (2010, 299) and I have adopted this as a framework through which to explore the representations of the Chinese women in the works studied. To this end, my methodological approach will firstly be to establish the sociological, theoretical and literary context within which these characters appear and then to explore evidence of Chinese women representation being tempered by suggestions of inundation, contamination, disorder or indigestion in the surrounding storylines, settings, imagery and discourse. Finally, I shall search for references to Chinese women’s economic success stories or associated instances of potential empowerment within literature, film and television, so as to establish whether the Chinese women portrayal also involves an antithetically affirming glimpse of immigrant women success, social progress and interculturalism.

One key concept against which my exploration of representations of Chinese women immigrants will take shape is that of the tussle between the Chinese Communist utopian ideals of collective industry and Spain’s comparatively recent sociological move towards European neoliberal Capitalism.^{xxiii} I shall consider the implications for each and against the effective geopolitical dystopia of the landscapes of eclectic urban sprawl in Spain and in terms of relative resilience to the devastating effects of the ‘economic crisis,’ which revealed frailties in the functionality of Capitalism and in the tools at the disposal of Spain’s democracy to resist or overcome it and, I argue, is emphasised repeatedly referenced as metaphor in the selection of immigration works considered in this thesis. My premise for

considering this is that the Chinese immigrant, upon arrival in Europe, will inevitably encounter a glaring contrast between the impersonal nature of mass functionalism in the indoctrinated mindset in Chinese society and the conscious championing of the financially successful and socially liberal individual in post-Franco Spain. Similarly, common social discourse in Spain would suggest that the native Spanish preconception of immigrant Chinese from such perceived “indoctrination” is that of faceless, tacit and robotic Communist drones arriving, en masse, in a starkly juxtaposed and alien political setting. Newspaper articles and research discussion titles such as *¿Por qué parecen iguales los chinos?* (www.publico.es, 2008) and *¿Cómo trabajan los chinos?* (www.informacion.es, 2012) hint both at these beliefs and at presuppositions that Chinese people are too indistinguishable and work-obsessed to be formally investigated in a European context. Albeit there is a political basis for imagery around dogma, in that Chinese Communist rhetoric values the communal over the individual, to stereotype aesthetically in this way certainly suggests that racism in society is being indicated.

According to social statistics, 190,624 Chinese people were living in Spain and accounted for the sixth largest foreign contingent of the population in the country in 2017 (es.statista.com, 2017). Despite this longstanding, continuous and increasingly populous presence within Spanish society, which has been present in Spain throughout the last hundred years, I would argue that, owing partly to the lack of common heritage or the aforementioned lack of recognisable social systems between China and Spain, acceptance, understanding and assimilation of Chinese immigrants has remained almost entirely invisible and additionally that a tacit ‘sinophobia’ seems to pervade public sentiment and literary discourse. As concerns social commentary around the Spanish unease and lack of understanding of this large number of ‘aliens,’ observations both from the media and the films and literature suggest that there is

a tendency for the immigrant population to be seen as absolute ‘others’ and to be the target of ill-founded myth and rumour. Hughes highlights this tendency, where she asserts that “la prensa promueve unos estereotipos que representan solamente una fracción de los grupos étnicos (tales como las fotos en el Diario Gastronomía de los turistas asiáticos con las cámaras que se parecen ignorantes a las normas sociales) y hacen parecer como si representaran la raza entera” (2014, 34). Four common myths relating to Chinese stereotype in Spain do, in fact, emerge from and perpetuate this non-assimilation: that they are nothing more than hard-working machines; that they represent a numerous and relentless swarm of unrecognisable faces; that they never age or die; and that they are suspiciously immune to financial difficulty and never to be seen asking for loans from banks (Nieto 67). My suggestions for the basis for these stereotypes are also four-fold.

Firstly, the social segregation and resultant distrust initiated by both host and immigrant as they stay within closed groups (symbolised by the presence of demarcated China Towns in Spanish cities and represented in textual allusions to this in *Cosmofobia* (Etxebarria, 2007), *Los besos en el pan* (Grandes, 2015) and in more visual separation in *Vis a Vis* (Escobar et al., 2015-9) and *El próximo Oriente* (Colomo, 2006)) dictates that the majority of instances in which native Spanish people will encounter Chinese immigrants will be in impersonal encounters in the public arena. It therefore follows that this will be in places of *work* or exchange which are indeed frequented by Spanish people (restaurants, shops, centres of public works, and, in the case of *Vis a Vis*, communal areas in prisons).

Secondly, the Chinese do indeed account for a reasonably large and rapidly increasing percentage of the recently established immigrant population in Spain and so there is an increasing likelihood of Spanish people encountering them daily, particularly in urban areas

and places of work, albeit at both physical and metaphorical distance. Consultation of the statistical data to this end reveals that between 2000 and 2008 the Chinese working immigrant population grew from 28,000 to over 148,000 and has continued to rise exponentially since then^{xxiv} (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*) and yet, as Rodríguez-García points out, “the majority of foreigners who did not marry Spanish nationals married persons of their own national origin. The groups from China... appear to be the most endogamous” (2009, note 5). This, to my understanding, does offer a reasonable explanation for dialogue surrounding the number of Chinese immigrants in Spain, but does not tally with the fact that a population of circa 150,000 in a society of nearly 48 million still constitutes a numerical minority to native Spanish people and people from 5 other world regions.

Thirdly, the Chinese are, in fact, the most populous nation generally in the world, accounting for 1.386 billion in 2017, and have had the fastest growing economy and exports market for some years, and so representations in the media will naturally reflect this and might therefore create a discourse in which the Chinese are both numerous and unknowable or unrelatable.

Despite this, it is important to note that the greatest influx of Chinese immigrants to Spain has only been a recent phenomenon, with mainly working-age newcomers or child dependents arriving in the last twenty years. I propose, therefore, that this statistic also accounts for one reason for the establishment of the third myth about Chinese immigrants in Spain – that they ‘never die.’ Sociologically, representing such a young, prosperous and resilient community, it is probable that comparatively few of the more recent ingress of Chinese people have yet reached the age of retiring or of dying, and thus have not had the ‘opportunity’ to leave their mark on tombstones in graveyards in the country, but rather have spent the majority of their working lives in employment in Spain. This is reiterated by Minghuan Li: “Most Chinese in today’s Spain are first-generation immigrants; almost all emigrated from China after the late

1970s, when China reopened its door to the West. In about three decades between the mid-1980s and the mid-2010s, the number of Chinese migrants in Spain has grown more than 100-fold.” (2017, 285)

Fourthly, and most critically, the Chinese immigrants largely originally come from comparatively few rural regions of Zhejiang province in mainland China, which has a “long tradition of emigration” (Chen, 2019) to Spain and is a family-centric, traditional, recently isolationist and strongly Communist region, in which the notions of community are restricted to looking after one’s own family and contributing financially to the Chinese state, rather than on building intercultural “communities of practice” (Corder and Meyerhoff, 2008) or forging international relationships. The importance of this last detail lies in the fact that state benefits have not formed a part of their previous socioeconomic options and so neither business loans nor government grants have historically been available to them in their country of origin. Additionally, the Chinese migrants’ political ideologies (both of the traditional family unit and the established party politics) have inscribed the centrality of community, workmanship and taciturn acceptance of one’s duties into the overarching psyche of the current and previous generation. In this way we can surmise that visible reliance on bank loans would realistically not figure as part of the economic portfolio of Chinese women businesspeople and therefore account for an explanation for ‘not seeing Chinese people borrowing from the bank.’

Aside from the sociological context to the Chinese representation in Spanish literature, another correlated arena is that of the linguistic and sociolinguistic in literary texts and social discourse. Within the fabric of the modern Castilian Spanish language itself there are idiomatic indications of the autochthonous Spanish conceptualisation of supposed Chinese traits and characteristics. There is a generalising and explicitly xenophobic phrase in the

language which identifies anyone of Far East or Southeast Asian extraction as one and the same: “a mi son todos chinos” (Nieto 97). The rash sentiment of this remark is even reflected in widely read journals and newspapers such as *El diario de Tandil* (2017) and websites purportedly for ‘chinos’ which promote such things as upcoming Korean festivals. In similar fashion, the Castilian idiom “un cuento chino” to signify a tall tale or spurious account carries connotations of racial suspicion towards Chinese culture, owing both to the pejorative implication and to the condescension with which one might associate the expression. Such pejorative and suspicious imagination of the Chinese in Spain is visible in other expressions, such as “engañarle como a un chino,” and has been observed by noted linguists as “algo negativo o mal visto por la comunidad hispanohablante” (Calero, Forgas and Lledó, 2002, 4). Calero et al. argue that “la lengua ... se convierte en un testimonio del imaginario social,” (1) and that linguistic nuance can reveal a good deal about the implications this has for understanding stereotypes in public opinion. She continues by suggesting that “denostar lo ajeno ha sido casi siempre un modo de construir y perpetuar la identidad de un grupo” (1), which highlights the deep-rooted impact such terminology in the lexicon can have. Similarly, leading academics consider such instances as an example of “the Yellow Peril ideology” and note that these ideas have been present for a long time and are “well established in the Spanish imaginary” (Mary Kate Donovan, 2016, 14).

Furthermore, the common expressions: “trabajar como un chino” and “es un trabajo de chinos” to refer to unforgiving, gruelling, repetitive and often menial work again reveal the apparent national preconception that Chinese immigrants exist purely as worker drones. It suggests that they are too singularly focused on their travails to be concerned at the triviality or rigour of their slave-like labour. There is an openly racist tone to these idioms and an unspoken understanding that Chinese immigrants are either themselves predisposed to work

for westerners or to be set by Spanish ‘jefes’ to poorly paid and illicit labours.^{xxv} Both of these notions perhaps point towards racial prejudice, nevertheless, the usage of the idioms is ongoing and unabashed in contemporary common parlance and is audible in the public sphere. This further suggests a widespread acceptance of the basis of fact in their meanings. Therefore, the sociolinguistic deductions we might make are that the Chinese women are indeed seen and cast as subservient and soulless worker drones (or, as Donna Haraway might propose, as “cyborgs” (1991, 149)) in both society and in the immigration literature and society.

Of all major demographic groups within the immigrant population in Spain, the least represented within media and literature is the Chinese, as acknowledged by Andrés-Suárez, “la inmigración asiática representa el grupo más alejado culturalmente de los españoles.” (2002, 17). This opinion is given considerable credence by the facts that in the www.goodreads.com list of the top 50 Spanish fiction books in October 2020, none even mentions China and that secondary Spanish biographical and analytical works on Chinese writers are equally as scant. The sociocultural result of this is that the imagination of the Chinese is forged from a distance and that representations are both limited and formulaic, presenting the Chinese themselves as “un verdadero enigma” (Andrés-Suárez, 2002, 17) and as complicit in their own apparent segregation.

In Donovan’s article, she describes “Spanish perceptions of the Chinese community as insular and resistant to assimilation” (2017, 372) and notes that in the short film *Ming* (Giráldez et al., 2007) one of the characters even highlights the absence of interest given to Chinese immigrants in Spain in the comment “te puedes pasar un año entero leyéndolos sin que nunca veas publicada la esquila de un chino.” (384). The sentiment is clear here, that there is a chronic misunderstanding and perpetuation of ignorant fantasies about a ‘different’

community. It therefore follows that the Chinese are either resultantly chronically marginalised in Spain or still considered as being ‘different,’ and that a liminalising differentiation between white, native Spanish and immigrant Chinese is, therefore, apparent.

Depicted in a society in which ‘machismo’ and paternalism have historically been prevalent, it is, at first, intriguing that even Chinese women do not seem to come under the same fetishistic male gaze, described by Mulvey as “the power to subject another person to the will sadistically or the gaze voyeuristically ... turned onto the woman as the object of both” (1975, 40), as women immigrants from other backgrounds within social discourse. I posit, however, that there is a historical explanation for this: whereas the dominating masculine sexuality could be described as seeking to exoticise, lust after and conquer subjugated women from lands colonised by their own civilisation, Spain ventured West rather than East during its colonial Early Modern ‘Golden Age,’ and conquered the Americas instead of Asia, thus not having the time of other European empires to commit the concept of Chinese sexual subordination to the colonial psyche or, therefore, the postcolonial memory.^{xxvi}

The hierarchical unbalancing of this thought positions the colonizing Spanish male as the empowered party and, as such, Mulvey discusses the sexual cinematic pleasures of “looking” as a Freudian metaphor for the male gaze (see earlier definitions) and suggests that “there are circumstances in which looking itself is a source of pleasure, just as, in the reverse formation, there is pleasure in being looked at,” (1975, 59). With regards to the imagination of the Chinese woman immigrant in Spain, however, rather than “sexuality” or the “scopophilia” explored by Mulvey, and to the exclusion of a sense of allure and physical ownership, androgyny and asexuality are instead evident. In agreement with these proposals, Carles Prado-Fonts highlights a “binary relation between colonizer and colonized that

characterizes the discourse” (2018, 175) and references Stuart Hall’s coining of the expression “the West and the rest.” (1982, 185). The significance of these quotes is firstly that the concept of a singular Western psyche and viewpoint is problematic, being that relationships between individual colonising Western nations and colonised countries from around the world are far more multiplicitous and unique than might be expressed with generalisation and also that not all Western nations had colonial relationships with all colonised ones. This is relevant in the Spain-China discourse, since Spain’s imagination of China does not cascade from postcolonial experience, and I would further propose that the effects of this lack of shared history on the postmillennial psyche have progressed from cultural ignorance and disregard to xenophobia and distrust and are equally indicated in the dearth of Chinese-centred cultural and literary publication noticed in Spain today. To this end, outside of the works studied here and the stereotypes presented in such poster art as that discussed by Donovan in *Se rien de la crisis*, other Spanish literary representations of Chinese women are principally only to be found in non-fiction publications with economic and sociological commentary.^{xxvii}

This lack of a seemingly creditable Chinese cultural foothold in Spain, together with the prejudiced lexical mythology and other stereotyped tropes emerging from my review of the surrounding discourse and context of Chinese women representation in Spain will be considered over the remainder of this chapter. To put these concepts into a literary context, I shall consider Edwards et al.’s (2020) quote as a suggested novel framework for prejudiced representation of immigrants as portrayals of “inundation, contamination, disorder and indigestion,” and I shall consider how these 4 suggested tropes reconceptualise the Chinese condition in Spain.

Representations of the lives, personalities and experiences of Chinese women in the Spanish works studied are also, owing to the dearth of Chinese-authored literature, purely imagined and thus susceptible to the taint of stereotype. These representations range from choreographed and unrealistic violence in the television series *Vis a vis*, to impoverished alienation and exclusion in the films *Biutiful* (Iñárritu, 2010) and *El próximo Oriente*, and fragmentary inclusion as potential causes or undesirable symptoms of economic uncertainty in the novels *Los besos en el pan* and *Cosmofobia*. Only in *La ciudad feliz* (Navarro, 2010) is there even a Chinese-imagined perspective for the narrative. For these reasons, I shall first introduce the representations of disempowered Chinese immigrant women in *Biutiful* and of more agentic Chinese women in *La ciudad feliz* and use these divergent works as a basis for my exploration of the wider portrayals of Chinese women in postmillennial Spanish publication.

Biutiful is the film with the most international direction, exposure and market success from the opus studied. It charts one man's dying existential crises as he struggles to hold family, work as an illegal people-trafficker and health together in a ghost-filled Barcelona. The film includes portrayals of varying bleak or tragic existences of trafficked women from China, an illegal woman immigrant from Senegal and the lead character's troubled and estranged bipolar Argentinian wife. Its setting in urban Spain and the international renown of its director allow ready comparison with books such as *Cosmofobia* by Lucía Etxebarria (2008), however its reception by both critics and scholars suggest it as a more seminal immigration work.

Paul Begin's (2015) and Beatriz Celaya-Carrillo's (2011) works discuss issues of racism in *Biutiful* and the female novel respectively. Begin's observations reflect the innate

inferiority and sinophobia with which the immigrant protagonists are treated – especially the Chinese. Equally, Celaya-Carrillo notes that:

“En conexión con las definiciones nacionalistas y el uso concreto que les otorga, aparecen en tensión la cultura catalana y española, en ciertos momentos aunadas como cultura occidental, y la cultura marroquí y bereber, a su vez con conflictos propios. Entre la cultura dejada atrás y la presente, aparecen dos ejes de tensión: las diferencias religiosas y el tratamiento de la mujer.” (347).

These discussions highlight the concept of the dichotomy or tension created by heterogeneity of race and gender, which could be seen as a catalyst for racist and misogynistic reactions in the quest for definitive national and feminine identity in Spain, rather than the potentially unifying commonality of experience which ought to draw man and woman, native and immigrant together. I posit that this is the case in *Biutiful*, since, despite having an international director, an international cast and crew, an international promotion in world cinemas and a list of characters representing immigrants from several countries,^{xxviii} there is no harmonic union portrayed in the script or storyline, and camera shots tend to show groups by nationality or race. In this way, one scene focuses on the Chinese in their confined interior space, another shows the African street vendors in their exterior space, but seldom are any groups successfully acculturated. Indeed, whenever there is any cultural mixing, dysfunction occurs: when Uxbal is together with the Chinese, he sees ghosts (01:28:45-01:29:00) or inadvertently poisons them (01:24:15-01:24:30); when the Argentinian Marambra attempts to re-enter her Spanish children's lives, sadness and violence ensues (01:41:30-01:41:35); and when Igé succumbs to Uxbal's pleas to look after his children, she acts hugely uncomfortable, and he dies. (01:54:37-01:59:35).

In his treatise on *Biutiful*, Jesse Barker states that the simplistic hope for a smooth progression into “the ideal of multicultural hybridity” (2017, 21) is viewed as being undermined by the “deconstruction of patriarchal figures” (20) in both *Biutiful* and *El último patriarca*. This suggests that patriarchy is a prerequisite for order and hegemony in modern society and relegates the perceived worth of the immigrant women. On the other hand, Barker also looks at *Biutiful* in more humanistic terms, as an exposition of the interwoven relationships of abuse and subjections experienced by Chinese and Senegalese immigrants in Barcelona, and this extreme disempowerment is a point of commonality amongst immigrant women across the works studied: ranging from inability to secure immigration “papeles” (*Princesas* 00:19:10 – 00:19:30) to complete dereliction and abjection (*Biutiful*).

Bauman proposes the concept of “wasted lives” to encompass the thought that disempowerment and dehumanisation of the person, to the point of being deprived of political agency and any personal ability to govern how one’s body and one’s actions are employed constitute the essential “waste” of an entire person’s life. Bauman’s theories are particularly valid where human trafficking, inescapable squalor and chronic exclusion from the rights of citizenship are observed. Against this vision of life, the condition of the woman immigrant reaches its nadir as a disenfranchised outcast, deprived of economic potency, stranded amidst alien languages, servant to the vicissitudes of multi-religious conservatism, excluded from the trappings of capitalist “modernity” (2000, 1), considered as an object of servitude or submission to the male, and held back as an illegitimate or unaccepted other. I propose that in *Biutiful*, the notions of “wasted lives” could thus be said to apply to the chronically liminal Chinese females, who have no voice and are treated inhumanely.

Beyond being undervalued or politically disempowered in *Biutiful*, Chinese women characters are even shown as faceless and eventually even physically disembodied and

abandoned to the sea in later scenes as ghostly victims of Spanish greed and neglect and without having had the opportunity to achieve anything other than survive temporarily and work at the whims of both Spanish and Chinese male abusers (01:47:05-01:47:35). These images invoke the spectre, with the Chinese women playing the part of Derrida's threat of Communist memory hanging over the plot (see earlier definitions on Derrida), their repeated presence traumatising Uxbal, their inability to survive foreshadowing failure and death, and their reluctance to die personifying the guilt and blame of racial distrust and immigration crises.

In contrast with the abjection and ghostliness of Chinese women in *Biutiful, La ciudad feliz* (Navarro, 2009) is a first-person narrative story of the childhood experiences and sentimental observations of a second-generation Chinese boy in Spain. The intended perspective of its focus, unlike those of the other works under study is from a Chinese immigrant, and, as such, it briefly explores the lifestyle, work and history of older women in his family and his own cross-cultural relationships with school peers and Spanish customers at their chicken restaurant. Jesus Peris Llorca, however, suggests that the Chinese females are neither overly realistic in their representation, nor are their lives satisfactorily assimilated, nor the mystique of their lifestyles and cultural history glorified:

“no están representados en su otredad, como marca de su cultura exótica, estetizada y culturalistamente aprehendida, sino precisamente en su inserción en la sociedad española. Esta familia que no conoce vacaciones ni horarios ... no son chinos exóticos de novela sino una familia plenamente atrapada en la lógica neoliberal.” (2020, 270).

In this interpretation we encounter the motif of Chinese immigrant women working excessive numbers of hours in chicken restaurants, hairdressers, cheap shops etc. but failing to become a

part of the fabric of the society, and this is a motif which recurs across social discourse and equally in other works, such as *Los besos en el pan*.

Despite the variations in degrees of agency and empowerment between *Biutiful* and *La ciudad feliz*, I shall now analyse to what extent the four tropes outlined by Edwards et al. pervade, and whether any empowerment or voice can contradictorily also be established in Spanish representation of Chinese immigrants.

In terms of ‘inundation,’ both literary and journalistic reference is repeatedly made to the Chinese woman immigrant in Spain, where they are reported not to ‘arrive’ in Europe as individual human beings, but rather to “inundar” their destination countries, either as a people (www.Preferente.com, 2017) or via the mass influx of the goods they supply. This crossover between both literature and social discourse seems to suggest that the flood imagery is an established and accepted motif for their representation. This imagination is both Orientalist in substance and clearly xenophobic, however it also chimes with the Chinese creation myths which are central to their own national identity as well. As Dang Nghiem Van attests “virtually every ethnic group in mainland Southeast Asia tells myths of a great deluge” (1993, 304) which took on a deified and creationist role and established their nationalities through the subsequent interactions between the sea and the different landscapes it flooded. It might be argued, therefore, that the Spanish hosts inadvertently envision the immigrants through a Chinese-created prism when referencing such inundations of people. Further to this and forming the basis for Beltrán’s Spanish-published *Los ocho inmortales cruzan el mar: chinos en Extremo Occidente* (2003), there is an additional myth based in Chinese Daoism, which tells of eight supernatural and immortal Chinese ancient explorers heading West through all manner of obstacle and adversity, walking on water, forging boats out of pumpkins etc. and overcoming floods to tame the sea and spread the Chinese diaspora further afield. As Beltrán

suggests, the Spanish Qingtian and Zhejiang immigrants “se asemejan a estos inmortales” (9). Here again we can see evidence of Chinese immigrants associating themselves with forces of nature and with the sea as they occupy “cada esquina” (9). This would clearly constitute a more positive viewpoint from which to consider Chinese-Spanish self-identification in their new European home. Nevertheless, where film shots reveal (always plural groups of) Chinese women in repeated situations of such apparent alienation and antagonism, the context within which such implications appear and the pejorative and diminutive tone accompanying their representations suggest that racism on the part of the autochthonous population is, perhaps, indeed implicated.

In each of the primary works under study, we encounter representations of Chinese women spanning the silent being, those downtrodden in the working community, those depicted as lifeless or robotic and those excluded from public life. In Spanish postmillennial fiction, Chinese are limited to white-Spanish-authored, stereotypical and awkwardly caricatured appearances in works such as *Tapas*^{xxix} (2005), *Los besos en el pan* and *Cosmofobia*. Indeed, I would aver that Chinese *women* only appear as central, less stereotyped or partially empowered characters in Elvira Navarro’s *La ciudad feliz*, where the narrator’s observation that “no había lugar en la mentalidad de su abuelo, y en cierto modo la de su madre, de que todos sus esfuerzos no revirtieran en un triunfo allí, y no aquí, y en que ese triunfo fuera ante todo y sobre todo económico” (47) reveals economic agency and resolution, but still tempers it with the ambiguities of “en cierto modo” and “allí y no aquí.” As such, tropes of Chinese people as a nondescript plague or innumerable swarm and of the perceived low value goods and services which they provide as voraciously overwhelming or flooding the Spanish marketplace are concepts which appear across the works studied and certainly constitute evidence of Chinese immigration being seen as a racist expression of inundation.

I would add to this that reiterated mentions of the seemingly countless Chinese restaurants, hair salons, ‘Todo a cien’ stores and “Barrios Chinos” in the opus studied, rather than produce imagery of Chinese women success and agency or of community and economic dynamism, focus more on their indiscriminate appearance and their monopolising multiplicity. This is certainly an important dichotomy, since, if Spanish observers see an impersonal plague where the Chinese experience a community, the contrast in viewpoint suggests a massive contrast in opinion and a chronic non-assimilation. This, I argue, clearly lays the foundation for the misrepresentation, distrust and even racial exclusion highlighted in my earlier section on context and discourse. To take this idea to a stark conclusion, if Spanish society is seen to assign plague status to the Chinese immigrants, and if the pejorative embodiment of the faceless automaton Chinese is indeed applied to this population, the resultant image of the immigrant Chinese tends more towards that of a cyborg army and the affirmation that “se rien de la crisis” thus takes on an even more sinister meaning for the suspicious and (as Donovan alleges) ‘envious’ Spanish observer. I will explore the cyborg metaphor further in my section on disorder, however the associated suggestions of inundation are, as noted, equally as frequent.

This faceless and perceptibly distrusted and subhuman vision of Chinese women does not include the empathy and guilt which Uxbal experiencers towards their plight in *Biutiful*, however it is noticeable within the mesh of foreign cameo characters introduced but not individualised in other works, such as *Cosmofobia* (Lucía Etxebarría, 2008). In *Cosmofobia*, the commercially successful Etxebarría, who is sometimes criticised for prioritising style and celebrity over substance of subject matter, chronicles fictional multicultural exchanges and cross-over immigrant lives in a real area of Lavapiés in Madrid and includes appearances and imagined social commentary of women immigrant experiences, perhaps without the required

gritty starkness as seen in *Biutiful*. Maryanne Leone, with regards to *Cosmofobia*, points out that “typical of Etxebarría’s writing, *Cosmofobia* presents inconsistencies that dilute the effectiveness of the author’s progressive stance on feminism and immigration,” (2009, 60) and this levity and inconsistency therefore mean that readers are unable to delve too deeply nor hear echoes of immigrant women’s voices.

In dialogue between Spanish women in the book, for example, reference to Chinese women is, at best, scant, allegoric, generalising and derogatory, insinuating, for example, that they are purveyors of low quality goods: “I was a bit shocked, because I had already been to Hong Kong... where she had gone to purchase all these *fakes*, and I was well aware that you could find fakes of incomparable quality there” (333). This proclamation focuses predominantly on the distastefulness of the Hong Kong fake handbags which seem to characterise the Chinese women and on the almost deliberate and personal deceit which the accuracy of their handiwork creates.

As concerns Etxebarría’s implications of Chinese women as a metaphor for low value products flooding the market, correlations can be seen in contemporary Spanish journalism which also liminalises the Chinese. In an article of the time, *El comercio chino devora al español*, Rivas expresses a dichotomic view, where in one sentence Chinese women are depicted as invaders or parasites, “ganando terreno físico en la región,” but also as meritorious hard-workers with “miles de horas de trabajo a sus espaldas.... ampliando su oferta.” Alongside an extension of the animalistic Chinese imagery in this report, in which their entrepreneurial habits are shown to “muda su piel,” we see a photograph of a well-dressed Chinese women carrying a shopping bag from a designer store and a more objective, retail-based observation that the Chinese “están especializándose en todo y están mejorando su calidad.” (www.ABC.es, 2010).

A consideration of Bauman's concept of a "liquidity" in the postmodern capitalist society here allows for an alternative interpretation of these exchanges. In his treatise on "liquid modernity" (2000), Bauman conceptualizes modern society as a place wherein individuals are proposed to be moving towards more isolated existences as mere consumers, dependent on synthetic media for communication and cultural access, and wherein the features of globalisation are simultaneously creating a society in which access to social capital is defined more exclusively by the ability to purchase consumer goods. By Etxebarria's characters noting that absent Chinese suppliers are manufacturing and providing the accessories of "modernity" and by the Spanish press imagining the perceived voracity of the Chinese women entrepreneur alongside their success stories in these ways, these impersonal representations speak to the first signs of upwardly-mobile women immigrants.

Contrarily, the same comments also create imagery of a perilous plurality of immigrant Chinese people in actual society and creates the sense of a malicious plague or swarm, rather than celebrating their actual successes or acknowledging their contributions to the ethnically diverse areas of Spanish cities. Again, the conceit that the Chinese immigrant is always viewed 'en masse' is evident and the opportunity for an individualistic success story is foregone in lieu of negatively multiplicitous imagery and accusations of Chinese women complicity in the devaluation of Spanish merchandise and the wider economic diminishment of Spanish businesses. By relating this to a pseudo-animalistic imaginary, I propose that we could extend the metaphor of the swarm to being a representation of the purported saturation of foreign humanity in urban Spain, which then leads to connotations of animal infestation and (with distorted allusion to Haraway's observations about women as cyborgs) to the image of uncontrolled cyborg-robots destroying the more recognisably human Spanish patrimony. This again evokes Edwards et al. and the notion of an "inundation" of immigrants bringing

about an uncontrollable “contamination” of Spanish cultural propriety with their ‘Todo a cien’ stores and their “low quality fake” goods (*Cosmofobia*, 333).

Through the snapshots of microcosmic life and the imagined interviews between Etxebarria and the immigrant settlers she encounters in Lavapiés in the book, it is apparent that she is attempting to present a vision of the beauty of multi-ethnic acceptance. However, as Eisenberg says: “The production of ‘authenticity’ by immigrant ... populations leads to their eventual displacement from the spaces they made desirable, in a process that reveals the way visibility, commodification, and exploitation like Etxebarria’s participate in the neoliberal state’s project of accepting only the formation of social solidarity movements that do not oppose accumulation practices” (13). This interpretation again reminds the reader of the distaste shown for the Hong Kong fake handbags and can also be seen in the Orientalist voyeurism noted behind generalising quotes such as: “Los demás casi siempre son morenos. Los hay chinos, pakistaníes, marroquíes, de Bangla Desh [sic], ecuatorianos, colombianos, senegaleses, nigerianos ... y alguna española—las menos—vestida con vaqueros de su talla” (*Cosmofobia*, 12), where the final comment seems to assign a fit and an order to the Spanish ‘minority’ in the neighbourhood, over the seemingly more disparate and certainly more numerous inundations of ‘inferior’ “morenos.” Jodi Eisenberg refers to Etxebarria’s viewpoint as one of “political distrust” (2012, 16) and even “neo-racism” (29), wherein he asserts that “citation of Lavapiés becomes a strategic means of substantiating a vision of Spain as thoroughly modern, European, and democratic” (29) despite constituting an area of overcrowding, “ghettoization, surveillance, and management of immigrant and otherwise marginalized bodies,” (11). I would suggest that this is a trope across the literature, not purely in the work of Etxebarria, since a similar tone and attitude towards categorising all immigrant women groups as one multifaced whole is present in *En la orilla* (Chirbes, 2016), where an

extended piece of graphic and multisensory narration about ‘assorted foreigners’ refers to an “enciclopedismo de sabores oscuros.” (63). My conclusion is that Etxebarria makes a conscious attempt to portray an “arrival city” where “new, hybrid, protective cultures are developed” (Saunders 1-24) which is “multicultural, no intercultural” (*Cosmofobia* 27). Nonetheless, the discourse of inundation and inferiority results instead in a superficial and discriminatory representation which negates individuality or personal expression and is more readily associable with Saunders’s more pessimistic alternative, “places of failed arrival” (25).

To this effect, José Martínez and Isusco Ziarrusta contend that, “no existen ciudades enteramente globales, ya que el concepto de ciudad global no remite a ninguna ciudad concreta sino a segmentos de muchas ciudades formando parte de una red planetaria de flujos,” (2009, 23). Their suggestion is that ‘arrival city’ settings for literature, whilst professing to promote such multicultural neighbourhoods as idealistic, have the opposite effect of highlighting social variance and incongruity, since no place can realistically be categorised so uniformly and easily. With relation to the Chinese immigration opus in Spain, I would contend that this notion is also relevant for individual characters, because there is no discernible uniqueness of personality or image for the Chinese women in the works, which should be present if their own personal identities are to be recognised and valued by other characters. Marcin Kolakowski agrees with my observation that Chinese women are “carentes de psicología individual” and that the spaces in which they are seen are treated with “desdén” (2020, 60) in the literature, recognising their representation as that of the characteristically incomplete and impersonal group which metaphors of inundation describe.

Representations of the faceless plurality of Chinese women are evident across the works studied, for example, as a work which explores the ways in which so many different

walks of life in Spain thrive or perish in the economic crisis, *Los besos en el pan* (Grandes, 2015) comprises a pastiche, omniscient and emotional narration by one of the most widely published and renowned women authors in Spain. Its woven fabric of imagined daily experiences, trials, relationships and employment concerns of various people in a cross-section of Spanish life begins to reflect the multiplicity of experience, however events and characterisation in it also reflect the generalisation present in social stereotype of Chinese women, and according to Célia Maria Gil de Sousa, represent an implicitly negative opinion of “asequible” (affordable) products which “hace que algunas tiendas cierren y los dueños de los establecimientos ... trabajar más horas.” (2018, 73). Interpretations such as this, which seem to reduce the Chinese women to a plague of work-obsessed drones reflect a societal mistrust, which positions the Chinese women almost as the guilty party in the times of crisis.

In *Los besos en el pan* the Chinese women hairdressers are continuously presented and alluded to as unnervingly immaculate and as a collective and often even described in one combined way. Within *Los besos en el pan*, which represents another example of brief, caricatured appearance for immigrant women in general, the underdeveloped characterisation of the quasi-pressganged Chinese hairdressers sees them as replicas of each other and as taciturn: “las chinas cruzan la calle en fila india” (111) and as robotic: “nadie puede aguantar ese ritmo de trabajo” (49). They are regarded purely as providers of cut-price services for Spanish women, accompanied by stereotyped physical commentary on their uniform appearance, which even touches on racist disregard and disinterest in discerning between nuances of racial origin: “porque si lo que tiene adelante no es un chino, no se le ocurre qué puede ser.” (45). Indeed, in this narratorial quote, the linguistic commentary advances to dehumanise the Chinese women, by assigning her a “qué” rather than a “quién.” To emphasise these at best limiting observations, they appear without their own real scripts or

storylines, and are only differentiated once, at the cataclysmic event of one of them having a potential miscarriage and the other characters demonstrating hopeless inadequacy to empathise with her or offer ‘female’ solidarity.

Feminism is a concept which has developed to demand and promote equality for women and Estrella Cibreiro (2002) searches, through the writing of authors such as Almudena Grandes, for a feminist status quo in Spanish culture. Cibreiro talks of a “problemática femenina” in the agonised dichotomy between internal and external, private and public, subjugated and empowered and suggests that there remains a universal struggle for freedom of female existence and expression: “problemática femenina se universaliza y los dilemas individuales adquieren dimensiones solidarias, desarrollándose esta solidaridad simultáneamente entre figura masculina y femenina, por una parte, y entre las mujeres mismas como grupo o clan, por otra.” (2002, 129-44). Whereas Grandes introduces the dichotomy of internal versus external and thus exposes the dichotomy between the male and female experience, little commentary is made of the experiences of women *immigrants* and their tussle with the exterior patriarchy in *Los besos* beyond the ‘double interior’ image of the Chinese Guan-Yin sleeping in a “box” (208) within an interior space.

In a parallel manner, the first introduction of the Chinese women in the third series of *Vis a vis* (Escobar et al., 2015) is prefaced by a series of brief exchanges of racist Chinese jokes between Maca and Olé about their lack of individuality and personality and their apparent obsession with work (Series 3, Episode 1, 00:28:01-00:28:20), before their threatening and unannounced entry (00:30:34) and then subsequently juxtaposing the riotous yellow prison bus (00:00:01-00:01:00) with the Chinese women themselves, who are introduced as a highly stereotypical and emotionless gang of Triad-like martial artists in an

incongruous scene of both menace and absurdity as they run through a martial arts sequence together. (Series 3, Episode 2, 00:00:10 – 00:00:15).

Vis a vis is the most recent production to involve representations of Chinese women and is a highly successful cult television series (both in Spain and latterly in the United Kingdom, under the adapted title *Locked Up*). The series dramatises prison existence, gang life and radically changing concepts of women's self-identity in circumstances of adversity, heightened danger, menace and complex sexuality. Overt expressions of stereotype about Chinese immigrants occasionally expressed by characters in the film are equally visually challenged as rival gangs and charismatic women inmates vie for supremacy in a present-day Spanish prison and which involves women of Spanish, Moroccan and Chinese origin and the latter introduction of a Chinese gang casts them as a ruthless, highly coordinated and entirely unapproachable tidal wave of inhumane violence.

The first impression created is therefore of another inhuman plurality, but in this instance consciously invoking fear and deliberately distancing themselves psychologically from the other prison inmates and, paradoxically, with more freedom of movement and agency than the trafficked women in *Biutiful*. Their plurality of numbers remains as prisoners without any initial uniqueness of characterisation or style, albeit presented via silent, synchronised and menacing choreography in the first episodes in which they feature in the third season. Indeed, even after the sixth episode in the season, their exclusion and differentiation from the other prisoners persists, as they are the only race, group and gang excluded from self-help therapy sessions and speaking asides and the only individuals not interviewed in the documentary-style camera shots of personal commentary. (00:45:25 – 00:47:12). The result is that their presence is purely objective and presented as one of fear and otherness from even the most hardened of the other immigrant women prisoners, Zulema, and

the catastrophic tidal wave of their sinister introduction to the series part-way through, as well as the nature of their subsequent removals from view, positions them as the racial “*marea amarilla*” from the fan nickname for the series.

The overall result of presenting Chinese women immigration in Spain through the imagery of an inundation, is that the Chinese women are ethereally present amidst disjointed, microcosmic scenes of and discussions between people from different places, but they do not share in their communities of practice^{xxx} or social norms. Instead, they are bare-life servants who “*llegan de repente, sin hacer ruido ... que te van a lavar*” (*Los besos en el pan*, 43-4), human waste and unsympathetic machines. This does not afford a profound exegesis on their experience, but perhaps does mimic the stark reality of life for Chinese women in arrival cities and the overcrowded loneliness of global urbanities. Rogers, in his, references the consequences of this type of human overcrowding on women and suggests that:

“overcrowding results in poor mothering, poor nest building, bizarre sexual behavior, complete alienation, behaving like zombies, paying no attention to others” (1968, 267). I propose that this truly reflects the various representations of Chinese women in these films and texts and additionally that the inevitable result of this vision as an inundation of unwanted humanity is to produce the human “contamination” and “bare lives” suggested by Edwards et al. (2010, 297-308) and Agamben (1995, 80) respectively. Wei Ming Kam (2016, 80-81) describes the effect of this representation as one which sees the Chinese as “faceless robots” and Wong refers to the images of disembodied and liminal women in the works as “spectral Chinese.” (Wong, 2012, 1).

In the views of their present-day existence, as presented in the works under study, the resounding Spanish representation is of Chinese women leading seemingly apolitical and dull existences with mundane tools and machinery in isolated and isolationist communities or

settings of forced labour, rather than taking up empowering and technologically-superior roles within the wider society. This could be (in sociological terms) because they have emigrated from one politically restrictive society (Communist China) and arrived in circumstances in which they are dictated to by unscrupulous underworld despots (*Biutiful*) or contained to the silent background in hair salons (*Los besos en el pan* and *La boda*) and prison cells (*Vis a vis*) or, less negatively, because they have chosen to inhabit separate living spaces. These characteristics of their representation combine to forge the impression of Chinese women being surplus or waste products in a society which does not value or desire them – whether as a slave workforce which perplexes its master in having to accommodate them in hovels (*Biutiful*) or in the repeated pathetic fallacy of darkened, ominous and unsightly backdrops against which they are depicted (*El próximo Oriente* and *Vis a vis*). As an unnecessary or undesirable embodiment of human waste, then, I contend that the Chinese women are represented in terms of ‘contamination’ as a blot on the tissue of Spanish society, with whom the native population cannot seem to and do not want to associate. Furthermore, there is repetition of the dirty and the unsavoury elements of humanity all around the physical Chinese representation and the props, sets, attitudes and costumes with which they are imbued and the overarching effect of this is to create a sense of contamination around their portrayals. This unsavouriness comprises the implications of the Chinese women as avaricious, as seen in *Cosmofobia* and *La ciudad feliz*; as malign and criminal, as per portrayals of the ruthless and emotionless Chinese women prisoners in *Vis a vis*; as physically unhygienic, as observed in the unspeaking (and often unwashed) cameos of Chinese traders with carts in the dust and dirt of the street (00:44:05 – 00:44:09) in *El próximo Oriente*; and even as dehumanized, as within Lili’s disengaged nursery practices in *Biutiful*.

Vivid and continuous instances of this representation as social waste can be seen throughout *Biutiful*, where their very existence is verging on inhuman, as they are moved from derelict warehouse to building site and abandoned overnight in a state of cold and squalor. The Chinese labourers in the film are trafficked into roles as expendable human cattle, and even when pictured in settings of domestic interiors (Lili in *Biutiful*), their surroundings reveal dirty dishes, tattered furniture and a sense of dereliction (00:12:50 – 00:12:55). *Biutiful*'s storyline itself revolves around the murky dealings of a dying male seer, whose well-meaning attempts to control others around him lead him to be responsible for the negligence, abuse, suffering and deaths of immigrant characters. While Uxbal is clearly portrayed as a good man struggling with bad choices and circumstances, the women are repeatedly criticized and punished for having poor motherly skills or, in the case of the Chinese, simply for being in the vulnerable position of illegal immigrant workers. Furthermore, Iñárritu's *Biutiful* challenges the viewer's own preconceptions by exposing a world in which the lead male character can simultaneously garner audience pathos for his dedication to his family and bring about the destitution and destruction of immigrant women.

The Chinese women rarely take on any active roles, save as in reference to the pejorative and suspicious Spanish superstition about the Chinese being ghosts, when they pollute Uxbal's consciousness or as the detritus of dead bodies floating on (and still not cleaned by) the sea, and they are largely muted in terms of voiced lines. In this way, both their presence as contamination and their stubborn spectral refusal to disappear continue 'eternally.' Ryan, to this end, invokes Kristeva's theory on "abjection" (Kristeva, 1982) and states that "the impossibility of a complete banishment of the abject from society entails the social marginalization of the immigrants" (2018, 392), suggesting that the notion of the Chinese as contaminant is chronic.

As discussed previously, this mundanity and drone-like impersonal drabness is the case in *Biutiful*, where Lili is repeatedly seen to be going through the motions of routine existence, in plain clothes and without any shred of beautification (00:13:01 – 00:13:15). The contrast hinted at by DiFrancesco of the “picture of the attractive couple” (2015,29) from another place and time with the living representation of Lili in the film re-emphasises the aesthetic mundanity, dirt and social deprivation of her life as one of Uxbal’s “commodities to be exploited” (35). Short, even, of this sort of stereotypical service industry operatives, *El próximo Oriente* (Colomo, 2006) depicts Chinese immigrants as silent mule-like workers, degraded into carrying out the city’s ‘dirty work’ and offering no active or spoken involvement in proceedings.

Despite a title which suggests ambiguity between the notion of a socially proximal “Orient” and a subject matter of anything ‘Middle-Eastern,’ is a film which focuses on attempts and failures of subcontinental Asian and Spanish people to integrate, succeed in joint business ventures and develop interpersonal relationships in postmodern Spain. Similarly to the presented abjection in *Biutiful* and in some contrast with *Cosmofobia*, it does depict the bleak circumstances of immigrant lives and includes peripheral appearances of and occasional commentary on Chinese immigrants, (which solely reposit their stereotypical physical non-descript conception and suggests that they eat cat and are indiscernible from any other Asian (00:13:40 – 00:13:55)). However, the minimal nature of these references again belies a film with “*Oriente*” in its title and leave the Chinese as outliers. Compounding the overall marginalisation of Chinese representation in the film, Ana Corbalán identifies in *El próximo Oriente* a “perpetuación del sujeto femenino silenciado” (2013, 105), which highlights the redoubled alienation of the Chinese woman immigrant.

I suggest that the lives of Lili and the workers in *El próximo Oriente* (and, by extension the lives of other Chinese women in the texts) might indeed be defined as ‘bare’ under Agamben’s thinking and the monotony of this directionless and drab life is reflected again by the submission to the mundanity of repetitive outdoor labour or the continually switched-on television in an anti-maternal and anti-familial nursery. Maria DiFrancesco (2015) says that “Lili performs as an excellent maternal figure,” (30), and Ryan suggests that Lili is “inseparable from her baby” (2018, 405), whereas my contention is that, due to the fact that she “sits smoking and gently rocking her baby” (DiFrancesco, 29), has “filthy dishes waiting to be washed” (29) and has the television on (00:12:55 – 00:13:07), taking her attention away from maternal care and babysitting, she is cast as an unwilling, inattentive and somewhat robotic mother figure. The effect of negligence or disinterest is added to by what Ryan describes as “non-expressiveness” (Ryan, 2018, 40), where the trope of the robotic or dehumanised Chinese women is again recalled in the bleak images of a questionably inept level of maternity which tragically fails to redeem them within the given time structure and limits of any book or film.

Buckland states that a film’s inherent “deadline is simply a time limit placed on a protagonist to accomplish a goal” or be cast as a failed antagonist (2015, 40). Where the Chinese women seem to fail each time, I propose that this compounds their image as unsuitable societal contaminants in the opus, and it can be seen both in Lili’s inattentiveness and the abjection which the mothers are forced to subject their children to in unheated and unfurnished factory warehouses in *Biutiful*. Perhaps to even harsher extremes in *Los besos en el pan*, Guan-Yin’s maternal emotions towards her suspected miscarriage are confined to one word, “llorando,” (207). Similarly, only two matter-of-fact lines in total are afforded to the situation and to her response to it, as her trousers are described as being “ensangrentados,

porque ha tenido una pérdida” (207). Furthermore, the extent of her maternal dedication to both hygiene and care for her unborn child is to then sleep in, “un box para prevenir más pérdidas” (208) after she finds out that it was only a scare. The result of this is to call into question both her humanity and her femininity and to reposition the Chinese women’s emotional values as animalistic and their lives as bare and barren. Similar detachment from familial sentimentality is again evident in the horrific experience of a threatened miscarriage for Guan-Yin in *Los besos en el pan*. The episode is narrated emotionlessly, as though she were nothing more than stage furniture for the other characters’ scene, with the simple description: “una es Guan-Yin, que está llorando, sentada en el bordello de la acera, con los pantalones ensangrentados, porque ha tenido una pérdida, del susto, y está embarazada de cuatro meses” (209). The beleaguered mother is not offered any lines of dialogue to disclose her maternal devastation at her seeming loss nor her human relief at the eventual, unexpected, good news about the pregnancy, but instead is simply said to “descansa en un box,” while Amalia is more preoccupied about running directly to find Cheung at the all-important workplace, rather than staying to support her. I would suggest that this restriction of characterisation goes beyond a mere simplification of role and actively strips the Chinese female of that most feminine of characteristics: maternity. The implication here is that, whereas a standard paternalistic reduction of female worth might limit all women to be only lovers, maids and mothers, the Chinese females are further devalued and even dehumanised, deprived even of the vestiges of chauvinistic appreciation as mothers, or, as I shall now explore with reference to colonialist and orientalist stereotypes and prejudices, as sexual beings.

To establish whether this dehumanisation and positioning of the Chinese women as a contaminant is indeed the intention of the authors and directors and whether it acts as a cipher

for the societal status quo of the Chinese women immigrant, consideration of Warren Buckland's rhetorical question is useful. Buckland asks: "But why would a director go to all the trouble of shifting vantage point on the events and actors and risk disorienting the spectator?" (2015, 17). His suggestion is that, by shortening the interlude in which action and interaction can organically take place, a film director can retain "complete control over the events and actors," to emphasise their own "viewpoint" more accurately and effectively and "involve the spectator." (17). In my view, this implies that, in relation to the moving and panning shots of silent Chinese cameo characters in *Biutiful* (00:23:20 – 00:23:24) and *El próximo Oriente* (00:00:13 – 00:01:10), for example, and the choreography and cutting between images of squalor, weapons, threats and martial arts practice in *Vis a vis*, the directors are making a deliberate attempt to differentiate and highlight the abjection of their status, the dirtiness of their environs and the threat to society which they carry. I further argue that this effect can be attributed to both *Cosmofobia* and *Los besos en el pan*, where the pastiched patchwork of glimpses of life in an arrival city, the brief interjections of dialogue and the staccato structures respectively mimic the flitting camerawork and editing assembly of the films and suggest equal intention on the part of both Etxebarria and Grandes to represent Chinese women as other and as alien. My extended suggestion is that this othering is representative of the inability of Spanish society to comprehend how the new order of Chinese immigrants functions at a human level or therefore to permit assimilation into the recognised. socio-literary mainstream of neoliberal postmillennial Spain. Therefore, the theme for my next two considerations of Chinese women representations, 'disorder' and 'indigestion,' will encompass examples of chronic dystopia, dehumanisation and unacceptability in their filmic and textual portrayals.

It is my contention that presenting a group of people as humanly dysfunctional and in settings in which their appearance, characterisation and social responses are consistently awkward or unrealistic is one of the clearest and most discriminating methods of dehumanisation which writers can employ, and that it represents a vision of ‘disorder.’ In the Spanish opus studied, I have, however, identified four separate ways in which the Chinese women are associated with such consistent disorder: geographical, political, human and sexual. Overall, the varying levels of impotence of the Chinese women in Spain is reflected in their comparative insignificance within dystopian urban spaces of cities such as Madrid and Barcelona and in settings which involve incomplete building structures. In films like *Beautiful* and *El próximo Oriente*, the Chinese are buried in the depths of an almost personified urban underworld (00:36:15 – 00:36:20), compelled to repay illicit trafficking and immigration debts by working on building sites (00:53:55-00:54:05) and ensconced in the shadows of doorways (*El próximo Oriente* 00:00:13 – 00:01:10) Even in the more empowered incarnations of Chinese women in *La ciudad feliz*, Chi-Huei sees his mother and grandmother almost disappearing into the “nueva configuración de calles, más estrecha y gris, con las aceras sucias, los portales deteriorados... los edificios decrepitos” (23).

Hatziprokopiou et al. talk of the “two contradictory narratives [which] dominate the imagery of today’s diverse metropolises,” suggesting that they are both “cosmopolitan centres, where diversity is seen as an advantage” and “loci of inequalities and anomy” (2016, 52). My own contention is that for the Chinese immigrant, the latter is their only experience of Spanish urban life, since we do not observe specific examples of metropolitan, chic and trend-setting Chinese women in the opus and since they are equally as likely to be working in seemingly incongruous locations within regional cities. Furthermore, the Western perception of the impact of Chinese immigration into these dystopian geopolitical landscapes is that they

inevitably ‘bring the place down.’ Shots of Chinese labourers wheeling medieval-seeming carts through the shadows (00:44:05 – 00:44:09) of postmodern Spanish cities in *El próximo Oriente* and dialogue about them being regarded as incapable of coping with modern construction and scaffolding in *Biutiful* (00:53:55-00:54:05) show little intercultural progress or confluence. This is problematic in a society which purports to uphold “derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social” (*Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, Ley Orgánica 4/2000*), and there is a residual notion that Western viewers have retained what Girard and Lambot refer to as the “prurient, and often quite racist, curiosity with Chinese low-life” where “legitimate businesses in the City [mix with] images of lurid evil” in their photographic journal of life in a Chinese walled city (1993, 10).^{xxxii}

Furthermore, within these spaces of geographical disorder and dystopia, Uxbal and the male gangsters make all the decisions for the immigrants (00:23:25 – 00:24:50) and Uxbal, with his spiritual visions and purported desire to do well by his children, chooses to ignore their plight. This carries an additional layer of symbolism, since Uxbal, who is cast as the semi-sympathetic western male, switches place with the Chinese characters who have been more associated with mystery, superstition and reincarnation in the colonial imagination and almost robs them of any mystical powers we (and they themselves, in opposition to their previously referenced myths of the 8 immortal explorers who could fly over seas and walk on water) might have come to expect them to have, rather than him. When this happens, instead of Uxbal then also switching into being presented as an incomplete and unbelievable character in an overall surrealist or magical realist *mise-en-scène* and the plight of the Chinese women becoming contrastingly more realistic and stark, the opposite occurs and Uxbal’s character is portrayed in more vivid detail in more varied and recognisably realistic geographical locations of Barcelona and the Chinese are seen as actually dead and visible

only as bodies floating on a featureless sea and beyond the recognisable urban zone of inclusion.

In terms of extreme geographical dystopia, there is an antithetical element of empowerment sometimes visible in the situations of confinement of the Chinese women. This can be seen in the recent all-women prison series, *Vis a vis*, where they are obviously in a permanent state of confinement and under supposed permanent state control, but where they have come to control others in the same place by instilling a sense of fear and vulnerability in them. The ruthlessness of Akame (played by Huichi Chiu, the same actress who was cast as the silent cameo hairdresser in *La boda* (2011, 00:06:40 – 00:06:53)) and her triad-like women gang within this disorderly chaos of prison life is actually accentuated by the completely controlled and cooperative way in which they work with each other to carry out the near decapitation of the guard, Unai, on a Segway (00:52:10 – 00:52:25) and by their eerily choreographed and orderly control of the physical space in which they practise their Kung Fu routines. Not only are they perverting what Coleman refers to as the “morally corrupt” (2018, 10) expectations of the Chinese immigrant by acting out in amoral fashion, but, in-so-doing, they are usurping the power roles of both Chinese males (as Kung Fu masters) and Spanish guards and inmates (as violent, remorselessly and inhumanly psychopathic killers), but they are also exerting spatio-political power over their challenging surroundings by choreographing their movements and being seemingly omnipresent by emerging from and sinking back into the shadowy parts in the jail. (00:31:04 – 00:32:00 and 00:44:32 – 00:45:01).

Equally antithetically, as concerns the geographical dystopia in which the Chinese are viewed in the works, there is an opposing element of potency, political agency and choice within the impoverished spaces colonised by Chinese women immigrants as well as the

isolating dystopia, as demonstrated in *La ciudad feliz*. In this book the mother and grandmother have the freedom to establish the rota, make the rules and converse openly with Spanish society to improve their status: “la sobreatención de su madre provocaba que los clientes dejaran buenas propinas” (35). In the narrative the Chinese mother and grandmother do use technology to improve their lot – firstly by printing the “papelitos rojos” which promoted “la publicidad del asador que habría de convertirse en restaurante” (43) and then by convincing the “abuelo” to install “Internet en el local” (45).

I would argue that this narrative is symbolically significant for two geopolitical reasons. Firstly, the adverts are printed on “little bits of red paper” (43). The language here automatically evokes images of Chairman Mao’s little red book of far-left Communist ideology in the Chinese Cultural Revolution and yet is here being used in economic rebellion against a neoliberal society’s prescriptive and at times xenophobic Capitalism in a new foreign democracy and for purposes of foreign women making individual profit. Secondly, the Chinese women, within a physical setting over which they do exert some control, are also striving to employ communication technology to broaden their Sales and Marketing reach in Spain and to engage with the earlier-mentioned idea of an urban space of opportunities in a real sense. With reference to my latter observation, Matteo Zanellato (2018) suggests in his presentation on the impact of technology on democracy, that technology in democracy creates two separate effects: firstly (and in a more negative sense overall), it “removes humanity or political agencies;” and secondly (in a more positive sense for Chinese women immigrants), it can be employed for “shaping the structures and the institutions of society” (2018, 5). I propose, therefore, that the correlation between an immigrant woman either operating or socially subdued by information technology or machinery and a voting, democratic, western populace controlled by political technology suggests that technological advancement could

hold hope for future political equality. As is argued by Biglia et al., “the network was, therefore, simultaneously a space, a need, a process, a result, a limitation, a starting point, a political system... it was also a cyborg constituted both by humans, non-humans and machine technologies, resources and energy [and] ... a useful platform to facilitate interchange.” (2005, 21).

From a feminist viewpoint, this singular cipher for Chinese women employing technology for purposes of personal progress and to generate more “interchange” with autochthonous Spanish customers could equate to a cyborg existence at the expense of losing subjectivity and could indeed be said to offer hope of empowerment to the women immigrant. This makes for a point of interest which will be explored in my later section on economic success, however, as concerns the first point above, it leads onto discussions about whether the level of humanity or otherwise in the Chinese women depiction in the works also suggests a sense of existential disorder, since their suggested ‘autonomy’ might instead equally represent ‘automation.’

My overarching argument to this end is that there is evidence of the interplay between human and machine in the workplace of the Chinese woman immigrant and the notion of the Chinese women as a robot or Cyborg, compelled and programmed to mass-produce, without expression of emotion or individuality, is apparent. In her *Manifesto for Cyborgs* (1985), Donna Haraway introduces the post-humanist conceit that humans, when interacting in or influenced by technologically-affected circumstances, merge into part-human-part-machine cyborgs. She describes this phenomenon as “indeterminacy” (11) and as an “intersection” (63). The theory presented supposes that the boundaries between organic, human life and artificial intelligence or machine become fluid, as each depends on, influences and thereby interacts with the performance of the other in a quasi-symbiotic moment of existence. Further

related contentions are made by Halberstam (1991), as he associates machine and biology by suggesting that both expected gendered behaviours and technological capabilities can be learned and indeed that “gender, like intelligence, has a technology” (443). In both of these notions, the potency of the machine emerges as the human’s dependence on or use of it increases and the triumph of man (or woman) over machine occurs whenever the machine is either switched off, becomes less visible, ‘organically’ merges with humanity or ceases to hold sway over their actions, however I argue that the proposed tendency of the machine without or the cyborg within to learn, develop and gain strength makes the Chinese women subject as vulnerable.

The vulnerability which Chinese women, if they are to be seen as cyborgs, might face is explored by Hudson in his feminist treatise, *Men and Women: Feminism and Anti-Feminism Today*. He suggests that: “unskilled workers of either sex have always been vulnerable... when the trend is either to use machines... or scrap the product,” (1968, 75). Here we see a negative opinion of mechanism or roboticisation for women and for feminist success, and it is noteworthy that he goes on to associate the endless monotony of manual work with typically feminine “housework ... like torture of Sisyphus... with its endless repetition; the clean becomes soiled, the soiled is made clean, over and over, day after day. The housewife wears herself out” (89). Rather than empowering the women, therefore, Hudson sees machine-like existence as another oppressor, beyond that of the male taskmaster.

In the Spanish immigration opus, instances of human-machine cyborg interaction tend to be minimal, except in the portrayals of Chinese women immigrants. Whereas the emphatic imagery associated with the majority of women immigrants is associated with the sexualized, fetishistic or damaged human body or with some degree of spirituality, Chinese women are more often seen in spaces and circumstances ‘controlled’ by machines. They are pictured

severally alongside: hairdressing tools and equipment (*Los besos en el pan*); chicken-roasting ovens (*La ciudad feliz* and *Los besos en el pan*); shackled to sweatshop sewing machines in the textile mass-production industry (*Cosmofobia*); pushing a cart along the street (*El próximo Oriente*); in rooms with the background drone of formulaic television programmes (*Biutiful*); or in enclosed industrial warehouses with broken-down heaters for comfort and survival (*Biutiful* 00:53:15 – 00:53:30).

This observation suggests that the association between human women and tools or technology addressed by Haraway is pertinent to the representation of the Chinese women in Spain. I would argue that as the innocents poisoned by a faulty gas heater in *Biutiful*, the Chinese women in Spain is represented as being submissive to the machine, whereas the portrayal of semi-empowered chicken restaurateurs in *La ciudad feliz* perhaps reveals an indication of the women employing machinery to take control or agency in their own socioeconomic lives and this is, of course, more hopeful. With reference to the framework of Chinese women as cyborgs, the hopefulness of this portrayal comes from the fact that there is choice involved in the Chinese women' use of machinery and, just as importantly, it leads to increased financial independence within the neoliberal economy of a European Union country. Indeed, Haraway even ends her essay with her feminist declaration that she “would rather be a cyborg than a goddess.” The presupposition here is that an empowered postmodern women would be better advised to seize the advantages of machinery and, furthermore, to look to capitalise on futuristic techno-humanity and the ability to use technology to control matters in her own life as an existence, rather than to be the disempowered submissive or the stereotypical aesthetically pleasing but essentially hollow women doll of patriarchal, postcolonial subjugation.

An ability to switch between human and machine in order to manipulate one's surroundings and to 'use' the power of tools and technology to help garner some human potency or parity for oneself is certainly more appealing than the alternative. Indeed, the very option of moving between human and machine offers a broader scope of life opportunity, since the woman immigrant can select to either be Haraway's "goddess" or her "cyborg." This is a feminist conceit, expounded upon by Haraway amongst others (see earlier definitions), and discussed by Biglia et al. as one of the "immigrant womanhoods" (2005, 19-20), where immigrant women are categorised repeatedly as "multiple, fragmented, cyborgs, nomads, borderline etc. identities." With relation to the Chinese woman immigrant and her consideration against Haraway's "cyborg" or "goddess" discussion, however, there is no matriarchal goddess-like past existence in European or Western history to which to compare (nor is there any past or present Chinese women existence as overtly sexualised and desirable, which is an observation discussed further later in this section). Instead, there is the fomenting of a voracious capitalism within a hard-line Communist state and amongst 1.7 billion other Chinese. I posit that the resounding conclusion here is that they are predestined to re-assume the faceless existence of cyborgs they led in China, as they join the 190,624 other Chinese in Spain (es.statista.com, 2017) and yet receive no more credit within what Donovan refers to as the "Spanish imaginary" (Donovan, 2016, 14) than to perform the "trabajo de chinos" or, at best, to run a microcosmic "asador asiático" (*La ciudad feliz*, 119). This is owing to the racial stereotyping constraints they face in Spanish society and the pressures to conform to both the theoretical faceless individuality expected of Communist party subjugates and the mechanistic work ethic enforced by a patriarchal state in which "patriarchal family relationships are central to sustaining any attempt to assert identities," (Palmary, 2005, 59), and which is determined to lead the world in global economic and technological development at supreme

pace. Paloma Chen highlights this quandary in her newspaper article, in which she reflects on the fact that Spanish stereotypes of what “el chino” represents have evolved over 4 generations from that of caricatures in straw hats, to formulaic Chinese restaurants and “todo a cien” shops and “bazars,” to cheap Chinese mobile phones, but notes that their imagined role is always associated with work and their location of operation is always both literally and figuratively within their own confines. Chen also describes younger generations of Spanish-born Chinese as having previously been “constreñidos físicamente” to their family businesses by their own community and simultaneously subjected to a Spanish society which is “llena de estereotipos y estructuralmente racista.” (www.elsaltodiario.com, 2019). Furthermore, whereas idealised members of the European Union are imagined as having a “Christian Soul” and an “essence which is portrayed as being fixed at the heart of the EU spirit,” (Manners, 2003, 70), the Chinese characters are portrayed almost relentlessly alongside, under the control of and *as* soulless machines. They are without either the “Christian Soul,” the human individuality or even the aforementioned opportunities to choose between the women’s stereotypical roles or the role of the cyborg. In this way, they could be described as appearing purely as robots, rather than as semi-human cyborgs, and therefore as being entirely devoid of personality or personal agenda. This suggestion depicts the lives and lifestyles of the Chinese woman immigrant as a relentless metronome of nameless, owned, illegal labourers (*Biutiful / El próximo Oriente*) or child products of stringent, paternalistic Communism, driven to excessive work in school and within employment (*La ciudad feliz*). The resultant effect is the re-emphasis of the bleakness of their existence and the impersonality of their representations within postmillennial Spanish discourse and publication.^{xxxii}

With similar implications, Wei Ming Kam references a key dehumanizing stereotype specific to Chinese people, calling them an “alien culture” and suggesting that strict and

passionless Chinese parenting produces children who “would become faceless robots.” (2016, 80-81). As well as referring to this European suspicion about Chinese women’ intrinsically inhuman maternal skills as seen in *Los besos en el pan* and in other works such as *Biutiful* (and explored later in this section), there is also the notion here that Chinese people are ‘robotic’ and ‘physically indiscriminate.’ Even the evidence of family groups shows dysfunction, as in the lives of Lili’s family in *Biutiful* (00:13:01 – 00:13:15) or of the abuelastra and madre in *La ciudad feliz*. In this latter text, which offers a cipher for some Chinese women empowerment in the opus,^{xxxiii} both where the older generations’ business successes and family are mechanically measured purely according to whether they will have earned sufficient money abroad to one day “volver triunfales” (47) to China. Similarly, in the chapter entitled “Su madre,” where motherly love is replaced by “ese tono odioso, lleno de amenazas” as Chi-Huei’s mother is ambiguously described as physically merging with and acting like machinery “estaba ahora junto a la encimera ... la nariz vibrando” (83), the parenting is emotionless and automated.^{xxxiv}

In *Biutiful*, Chinese women progress from being the silent cyborgs or robots discussed previously in this section to being gender non-specific androgynes (00:23:20 – 00:23:24) and questionable child minders, whereas the Chinese males are conversely feminised towards the end, as they are unexpectedly revealed to be homosexual (00:25:34 – 00:26:01). This echoes the emasculation of the African males in *Bwana* (Uribe, 1996) and *Los príncipes nubios* (Bonilla, 2008) and extends the tendency to treat both women and homosexual males as equally unvalued, although I would additionally contest that this desexualisation or degradation of both male and women Chinese characters suggests a deliberate subversion of the Chinese by Spanish authors and auteurs and thus of racism.

On the other hand, whereas the Chinese males in *Biutiful* are previously shown to be caricatured shady gangsters, mercenary profiteers, unsympathetic slave drivers and objects of suspicion, as mentioned earlier, the women do not even hold power initial power and are, instead, shown to be cyborgs and hopeless and disaffected mothers. This notion comes through clearly within the characterisation of Lili in *Biutiful*, whose proposed understanding of ‘in loco parentis’ babysitting and motherhood is to sit children in front of a droning television and largely ignore them and where the lack of sexuality of Lili’s appearance juxtaposes with the picture of attractive Spanish people on the wall.

It is, thus, notable that the overall artistic, literary and filmic portrayal of the Chinese male immigrant is one of emasculation, while the Chinese woman immigrant characterisation casts them as de-sexualised, robotic androgynes. The definition offered by Gil-Curiel for the juxtaposed representations of immigrants and others is that there is a “diametrically different aesthetic of experiences of subjectivity and consciousness,” (2014, 137), however my overarching suggestion goes beyond this. I contend that, in both the cases of the men and the women in Chinese representation, by disassociating the protagonists from expected sexuality and gender roles, the writers and directors are actively further dehumanising, roboticising and separating them from Spanish ideals and revealing the chasm of xenophobia.

Lutz reflects on ideas of the unvoiced women as robotic but suggests that “she does not wish to ‘feel like a robot’ she has developed friendly relations” (2004, 51) and seeks to dispel robotic associations of immigrant women or to revisit these views from a Haraway-esque feminist agenda. However, as noted previously, there are no consequential friendly interactions for the Chinese women here. This suggests a more sinister implication to their roboticization in these works: the Cyrillic ‘rabota’ definition, which equates robot machines to dehumanised ‘slaves,’ and, as such, they are not even really portrayed as agentic

‘characters’ at all. This clearly holds relevance with regards to the status of the women Chinese workers in *Biutiful*, and somewhat coheres with the presentations of imprisoned women in *Vis a Vis* also. In *La inmigración en la literatura española contemporánea*, D’Ors explores the notion of migrant slavery as both a social and literary theme and her resolution is that “en cualquier etapa del proceso migratorio es posible hacer negocio: en unos casos será... un verdadero Sistema de esclavismo” (2002, 102) referring to slavery as an institutionalised experience of the women immigrant. My own position is that a level of consistent dehumanisation within the Chinese women representation in the Spanish works studied extends the hollowness of their image and navigates to an inescapable conclusion: that disorder is clear within all four of the studied frameworks of geography, politics, humanity and sexuality. The result is a non-human, soulless and disparate group portrayed without power, dignity or even any remarkable physical presence or voice in most of the texts and films studied and this lack of civilization, gender, vivacity and possession suggests a chronic non-assimilation of the Chinese woman immigrant in contemporary Spanish fiction, and potentially suggests an outright indigestibility of Chinese presence within postmillennial Spanish democracy.

Judith Butler expands on Derrida’s (2005) theory about democracy and equality being something which has not yet been achieved (see notes) and suggests that, to overcome the unsettledness of the immigrant situation, a realigning of society is required, which might be precipitated by the very “precarity,” vulnerability, apparent indigestion and “violence” which threatens liminalised groups in society (2009, 519-31). With regards to the Chinese woman immigrant in Spanish literature and film, my contention is that their alienation, unrelatability and exposure are evidence of a societal resistance and ‘indigestion’ to any such immigration-

led realigning, which either instils fear or resists their integration and which contemplates their culture, their actions and their presence as entirely indigestible.

In the crucial third season of *Vis a vis*, the introduction of the Chinese represents one example of a ‘realigning of a precarious society,’ which, rather than producing equilibrium, catalyses a fear of the unknown amongst the other women inmates that neither they nor the guards are any longer in control and that a “marea amarilla” of unrelatable Chinese infiltrators have poisoned their already toxic ecosystem. The term “marea amarilla,” an adaptation of ‘marea negra’ or ‘oil slick,’ is ambiguous in relation to the series: the cult fanbase of the show refer to the yellow-clad prisoners and to their own community of super-fans as the “marea amarilla;” and the final episode, where the inmates take over the prison is entitled *La marea amarilla*. However, I propose an additional implication with reference to the way the Chinese women are suddenly introduced in the third season and overwhelm Cruz del Norte, in which the previously mentioned inundation trope of Chinese representation is suggested. My contention is that the oncoming of the indigestible “marea amarilla” of the Chinese women is foreshadowed through the references to food and toxicity in the preceding second season, in episode titles such as “La Gallinita,” “Bon Appétit,” “Plátano y limón,” and “Líquido,” and then consolidated in series 3 episode 3, which is entitled “Un grano de arroz.” That the first and fourth season of the series contain no food-related episode titles, in comparison with second and third seasons which precede and then introduce the turbulent and violent integration of the Tao Triad and contain five food references suggests that the symbolism within these title phrases is of some relevance to those sections of the plot. My interpretation is that each of the references builds a sense of tension and indigestion, as the immigrant women – firstly the Moroccans and then the Chinese – disturb the ‘peace’ in the series. Indeed, associations between both African-Americans and Chinese and their consumption of

“gallinitas” (00:44:08 -00:46:00) are established racial stereotypes and it is notable that Zulema’s eventual attempts to outwit the Chinese leader, Akame, circumvent the triad’s grip on power and escape the guards involves taking control of the prison’s chicken-rearing process. Similarly, I would argue that the earlier reference to two yellow-skinned fruits (“plátano y limón”) and then an eventual “marea amarilla” might also be the use of imagery to reflect racism about Asian skin tones arriving on the scene and then taking over. Nevertheless, the reference which more explicitly comments on sinophobic food and indigestion stereotypes (“Un grano de arroz”) is from the third season, which actually features the Chinese women and conjures two specific inferences: firstly, the well-documented idea and fear of a singular grain of (possibly Chinese) rice getting lodged in the throat and not being either ejected or swallowed – which physically re-crystallises the conceit of indigestion with relation to the Chinese women; and secondly, the oriental fable of the Asian king who, when he wanted to reward the man who had invented the game of chess, was duped into handing over his entire wealth and his kingdom. In this well-known myth, the game inventor tricks the king into repaying the seemingly meagre sum of one grain of rice on the first square of the board, two on the second, four on the third and so on, doubling each time, until the amount on the 64th square of the board exceeds the entire rice harvest of his kingdom. My conclusion is that the imagery of such exponential growth in Far Eastern stories mirrors and extends the inundation metaphor of two yellow fruits leading to a yellow tide, the plot summary of one small group of outsiders overcoming and usurping an entire prison system within one single episode, and the xenophobic social commentary about unwanted Chinese immigrants invading Spain.

Evidence of sinophobic differentiation associated with *Vis a vis* is not limited to the characterisation and episode lists of the series, but is also in series extras, which focus on Akame’s Tai Chi routines rather than any character insights, and implications of social

indigestion and liminality are also evident in the composition of photographs in promotional posters, where Chinese characters are seldom included, but always (arguably symbolically) in the outside position. This can be seen in the *Serielizados.com* (2017) image. Furthermore, popular interviews with the cast regularly seem to expound notions of cultural and physical indigestion as well. In *Zulema VS Akame: el cara a cara más esperado de 'Vis a vis'* (*Fotogramas*, 2018), some of the overlaid sound effects create caricatured reference to racist stereotypes of the Chinese – the ridiculous childish voice-overs for Chinese foodstuffs, the exaggerated sound effects of Kung Fu films and the sound of a panda eating bamboo - and more than 80% of the intentionally derisory interview questions are to do with differences between Spanish and Asian foods, rather than about the actors, their characters or the content or intended moral messages of the show. The effects of all these factors are to reveal once again how chronically ‘other’ and personally silenced the Chinese women representation is and to again associate the Chinese women with a sense of Spanish cultural indigestion.

Even within portrayals of what Almudena Grandes refers to in a www.Olelibros.com interview about *Los besos en el pan* (2016) as the “mozaïcos” of life inside the purported ‘multicultural’ arrival cities, in which the lives of poor people, social misfits and immigrants from other cultures are afforded a rare exposition and a symbiosis with allusions to traditionally Spanish customs of kissing bread in times of poverty, the Chinese are still “other.” This is because her full and repeated focus is on “los españoles,” “la crisis” and “la pobreza” and because, during the same interview, she concedes hoping that the book “parece a la realidad” but does not mention the Chinese woman immigrant characters or their import to the plot at all. The Chinese women, in this way, is even further removed from representation than other women immigrants within filmic publication and excluded from visible opportunities for cultural confluence and political agency, restricted as they are to

extras in *Los besos en el pan*, portrayals as disenfranchised and underpaid workers in *La boda* and silent cameos or even just passing mention in films such as *El próximo Oriente* and *Tapas*, in which Mao, the fetishistically-portrayed barman's girlfriend is only mentioned but never seen. I would aver that this extreme liminality or indigestion could be observed in three ways: through evidence of consistent non-assimilation of the Chinese women in the works; through evidence of specific differentiation of representation between Chinese women and all others; and through the trope of specifically associating them with metaphoric reference to unappetising, unsavoury or undesirable food stuffs.

As concerns their non-assimilation, Chinese women characters are consistently limited and stereotyped in their roles in these works. In *La boda* which is a short film narrating the afternoon of a Cuban women office cleaner in Madrid on the long-awaited day of her daughter's wedding, where pathos is (at least initially) drawn for the Cuban immigrants, the two Chinese women are again silent: one as the only non-talking friend of the central protagonist (00:08:33 – 00:09:20) and the other as a mirror image of the Chinese hairdressers in *Los besos en el pan*, who is summoned by her superior Cuban immigrant women boss to do the hair and nails of her friend and then dismissed without any words when her services are not eventually required (00:06:40 – 00:06:53). Once again, the redoubled separation of the Chinese is seen. Liminality and near-invisibility of Chinese characters is also notable in *El próximo Oriente*, despite the oriental connotations of the title. This is particularly interesting, since the word "Oriente" brings Chinese imagery to the mind of the viewer. In a film in which cultural assimilation plays a central, if hackneyed part, it is a stark observation that the Chinese are still separated and liminal. An additional observation is that the Chinese seen are all viewed from the darkness of doorways and by rubbish tips (01:28:00 – 01:28:02), or as expressionless, voyeuristic passers-by in the streets, watching the protagonists suspiciously, in

an almost sinister fashion. These repeated visions of Chinese immigrants either as voiceless, caricatured “objets d’interesse” or alternatively as silent, liminal watchers strips them of human personality and repositions them as inanimate curios.

In this film, the screenplay and cinematography position Chinese characters as physically peripheral to proceedings, lurking in shadows, slinking behind cars and in doorways, either suspiciously cast or suspiciously watching and judging others, or performing the menial tasks which keep society working, but without even one line in the film, whilst the cultural differences between native Spanish and South Asian lovers and communities cast obstacles in way of the central characters’ acceptance and happiness. Here the distance between even immigrant women from other Asian nations and the subservient, suspicious Chinese is again evident, revealing their chronic lack of cultural assimilation, as is reflected even in comic intercultural storylines and pointing towards institutionalised xenophobia or racism. Wei Ming Kam hints at a Western racial fear of East Asians as a reason for such racial exclusion and devaluation in her article, *Beyond ‘Good’ Immigrants*. She refers to them as having become the “‘invisible’ community” and explores her theory that there is a “Western awe” at Chinese attainment and a “profoundly uncomfortable fear” (2016, 80-1) of Chinese people amongst Westerners. To further extent, Vera Chok refers to the *Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities* (1994) and reveals that, despite being this proposed ‘invisible community,’ of non-human drones, “Chinese people are more likely than any other minority ethnic group to be subject to racial harassment and property damage” (2016, 43). Chok does corroborate Kam’s views on Western disregard for such traumatic experiences of Chinese people as we see here and in the repeated dismissive referral to “las chinas” in *Los besos en el pan* (43) when she comments that: “We don’t see this on our screens. Violence against yellow folk doesn’t spring to mind when people mention hate crime” (*Yellow* 43). I

would suggest, therefore, that, although suggestions of prejudice towards Chinese women tend more towards ignorance and exclusion, there is, nevertheless, still a danger of this dehumanisation leading to the more physical expression seen against women from Africa and Latin America.

On the other hand, there is an equal suggestion that the Chinese non-assimilation is of their own choice. To this end, Donovan references Beltrán and suggests that immigrant family-run businesses exclusively “employ compatriots from the same region” and that this is a self-made “economic model directly linked to the strong familial and community ties established and maintained by the Chinese.” (Donovan, 2017, 369-93). The pattern established is that mercantile immigrants from similar regions of origin arrive in Spain, establish themselves in Chinese restaurant businesses and similar, then the next wave of arrivals use previously established business links to infiltrate directly into the Chinese micro-economy and eventually to set up new insular businesses and employ others in paradoxical arrangements of close-knit impersonality. Whereas Donovan argues primarily that this has “contributed significantly to the Chinese community’s economic success in Spain” she also hints at something which corroborates the near invisibility of Chinese which I have highlighted in the opus studied, and that is that the “same qualities that have served as a source of strength have led to Spanish perceptions of the Chinese community as insular and resistant to assimilation” (2017, 393). I propose that the lack of personal familiarity of Spanish with Chinese resulting from this is certainly a contributing factor for the inability to cast a three-dimensional character in a film and possibly even for the distrust which leads to the establishment of racist apocryphal tales and affirmations by characters that “van vestidas igual” (*Los besos en el pan*, 43) and “trabajan como un chino” (*Vis a vis*, Season 3, episode 1, 00:28:01-00:29:05). Although Donovan, Kam and Chok all reference the notion of a “community” of Chinese from a critical

or sociological viewpoint, there is no depiction of any community event or indeed even of any communal sentiment in the filmed or described lives of the Chinese in the Spanish opus nor any acknowledgement and real understanding of it in the social discourse. Andreotti defines successful familial and communal systems as being “based on nuclear families, high solidarity from the extended family and the community.” (2001, 51). In spite of this, where we might expect to at least see family structures within the Chinese women representation, there are no supportive communities or functional families depicted and the only portrayals of any sort which include images of Chinese women in groups are as coerced labourers in *Biutiful* (00:23:20 – 00:23:24) and imprisoned criminals in *Vis a vis* (00:44:32 – 00:45:01), neither of which, by their very definitions, permits organic or willing choice, family warmth or friendship. By extension, I would argue that this emotional vacuity accounts for the apparent hollowness or ghostliness of the Chinese women in the works: just as they are deprived of voice or acceptance, their personalities are devoid of humanity and they are essentially culturally disembodied and thus spectral.

The spectrality of Chinese women immigrants is perhaps the most evident feature of their representation in postmillennial Spanish film and text. Whilst their ascribed physical and cultural incompatibility alienates them from mainstream assimilation and acceptance and their economic success deifies them and separates them from their autochthonous hosts, I suggest that it is their ghostliness which most frequently characterises them. This (deliberate or accidental) separation from the action but constant background presence in the film casts the Chinese as extras but fails to either fully ‘embody’ or fully ‘remove’ them, meaning that they occupy the roles of Derrida’s spectres or ghosts (1994, 1).

In *Biutiful* the Chinese families of workers are always secondary to the presence and actions of Uxbal and are not consciously active in proceedings since they are illicit and

disenfranchised labourers for their male gangster bosses and Spanish ‘masters.’ Their ghostliness in this sense comes from their restriction from human agency, but it is in their apparitions in Uxbal’s supernatural séances and their posthumous deathly return, floating first in the air and later on the sea by the Barcelona coast, that their true spectrality haunts the film in an actual, rather than a metaphorical way.^{xxxv} DiFrancesco suggests, to this end, that: “cinematically framing Chinese immigrants in specific Barcelona neighborhoods is important because doing so allows us to relate this marginal population not only to other urban immigrant groups like the Senegalese, but to Uxbal as a similarly peripheral character whose relationship with specters is as inescapably historical as it is material” (2015, 29). I would take this point further, to suggest that the notion that isolation, ignorance, concealment and even death cannot exorcise the Spanish of the Chinese women is a powerful indication of what Wong refers to as “the Chinese who never die” (2012, 1), in which analogy their supernatural presence is more an inescapable torment than one of the superpowers of the “8 immortals.” Furthermore, the final association of the Chinese with the sea is important, since humans cannot survive indefinitely in the sea, and thus everyone at sea could be said to be a spectre, since they are not yet dead, nor fully present and alive within the human realm, and since the cyclical nature of tides and weather continually steals and re-delivers its load to the land with a purpose and power beyond human control.

The ghostly lack of clear Chinese exodus or removal from Spanish life and the previously discussed distance from the mainstream during their lives are both also mirrored by the fact that there are no birthing or immigration arrival scenes of Chinese women immigrants included in the Spanish opus. This is in contrast with portrayals of immigrants from all other origins.^{xxxvi} In *Biutiful*, the illegal Chinese labourers seem to have been in Barcelona for some time, although we are not shown any arrival or entry. In similar fashion,

the hairdressers, cart-pullers and chicken roasters from *El próximo Oriente*, *La boda* and *Los besos en el pan* are afforded no back-story and thus no opportunity for metaphoric embodiment or characterisation. The resulting effect is to penalise Chinese women immigrants with an incomplete existence, as people who do not come into being and never die. Indeed, in the only work which references origin or goal for the Chinese women, *La ciudad feliz*, the older generation of Chinese men are the only characters who discuss their erstwhile nation or the idea of following a conscious personal choice to migrate for economic reasons or amelioration of social status, either out of or back to China. The women themselves, whereas they demonstrate agency and earning potential, still do not demonstrate ‘communal’ or emotional behaviours and could be regarded as incomplete, purely from a Western viewpoint, in which these behaviours are perhaps more expected. This is in line with Ryan’s earlier posited comment on “non-expressiveness.” (2018, 40).

As well as the supernatural and ethereal characteristics of Wong’s spectres (as delineated in Derrida’s 1994 theory), the other portrayed characteristics of ghosts is that they relentlessly return; both to life and to the consciousness of the reader or viewer. Within the immigration opus this is equally as important for the women immigrant, since there are several different forms of return.^{xxxvii} With relation to the Chinese women immigrant, the most visible examples of their continuous returns appear in *Biutiful*, where the starkly sociological world and the spiritual world collide in Uxbal’s spiritual visions. When Uxbal enters the room with the dead Chinese families he can observe their ghosts haunting it and can feel that their memory has not faded and disappeared with their deaths – in fact, they are now more noticeable to him and his selfish conscience. I posit that these latter Chinese immigrant returns suggest a paradoxical mixture between stamina, tenacity and independence on the one hand and hopeless lack of belonging on the other. Whereas the ability to keep coming back

from adversity in life suggests dedication and commitment, in the death of the Chinese women in *Beautiful* it instead suggests Derrida-esque specters on the conscience. This accounts for what DiFrancesco terms “the specter of immigration in *Beautiful*.” (2015, 25-37). Nevertheless, the lack of belonging revealed in their ghostly apparitions reflects the fact that they have never truly escaped the previously discussed “bare life” of having been subjugates of Communism, of Chinese gangs and of exploitative Spanish profiteers – hence they have never been fully incorporated in our viewing.

This represents another associated aspect of the Chinese women representation and experience: their simultaneity of dual existence as both Communist and Capitalist, present but disenfranchised, restricted but successful and imagined representatives of a birth country renowned for both its mythological traditions and its hard-line pragmatic Communism. This is because, beneath the outwardly Communist resignation of Chinese people there also lies a suggested spirituality within their portrayal. In Far Eastern cultural terms, the propensity to ‘keep coming back’^{xxxviii} additionally represents the central basis for the Buddhist religion, which creates an additional association with Chinese women here. In Buddhist theology the soul migrates through relentless incarnations and reincarnations before achieving the eventual perfect void of Nirvana. (Abe, 1985, 206). On the other hand, in sociological and literary terms, Chinese women lead countless fleeting repeat-lives in the films and novels, beyond which there also seems to lie a glaring ‘nothingness.’ This void defines the bleakness of the Chinese people’s existence in *Beautiful* and is especially visible when the dead bodies of the gassed Chinese workers are washed up after they have been disposed of. According to Abe, “Craving is a human passion linked to man's entanglement in the duality of pleasure and suffering, and deeply rooted in the ego. It is by extinguishing this craving that nirvana can be attained” (1985, 206). Nevertheless, the abjection in which the Chinese seem consistently to

be positioned suggests that, rather than some form of higher reincarnation or final Nirvana release from the overwhelming experiences of pain and suffering in their lives, the returns of these corpses are reminders, moreover, of their absolute rejection from both their native Communist China and their new neoliberal Spanish environment.

The result of these spiritual and sociological observations, whether hopeful or not, is twofold. Firstly, the Chinese women seem destined to eternally return without any lasting embodiment and to haunt both the Spanish economic mainstream during times of crisis with their self-sufficiency, work ethic and success and the Spanish ethnocentric psyche with their alternative, Communist and irreconcilable cultural differences. Secondly, the overwhelming depiction of them is as an almost unrecognisable ‘other,’ which suggests my second proposed cipher of indigestion: differentiation.

The difference in political outlook and cultural extraction carries philosophical significance in itself: the Maoist ideology upon which Chinese society still partially operates is based on Marxism and the ruling party in mainland China is the same one that led China to the Cultural Revolution during the height of the Cold War. In real terms, this positions emigrants from China as direct human representatives of Marxism and, by extension, as the human “Specters of Marx” referred to by Derrida. Derrida asserted, alluding to the Marxist notion of a “specter haunting Europe,” that Communist ideology itself must become a ghost and cannot be ignored.^{xxxix} My proposition is that the spectrality, in relation to the Chinese women in Spain, accounts not only for the political “spectrality” of the Chinese in Wong’s review of European cinema, but also for their perceived incompatibility with and observable alienation from Western society.

Nevertheless, there is an equally striking focus by the writers and directors of the Spanish postmillennial works on the physical differences between native and Chinese women,

which are, perhaps ironically, most explicitly emphasised by women authors, such as Etxebarria and Grandes. The most notable instance of this distinction takes place in *Los besos en el pan*, where there is a seemingly unnecessary role-reversal. In the book, Almudena Grandes's representation of the two Chinese women hairdressers focuses repeatedly on their own hair and their doll-like physical appearance. Here, rather than their customers being the models in the salon, they themselves have the metaphorical mirror turned on them. This occurs in the quasi-racist observations about the similarity in their straight, black hair and even their actions:

“Las ocho van vestidas igual, camiseta blanca, pantalones blancos. Las ocho calzan idénticas, immaculadas zapatillas de lona, también blancas, y se cubren la boca con una mascarilla. Las ocho se mueven con gracia de las hadas de los cuentos infantiles” (43).

Whilst Grandes's effort is to afford them more detailed and descriptive introductions and to broadcast their imagined voices, the responses of autochthonous characters instead lead more towards facile stereotype and reiteration of racial differences and of the ethereal “8” discussed by Beltrán. I propose that Grandes reminds readers again about racial generalisation later in the book, where characters' preoccupation with skin tone - “como nada sale gratis, el coñac le ha asignado a otra raza. Ahora parece un piel roja, rojiza su cara en general” (44) - invokes Bond's discussions about “skin memory” being a “haptic channel of perception that potentially allows the subject to come to ‘know’ or understand the world (and the other within it).” (2018, 44). Bond crystallises dichotomic conclusions which might be drawn from focusing on skin colour and appearance: “a positive visibility and agency” through the empowerment of self-identification; or “negative ... impotence” (44) which stereotypes and liminalises people as ‘others’ in society. If we interpret these effects as intentional by the

author, my proposal is that racism and orientalism are indeed indicated, and this is therefore somewhat alarming.

Contrastingly, in Etxebarria's *Cosmofobia* readers are presented with the series of microcosmic snapshots of peripheral and multi-denomination characters, such as Livia and Leonor, living within the arrival city of Lavapiés in Madrid. Ellison notes that "throughout the novel, the characters repeatedly assert that "el barrio es multicultural, no intercultural" but proposes that "Etxebarria undermines this reductive premise offered by the inhabitants of Lavapiés by textually constructing an intercultural space that reflects an inclusive and interwoven social reality" (2010, 80-1). Nevertheless, my contention is that, whereas the lives of the immigrant characters are imagined as coexistent, they are not personally intertwined, and that the existences of immigrants are depicted as being insular to and from each other and the autochthonous population: "Uno puede ver perfectamente el contorno de la isla de la que el otro vino... pero el otro nada puede ver del origen del primero, pues una niebla le impide ver el horizonte, la isla que sólo puede imaginar a través de lo que el otro le cuenta" (*Cosmofobia*, 273). These people only relate to each other through one central person in the book and as such there is more a feeling of stative 'multiculturalism' than of cohesive and dynamic 'interculturalism' in the work. This is an important distinction, as 'multiculturalism' simply refers to the presence of people from different origins in one geographical context, whereas 'interculturalism' requires interplay and direct exchange or relationship between cultures and this is thus not seen in the work.

Taylor proposes that true "multiculturalism" should involve majorities demonstrating "openness" and "generosity of spirit" to minorities (Taylor, 1994, 25-73), however the contrasting significance of this is that the purported cultural richness of an arrival city such as Lavapiés is a contained and thus limiting zone and is also figuratively reduced to an aesthetic,

rather than a real and functional trait of society in *Cosmofobia*. Rogers previewed his expectations about how Applied Behavioral Science would sculpt postmillennial social intercourse and his suggestion was that: “the individual... would become aware of his isolation, aware of his alienation” (1968, 268) and I would argue that this could be used as a fairer synopsis of the limitations of these “interpersonal” but not effectively “intercultural” exchanges between Chinese, Spanish and people of other nationalities in *Cosmofobia*. This, therefore, offers a bleaker view on the experiences of Chinese immigrants in Spain and on their fundamental lack of confluence into Spanish society.

Biglia et al. conceive of a more empowered autochthonous women author wielding the feminist ability to promote the legitimacy of immigrant women, and the conclusion drawn is that “sometimes we feminists have spent too much time trying to redefine our differences instead of constructing alliances” (2005, 20). In my view, the fact that the most published Spanish women authors choose instead to either blend individuals and races in together or to perpetuate stereotypes and avoid any depth or complexity of characterisation in their Chinese protagonists indicates that they have instead used “race and gender stereotypes ... to facilitate the rejection of the Other” (Vega-Durán, 2016, 129), and to disembody or dehumanise them in alignment with xenophobic societal suspicion and rumour.

In parallel with this, the glimpses of Chinese immigrants acting and moving in the background of the set like stray cats or dogs which are always present but never central to proceedings in *El próximo Oriente* serves to subliminally animalise their roles in society and to produce a state of ‘them and us,’ where the Chinese are not involved as humans but still somehow awkwardly and unsympathetically visible. Peculiarities of Chinese culture and tradition are indeed commonly differentiated by being associated with animals with the result of immediately highlighting cultural differences from the beginning.^{x1} The juxtaposition of

human commentary and animal imagery could be seen to animalise the Chinese themselves, just as the novels and films deprive them of opportunities for human interaction and speech, despite the fact that the intention of both of these sociological works is to objectively explore society and xenophobia towards the Chinese within the literature and within the actual community in Spain.

In continuation from this idea, the association of Chinese with animals is in the hyperbolic, xenophobic and apocryphal observation that you never see any living cats near to a Chinese restaurant, which is adapted and repositied even in current television series, such as the third season of *Vis a Vis*. As well as in informal public social discourse and staged broadcasts, this association between Chinese and racist stereotypes about indigestible food or toxicity is openly discussed in Spanish online journals and reviews such as *Cuentos y leyendas sobre la comida china* (LaRazon.es, 2012) and even in current investigations into Chinese “wet markets” being the source of the Coronavirus Covid-19 global pandemic, as in *El virus del mercado de Wuhan* (HoyAragon.es, 2020). Here again the Chinese culture - this time their cuisine - is brought into disrepute and portrayed as a physical cause of social indigestion, for example in discussions in the butcher’s shop in *El próximo Oriente*, as suggestions that Chinese immigrants capture, butcher and serve domestic cats also reveals facile prejudice (00:13:40 – 00:13:48). As mentioned previously, Edwards et al. suggest inundation, contamination, disorder and indigestion as the four main tropes of xenophobic cultural response to immigration. My proposal is that public discourse which associates strange or suspicious foods with differentiation in immigrant representation is potentially an example of metaphoric “indigestion” and therefore a cipher for “expressions of racist sentiment” (Edwards et al., 2010, 299). With this observation in mind, there are numerous instances of these tropes in the corpus, ranging from the noticeably unwashed dishes in Lili’s

kitchen sink in *Biutiful* to the seemingly unnecessary reference to the cleanliness of the “asador de pollos” in *La ciudad feliz*, which ironically insinuates that hygiene is perhaps not always associated with these Chinese-operated eateries. I would argue that the tropes of dirt and “contamination” are therefore instances of authors commenting on popular racist stereotype. This notion of physically inedible food for Spanish consumers is more emphatically proposed, where Chi-Huei intimates that the chicken restaurant “debía de ser desagradable para los que venían” (*La ciudad feliz*, 40), reinforcing the feeling of “indigestion” caused by the presence and contributions of Chinese women immigrants in Spanish society. My assertion, therefore, agrees with that of Vega-Durán, who states that “the moment the migrant enters Spain and becomes an immigrant, Spain becomes one nation against outsiders” (166).

The explicit differentiation in the literature and discourse between the ways in which native and Chinese immigrant are perceived to exist therefore extends politically from how they integrate and their physical appearance to how they experience the national financial difficulties in differing ways from the Spanish population. This often brings a pejorative or accusatory consideration to the image of the Chinese women in Spain and even produces unrealistic claims about their inhuman immunity or disregard for the global economic crash in headlines such as “los chinos que viven en España se rien de la crisis,” (ElConfidencial.com, 2009) where the Chinese are imagined to be mocking, deriding or even maliciously enjoying the economic hardships which Spanish people are facing. The inferences to be taken from this are that Chinese immigrants in Spain are either too clever, resilient and successful to be damaged by the financial crash or that their voracious and ethically questionable business practices and dismissiveness of Spanish economics, culture and society are somehow to blame for the crisis. These conflicting attitudes towards Chinese business acumen and

practices mirror the dilemma between pity and racism generated by Spanish filmmakers and writers, which Begin (2015, 1-16) discusses with regards to *Beautiful*. As such, I explore these contradictions in my next section, as I consider the literary representations of ‘economic success stories’ of Chinese women in Spain.

In *¿Cómo viven los chinos en España* (ABC.es, 2012), the supposedly journalistic conclusion about Chinese in Spain is that they “viven para trabajar” and deliberately keep themselves to the periphery of Spanish life. This generalisation again hints at racist prejudice and an inhuman capacity for relentless, metronomic work and the result is a situation in which the Chinese women is either devoid of individuality and soul or doomed to be berated for her diligence and determination to prevail in circumstances of cultural alienation, patriarchal subjugation and worldwide economic meltdown. On the other hand, *La ciudad feliz* presents a somewhat contrasting view. In these narratives, the Chinese “madre” and “abuelastra” themselves wield a degree of licensed and acknowledged financial power and familial control unseen in the other literature, albeit siphoned and diluted from the enigmatic, entrepreneurial and silently controlling “abuelo.” Their efforts are recognised as key to the success of the dynastic roast chicken restaurant, and they seem to be permitted to make decisions and bypass the secondary male figure of the “padre.” In contrast with the rest of the written publications involving Chinese women, in which “there is no reciprocal communication of voices” (Ballesteros, 2015, 168), I would argue that there is here, as Lutz suggests, a “symbiotic significance of language as a sign of social hierarchies ... [in which they] ... translate the social devaluation associated with this on them” (2004, 53) and where the Chinese women for the first time in the works studied wields socioeconomic agency, as well as a first glimpse of self-determinacy in the Chinese women portrayed in the corpus studied.

Although neither the personalities nor the physical characteristics of the Chinese women seem to hold any intrigue or allure for Spanish authors and commentators, their perceived success in business certainly does. Gladys Nieto, in the title of her 2007 monograph, describes the Chinese in Spain as “una comunidad ligada a su nación” and these ‘vínculos’ are fundamentally inclusive to all Chinese in the works, but also innately exclusive of their Spanish hosts, for whom the postmillennial priority has been to develop as a visibly capitalist and democratic society, where the financial success of the individual is more prized than that of the communal whole. The current Spanish national quasi-obsession with the economy and centrality within the neoliberalism of the European Union has restricted them to ruing the inevitability and hopelessness of ‘la crisis.’ The detrimental psychological effects of the crisis are thus central to capitalist Spanish discourse. On the other hand, the aura surrounding the Chinese in Spain is that “*Se rien de la crisis*,” as we are told in the title of Donovan’s article. Donovan argues that the Spanish media are “suggesting that he or she is immune to the equalizing forces of the economic crisis” and that this is actually a way of dehumanising “the figure of the Chinese immigrant.” (Donovan, 2017, 369-93). She also goes on to suggest that this narrative also contradictorily “reinforces a divide between the Western reader who is attuned to the atrociousness of this kind of human rights abuse and the Chinese who, due to their insatiable ambition, tireless work ethic, and submissive nature, remain indifferent to their own suffering.” (2017, 369-93). The resultant effect is one of dichotomy and is reiterated across the works, where readers and commentators struggle to discern between whether there is a commentary on the issues of racism within the representations or a self-perpetuated Chinese mechanical dismissal of the emotional factors associated with such apparent chronic abjection. I would add to this that we could realistically ascribe any genuine laissez-faire attitude of Chinese immigrants to Spain’s wider financial deficits to their more

communal/ Communist outlook on life and their seeming immunity to individual money concerns to their predisposition to supporting each other within nucleic family units and wider communities of practice.

One interpretation of this political dichotomy is that: through migrating to Europe, Chinese women have taken themselves out of the supposedly class-less and self-less society of Communist China and into the realms of egocentric, consumerist capitalism. In-so-doing, they have removed themselves from being fragile, over-sexualised or silent colonial submissives. They have simultaneously withdrawn from being the state-martialed, second class servants of patriarchal Communist males, and have achieved a form of economic success within their regional and familial groups in the midst of a European culture that no longer values, nor remembers, the same communal mores but instead operates on the aforementioned “liquid modernity” (Bauman, 2000) of neoliberalism, where possession outweighs personality and where the quest for financial success paves the way for greed and ruthlessness. Perhaps this, instead, is why there is a lack of understanding experienced and some evidence of an innate suspicion within filmic and literary depictions of the Chinese women in Spain and thus why we do not observe sexualised Chinese women amongst the street-side escorts in *Princesas*, nor amongst the self-motivated and interculturally-minded frustrated lovers in *El próximo Oriente*.

The dual imagery of un-Spanish, voracious, cut-throat capitalism as discussed here, and the imagery of faceless, parasitic, robotic hordes explored earlier only tell the narrated half of the back-story of these Chinese immigrant workers. They are also products of a further paradoxical duality: the postmillennial ‘super-capitalist’ Communism in post-Mao China, in which commercial economic power and personal wealth accrual are pursued alongside far left-wing social restriction. The slave-like labourers in *Biutiful* have been trafficked illegally

out of one repressive, relentless, paternalistic environment, only to be transported into another and this is reflective of the post-arrival situation of many women immigrants. To achieve any freedom or success seems an impossibility, so the individually gainful employment of the chicken restaurant owner in *Los besos en el pan* is noteworthy and the managerial, money-handling positions of the women in *La ciudad feliz* is even more hopeful and laudable. I suggest that these interpretations might be the ones to provide the Chinese women immigrants with the more positive focus that Donovan suggests they lack in *Se rien de la crisis*.

Contrastingly, some hopeful inferences can be taken from portrayals of the Chinese women, insomuch as there are the beginnings of economic success stories to be found. Additionally, their cyborg-like characterisation and their perceived “cyborg” immunity to the economic crisis speak to a potential mechanistic ability to adapt themselves in a lucrative fashion. The Chinese women may, thus, represent Bauman’s ideas of “Liquid Modernity” (see earlier definition) in both the social ambivalence of their existence and their abilities to use intersectionality with technology to survive in their new circumstances. The adult women characters in *La ciudad feliz* do take responsibility for the daily operations of the roast chicken restaurant, opening early, being present at all hours and then running the finances in the background. This is the first evidence of any operative woman immigrant empowerment and as such offers some promise for social progress. In relation to this book, it is a noteworthy exception that there *are* occasional past tense reminiscences. This contrasts with all other studied works, in which, as previously stated, the Chinese appear on the margins and without discernable back-stories.

In *La ciudad feliz* these past time markers take the form of comments such as “hablaban a menudo de China” (44), “ya llevaban años en España” (47) and of moving from having recognizable languages spoken around him in China to “desde que llegaron al

aeropuerto de Hong Kong, había estado escuchando lenguas extrañas” (25). Interestingly, and in keeping with the fact that this book does offer the most hopeful glimpse of Chinese women success, where the Chinese characters are given a past here, they are also able to build on it and use their recognisable status to attain more acceptability and success. In this way, Chi-Huei can “aprenderse el abecedario y hacer ejercicios de caligrafía” to be able to (as Crameri puts it) develop a stronger “perception of identity” (2017, 17) through inscribing himself in the Spanish language and community. Similarly, the adult women can forge a more financially stable life for their family by using their skills and experience to grow the restaurant. My suggestion here is that, in contrast to all other Chinese women in the opus, through having an acknowledged and openly discussed history, this family is closer to establishing themselves as a true community of believable personalities, and, most importantly, to having their humanity and their value recognised by a Spanish author and Spanish readers. Perhaps the academic and linguistic success of mastering a dictionary (something Crameri (2017) explores in some detail), and a local language are the clearest ciphers for acceptance of Chinese in the Spanish mainstream. My contention is that, where these women have shown sufficient mastery - of the Spanish Market to thrive financially and of the Spanish language to be able to print and distribute marketing literature – they have therefore also demonstrated mastery of the European neoliberal model (albeit at the expense of social confluence and sentimental acceptance) and thus paradoxically achieved success in what Moreno-Caballud refers to as “*Cultural Democratization in the Spanish Neoliberal Crisis*” (2015), wherein conformity to a European ideal and the legitimization of the individual vulnerabilities of meritocracy in the capitalist economic model prevail.

In sum, from the point of view of an expression of hope for immigrant women in general, my thought is that this relatively unfettered economic activity on behalf of the

Chinese women and in contrast with immigrant women from other world regions is notably progressive. I also propose that the implicit immunity to capitalist concerns and the liminal spectrality to Spanish civic life also elevates the Chinese woman immigrant to an almost supernatural level ‘más allá de la vida,’ in comparison with the native Spanish population, whose embodiment of European economic fragility, obsession with financial soundness and fears of Market failure are reiterated frequently in *En la Orilla*, with repeated references to Spanish/ European vulnerability in the face of “la crisis” (11, 14, 55). This results in what one might expect to be a deification of Chinese financial robustness, but which rather manifests itself as jealousy on the part of the Spanish and a sense of resilience on the part of the Chinese. This is since, in times of crisis and uncertainty for the native population, the Chinese women are all working, producing vast quantities of cut-price wholesale goods and seeing their business chains of “Todo a cien” stores, hairdressers and “asadores de pollos” continuing to expand.

In conclusion, the dichotomic representations of Chinese women in Spanish literature, as exemplified in *Biutiful* and *La ciudad feliz*, while scant and de-centralised, do offer telling ciphers of the postmillennial status quo in Spain. They reveal racism, bigotry and distrust and the starkness of their portrayed outlooks and lifestyles point towards a triple alterity: they are women; they are immigrants; they represent no shared history or experience with the Spanish mainstream. My added contention is that, where Chinese representation, as previously discussed, often focuses on plurality of numbers or on inhuman figures, this increases the opportunity for recognizing racist stereotypes from social discourse and accounts for their imagination as inundation, contamination, disorder and indigestion, both in the works studied and in Spanish society.

Their unique voicelessness paradoxically speaks for both their chronic alienation as unacceptable foreigners and as women and for a perceived or real self-less dedication to single-minded hard work, but this ambiguously leaves them as either resilient but emotionless cyborgs or dehumanised ghosts within the arts and society, since they hold no contributory agency, nor any empowerment to express themselves. The overall effect of these inclusions is to perpetuate the patriarchy and create racism and a pejorative framework for observing the Chinese women in Spain.

We can say, then, that the more promising representations of the Chinese women in Spain still do not truly negate the problematic, male-centric discourse of power. There remains a perpetuation of the situation in which any feminist activism or socioeconomic achievement by these immigrant women seems to be inherently tempered by male governance, inherited Communist ideals, enforced Neoliberal restraints, overarching sinophobia or indeed by questionable oppression from the machines with which they operate in any hopeful cyborg existence.

Furthermore, the imagery and discourse surrounding women of Chinese extraction points to an unsolved dichotomy within the Spanish representation. There is evidence both of a magnified racism and xenophobia towards them and of the contrary envy towards the deification of Chinese business success, where the models of community and business which I have argued originate in China itself are still perceived as representing quasi-inhuman socialist stoicism and cyborg non-assimilation, rather than commendable resilience. As such, the inability to either successfully allow for their comfortable assimilation or confine them to a suitable heterotopia seems inevitable and I would argue that this is essentially defining of their place within Spanish literature and society.

Resultantly, against the established prejudice within Spanish society, and by recognising their economic strengths and contributions, I can assert that Chinese women now contrarily represent the personal duality of being both a target for racist and orientalist bigotry and suspicion, as well as an image of feminine personal tenacity, diligence and success, seemingly-unassailable by the autochthonous Europeans who subjectively narrate their presence in postmillennial Spain through racist sociolinguistics, lack of vocality, animalistic imagery, economic suspicion and stereotyped aesthetics.

Representations of African Women Immigrants

There exist and have existed various bonds and barriers between Spain and Africa throughout the course of history.^{xli} Since the Early Modern period and the advent of colonialism, discovery and slavery, these links have consistently been on an unequal basis, as the European country has exploited or patronised its African neighbours, however in more recent memory Francoist Spain used Moroccan troops to boost its army and arguably to promote Ibero-Moroccan exchange and encourage an African workforce to help industrialise post-war Spain.^{xliii}

It is not unexpected, therefore, that Spain, as a primary entry point for Africa-Europe migration and with its longstanding ties to the African continent, has one of the highest and most controversial European levels of influx and settlement of African migrants. This is confirmed in data on influx figures taken from the 2018 *International Organisation for Migration* and reflected on in El País, which shows that “half of all undocumented migrants who made the Mediterranean crossing came to Spanish shores,” reporting that 57,250 made the voyage in the year, setting a record in such numbers. These figures are reflected in *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* official foreign population figures, which show that the second largest contingent of immigrants in Spain by individual country of origin is that of Morocco, representing over 15% of the overseas population in Spain (www.ine.es) and includes Algeria (53,530) and Senegal (49,391) as other high African contributors. (www.statista.com).

In terms of conviviality and interculturalism, evidence would suggest that these remain only partial, and that societal issues are more likely to be profound and endemic within the immigrant community. Analysis from *Documentos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración* (www.gob.es, 2016) suggests that immigrants are more than twice as likely

to lose employment or be unemployed as Spanish natives, even in times of global economic crisis and goes on to refer to the overall worse circumstances in all aspects for women:

“Además, en general la población femenina presenta peores resultados laborales que los Hombres” (237).

This non-assimilation of Africans specifically is confirmed by real-time employment statistics in the *SAIS Europe Journal*, which suggest that immigrants from Africa, if they do secure legitimate employment, take up positions in the lower end of the pay spectrum. Their reading of the figures suggests that:

“Insertion into the labour market takes place in very specific sectors. The majority works in construction (35%) or in services (31%); there is another important group in agriculture (19%) and the rest in industry (14%).”

The article continues by distinguishing between gender experiences within economic immigration and suggests clear reasons for the further alienation of the women migrant:

“As to gender patterns ... it is interesting to point out that 46.9% of the men that immigrate ... do it directly from their aduars ... of origin, while only 15.7% of women do.”

In total, as of 2021, African immigration to Spain represents a total of almost 1.1 million people (es.statista.com), making it the second largest continent of origin overall for immigrants in the country. Historically there has also been a long and complex relationship between Africa and Spain, which has been imagined and narrated on both sides as a discourse of competing powers, invasions and subjugation. This evolving narrative has rarely been one of equality and easy conviviality. Owing partly to these perceived power struggles and the resultant xenophobia and fears of the other which have, according to Flesler (2008), pervaded the Spanish psyche, and partly to stereotypical Western views of Islamic and African cultures

as more paternalistic and less developed than European culture, my proposal is that there is an ascribed vulnerability within representations of the African women by autochthonous authors and that resistance to both paternalism and convention will inform more of the narrative of publications by immigrant African authors themselves.

Taking this sociological backdrop into consideration, my evaluation of the books and films under study has led me to the realisation that any coherent exploration of African women immigrants must therefore also encompass a review of vulnerability as a central theme. Similarly, analysis of this sociological data makes it clear that, to resist disaster resulting from this economic vulnerability, African women immigrants will have to employ the “[resistance] strategies” such as “modes of deliberate exposure” proposed by Butler (2014, 13-5), to expose and counter the limitations of centralised power and neoliberal inequalities. Where Butler classifies “deliberate exposure,” she refers to such political acts as the supplication for support and recognition of someone who acknowledges their weakness or the deliberate ceding of positions of power to the prevailing force, to survive and be resilient through improving one’s circumstances. She suggests that by establishing or asserting one’s political agency in these ways, the result is a seemingly paradoxical display of strength in resistance. Within the corpus of books and films studied, however, this resistance comprises more individual actions and responses. These range from: a woman protagonist (*Fátima*) being ascribed mystical powers as a result of her vulnerable show of weakness and submission to the danger of the sea; to a woman risking revealing her sense of loss and nostalgia for her erstwhile home on film but simultaneously colonising a new place of agency in her kitchen, living room or hair salon (*Extranjeras*); to a young Muslim woman paradoxically wresting the power of sexual self-determinacy from her patriarchal father by

voluntarily offering her anus to her uncle and instantly neutralises him through use of the same shame he has always wielded as a weapon of patriarchal threat and control.

In this chapter I shall, therefore, firstly reflect on this sociocultural background and on how characterisation of African women immigrants naturally reflects their dichotomic vulnerability and resistance. This perceived vulnerability to social disadvantage as the feared or underprivileged outsiders and their resultant risk of both physical and emotional mistreatment is, perhaps a more expected result of their circumstances as either political refugees of oppression in their home countries or economic migrants. Nevertheless, the element of resistance is more complex, as it generates from their stamina and ability to survive such social exposure and personal subjection by demonstrating resilience in the face of adversity and resistance towards the patriarchy. I shall then consider the overarching theoretical context, including discussions on heterotopias and eudaimonia (definitions of theories to follow) to consider how they might relate to both sociological vulnerability and resistance-building resilience and how they might help to inform interpretations of representations of African women in the works. Thirdly, I shall discuss relevant literary and authorial context, including relative market success and public reception of the authors and works together with some reference to their own personal experiences. Finally, I shall methodologically explore evidence of vulnerability and resistance in the fictional works studied - as an overall framework for interpretation of the African women portrayal in Spanish fiction specifically. Through this latter aim, I shall consider whether there are any noted authorial variations in the ways in which vulnerability and resistance of the immigrant women can be imagined and understood within these representations, such as variations between the ways in which authors of different genders, in different regions of Spain and from different cultural backgrounds present them.

Whilst there has been, as discussed above, both clear wider sociocultural interchange between Africa and Spain and the suggestions of varying forms of resistance to the prevailing culture, this variety is not as apparent in any breadth of recognised authors and auteurs of notable publication in Spanish popular culture. The two most successful African women authors in Spain, as referred to already, are Najat El Hachmi and Laila Kharrouch; both of whom have Moroccan Amazigh/ Berber and Muslim origins; both are latterly inscribed into the Catalan more than the mainstream Castilian authorship; both of whom use immigration, assimilation and societal discordance as base narratives for their work; both of whom have won prestigious awards, such as the Ramon Llull and Premio Nadal, and yet neither of whom feature in the Barnes and Noble list of the 257 most important 21st century Spanish language best-sellers. (www.barnesandnoble.com). Interestingly, Najat El Hachmi does appear in the list of the 68 most important Catalan works – albeit only featuring with one of her books (*El último patriarca*) at number 64, in a list which does contain several works by Spanish-born women authors, but excludes Karrouch entirely. Perhaps we could surmise that there is some increased degree of gender and culture equality amongst Catalan authorship, perhaps since it somewhat matches the Catalans own self-identification as ‘other’ within Spain, but still less so with regards to works by immigrant or hybrid women authors. In relation to the marketing of women literature in postmodern Spain, Laura Freixas, proposes that prejudice is no longer a problem and says “hallamos además en una sociedad sin controversias ideológicas: las artistas ya no se definen por su opción política y hasta los debates estéticos parecen difuminarse” (2000, 37). However, such a continuing dearth of women and immigrants amongst the most successful writers suggests to me that this is overly optimistic with regards to combined racial and gender prejudices, despite some gender-related progress in Catalonia.

Within the textual and filmic publication since the late 1990s, there have, nevertheless, been numerous representations of African immigrants in Spain: Igé is a West African maternal figure in *Biutiful*; Mimoun's family in *El último patriarca* hails from Berber Morocco; Ombasi portrays an illegal African immigrant, whose immigration story has somehow left him provocatively exposed and mourning the death of his friend, and who is hopelessly unfamiliar with the Spanish language and with no indication as to his country of origin in *Bwana* (Uribe, 1996, 00:14:59 – 00:15:03); Juan Bonilla's 'Nubian Prince' is trafficked from Sudan via the underground sex trade; Fátima's background is limited to being "from the shipwrecks" in *Fátima de los naufragios*, although the implication is that she has crossed the straits from North Africa; and *Poniente* presents farm labourers from Muslim Morocco. This variegation is, perhaps, representative of the African cultural diaspora in postmillennial Spain, where the Instituto Nacional de Estadística and the Council on Foreign Relations suggest that the 551,174 African immigrants to Spain over the period 2008-2017 arrived primarily from Guinea, Morocco, Algeria, Mali and the Ivory Coast. (www.cfr.org). However, the peripheral nature of any women African authorship and the fact that most authors 'imagining' their experiences are white, Spanish, well-established, male authors suggest that these experiences are not considered in suitably meaningful and personal ways.

To investigate any evidence of disenfranchisement, alterity and discord, as well as this interplay between vulnerability and resistance and other key themes in the literary representations of African women in Spain, I shall be exploring a range of films, books and documentaries, which I propose come from two distinct groups. The first group comprises works by non-African authors and includes: *Biutiful* (Iñárritu, 2010) [See earlier synopsis in previous chapter]; *Fátima de los naufragios* (Ortiz, 1998); *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón* (Chacón, 2007); and *Extranjeras* (Taberna, 2005). On the other hand, the second group of

works studied in this chapter includes both fictional and non-fiction publications about first-hand immigrant experiences by authors with both African and Spanish (Catalan) identities. This groups includes: *El último patriarca* (El Hachmi, 2008) and *De Nador a Vic* (Karrouch, 2004). Interestingly, both authors publish in Catalan and base their books in Catalonia, both have published latterly in the period studied, and both come from mixed Berber Amazigh backgrounds. All these factors, as well as the obvious variance created by the fact that their work itself represents immigrant women emitting a voice, differentiate their publications from the books and films in the first group.^{xliii}

As the works in these groups represent two distinct authorships, I shall firstly introduce and differentiate between two works which are representative of either the historically more familiar Spanish-authored “testimonio” (Flesler 163) or the more recent phenomenon of diasporic fiction written by African immigrant women themselves. I shall then use these as reference points against which to consider representations in the wider authorship. The two works which most clearly present the variances between the two groups are *Fátima de los naufragios* (Ortiz, 1998) and *El último patriarca* (El Hachmi, 2008). As I explore differences between types of representation of African women in these two books, I shall consider how vulnerability and resistance are apparent in the aesthetics of the other publications, whether the noted variances of authorial background produce differentiated immigrant voice and then how they are either catalysed by or eventually result in visions of the (often abject or violent) tussle between the pervasive abjection of alterity and alienation and the hopeful eventual redemption offered by success over disempowerment, self-identification over subjection and resolved cultural assimilation over alienation.

Fátima de los naufragios is consciously presented as a magic realist fictional story presented in what Flesler terms “testimonio” style (see notes) and, as such, it was tellingly

published in the earlier years under study in my thesis. In it, Spanish villagers' responses to an unknown African woman who stands motionless in the sea off Spain range from suspicion to imagined grief to saintliness and social catalysis, whilst the truth about her situation, background, beliefs, or intentions remain hidden and silent and the focus reverts to her cultural and aesthetic differences and thereby to exoticism. In this work the lack of voice and opportunities for realistic agency of the woman immigrant as highlighted in Flesler's *The Return of the Moor* are key, together with elements of Said's *Orientalism* (1975), since the gaze with which Fátima is observed shows a sense of mysticism and voyeurism.

In parallel with the sociological employment and access data, Kunz references the mysterious "alterity" within the literary characterisation, actions and imagination of the fictional African women immigrant. She examines literary narrative styles and expressions of alterity in *Fátima de los naufragios* and proposes that Ortiz has employed "sublimación estética," with regards to the jarring narrative approach of "adopción acrítica e indiferenciada o la reproducción semiconsciente de ideas estereotipadas, negativas o positivas." (2002, 121). Kunz suggests that the imagined "testimonio" is "uno de los defectos principales de la representación de la problemática inmigratoria actual en la literatura española contemporánea," (121) and the implication is that such an externally and fictitiously imagined portrayal of the immigrant women results principally in worthless stereotype. This literary method, which is often accompanied by Orientalist voyeurism in the imagination of African characters as critically different from their Spanish counterparts, leads to a more superficial treatment of the immigration episodes. It has the effect of continuing the colonialist polemic between how Africans and Europeans are seen in the arts and, by extension, possibly in society. It is my belief that more could be made of the inherent racism courted here and,

specifically, of the way aesthetics are employed by Spanish authors with the effect of differentiating the immigrant female from the rest of the population.

El último patriarca, on the other hand, is an imagined omniscient narration by the most successful immigrant woman author in this collection of works, encompassing serious issues, narrated with humour, of the episodic immigration and both abusive and laughable personality flaws of a selfish Moroccan man and the complex follow-up of his daughter's subsequent attempts to 'become more Spanish-Catalan.' Whilst the characters and events are fictional, it seems both likely and important that *El último patriarca* at least contains some autobiographical elements from El Hachmi's experience as an immigrant woman from Africa and Jessica A. Folkart's (2013) article explores the profound implications of El Hachmi's breaking of sexual taboos and 'reconquista' of Muslim women's identity and sexuality. This represents a clear break with social expectation and brings El Hachmi as an author closer to the characters she presents in her books. As such, my analysis will allude to the blurred lines between representation and experience in hybrid immigrant publication, wherein the distinction between the literary treatment of characters and the actual treatment of immigrant women in society merge and reference to sociological data becomes more immediately relevant. One such piece of sociological data is presented in Table 3, which demonstrates the increased likelihood of immigrant women - especially Africans - being the subject of domestic violence. This is a central theme in *El último patriarca*, where violence, abuse and sexual subjugation are used by the power-wielding and his daughter to assert patriarchal control or escape from it.

Everly's articles (2011 and 2014) specifically consider violence against women, which forms a core theme within the women immigrant's narrative in Spain, but separately examines the role of the controlled liminality of doorways in El Hachmi's writing. In the latter, she

reflects on the symbolic threshold, which can be open, closed and even forcibly locked, or as symbolic windows to epiphanic pain or liberation (as with the final reveal in *El último patriarca*), as the entrance or barrier to what I propose as Foucault-esque heterotopias of belonging and acceptance. These associated role-plays of power-holder and disenfranchised object feed repeatedly into the Spanish feminist discourse. Further to this episode, Folkart suggests that El Hachmi's employment of the anus as "the ultimate haunting and forbidden site of scoring" (2013, 356) breaks the taboos of both Morocco and Spain and re-establishes a post-patriarchal sexual empowerment of the hybrid diasporic female which negates their double liminality as 'female' and 'foreign.' The impact of this imagery thus provides both a reclamation of personal sexual determination and a differentiating break with male-dictated and Spanish-imagined representation.

Against the established immigration theory, it is notable that tropes of alienation, alterity and abuse suffered by African women in the fictional works studied do ensure that they continue to occupy the same inauspicious "heterotopias" and to experience the same chronic displacement and non-assimilation as immigrant women from other world regions. Where heterotopias can define spaces or roles that are either sacred or deviant, they could be said to align with the differentiation of character and appearance emphasised across the literature. In a similar way, the defined function of excluding or exiling unwanted people also fits the data which highlights the comparative lack of economic success and thus the economic vulnerability of African women in Spain. Heterotopias are also said to be able to adapt to take different forms for different people or purposes yet still prevent social confluence, and to be associated with different specific momentary episodes. I would suggest in this instance that the moment of crossing the border or the lonely journey towards it of the African women would constitute this, and this is perceptible in both the occasional

melancholy of Mimoun's daughter's narration in *El último patriarca* and the projected trauma of Fátima in *Fátima de los naufragios*. In this way, the fifth and sixth definitions of presupposing "an ambivalent system of opening/closing, entry/ exit, distance/penetration" and having "a specific operation in relation to other spaces as, for example, illusion or compensation" (www.Heterotopiastudies.com, 2020) are also relevant, insomuch as the border space and the imagined perfection of economic and political stability reflected on the other side might be an accessible and open-door heterotopia to some, but remain more frequently closed to African immigrant women.

Concepts such as feminine solidarity, social integration or collective lack thereof, limitations to mainstream cultural acceptance and equality all feed into Foucault's notion of these diverse "heterotopias" within society. He proposes that the social spaces designated by his reckoning as heterotopias are mirrored desirable or undesirable microcosms of the intangible utopian ideal, into which society might willingly pass or be unwillingly assigned or condemned. In this way, those who have shown the resilience to endure the treacherous sea crossing from Africa, only to be reunited with husbands who have been previously herded into semi-organised, informal and often illicit gangs of farm labourers could be described as having been designated a heterotopia of crisis in common with other African women. They will likely find that their language, religion, cultural background, migration experiences and economic, legal and social circumstances are similar and mark them for a heterotopia which precludes them from equal access to personal rights, independence and acceptance amongst the native Spanish population. Therefore, for the African women in such heterotopias or communities of practice, the likelihood of attaining what DiFrancesco terms "mutual acceptance and appreciation" (2008, 212) is low and this is borne out both in the previously posited sociological statistics regarding employment figures of African women immigrants

and in the literature itself, where I argue that vulnerability and resistance to it are both results and catalysts for change.

Vulnerability and resistance, as a binary framework, considers both whether specific people within society (principally women) are, by definition, more vulnerable and reliant on paternalistic support and protection and whether resistance to the central patriarchy is the juxtaposed opposite of vulnerability. Within these hypotheses, there is an assigned and expected superiority, both of the male and of the central, autochthonous power base and an innate vulnerability and need for resilience on the part of the women/ immigrant. Resilience can represent either the positive attributes of steadfastness and tenacity or the negative instances of disempowered peripheral visibility without agency. It might, thus, be seen in varied guises in the works studied, such as in: the lonely survival of Fátima in *Fátima de los naufragios* when those she mourns have perished; the commitment of Igé in *Beautiful* when she resigns herself to looking after Uxbal's children (01:54:37-01:59:35); the tenacity to maintain cultural traditions in their own homes shown by the women in the collages of interviews *Extranjeras*; the resolution to overcome linguistic barriers demonstrated by the narrator in *El último patriarca*; or the doomed determination of Aisha in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*.

In accepted definitions, resilience, through involving the complicity or the agency of the subject, is further removed from resistance than vulnerability. One of my contentions, then, is that there is a fundamental discrepancy between resistance and resilience. One might expect resistance to definitively replace vulnerability, whereas resilience can appear both in the way one adapts to and accepts social repression and retreats into a vulnerable state and contradictorily in the tenacity of resistance required to maintain a self and a voice in the face of this repression. The paradox is that to be a "who" and to decide on one's own persona and on the 'persona' one wants to present to the world, one needs to be resilient against the force

of the norm and to resist resilience itself changing the way one is and thus shaping one into a vulnerable non-individual without agency.

Butler suggests that, although in accepted thought “vulnerability is the opposite of resistance” which “implies the need for protection” and strengthens “paternalistic forms of power,” (2014, 10) vulnerability itself might constitute one of the possible forms of resistance. The suggestion is that such traditionally conceived positions of vulnerability as the exposure of the women body can, simultaneously, be a source of “enabling” for the women, affording her powers over the patriarchy through manipulation of what it is to appear vulnerable. This rings true in the case of the closing pages of *El último patriarca*, when Mimoun’s daughter uses her body to seduce her uncle, rebel against her father’s tyranny and break the shackles of repression with taboo.

If we take interpretations of vulnerability a stage further, Martha Nussbaum refers to “eudaimonistic vulnerability,” which suggests that the humanness of being ‘soft’ and ‘vulnerable’ are the very aspects of ourselves which enable us to (in her words) “flourish” (2005, 379) and improve ourselves, helping us to overcome adversity and fertilising success into the ‘happiness’ of completion. In her definition, vulnerability is strength and potentially resistance. Therefore, I would argue that Karrouch’s subjection to the vulnerability of otherness at school in *De Nador a Vic* could be said to constitute the founding basis for her later educational successes.

De Nador a Vic is an autobiographical youth journal-style book documenting the life, education and empowering social successes in her new Catalan home of an immigrant girl from Berber Morocco. In this book the chapter titles mirror the first-person experiences in producing a picture of an outsider consciously discovering herself and finding ways to move beyond ‘fitting in’ with wider society and to become personally successful and vindicated.

Cristián H. Ricci (2011) identified the significance of Karrouch's publication as a seminal work in precipitating the establishment of a "diasporic" literature in Spain, alongside contemporary works by El Kadaoui and El Hachmi, and indeed there are obvious correlations of resistance between actual narrated experience in *De Nador a Vic* and fictional works by Najat El Hachmi, such as *El último patriarca*.

The established argument on the concepts of vulnerability and resistance, as described by Butler, supposes that, to fit the meritocratic moral code of Western neoliberalist discourse, one must be seen to be performing first and foremost as "resilient" and as a "good subject." (2014, 10). I would add to this that, for immigrant women, the concomitant expectation is to act in the manner of a submissive and inferior women in the eyes of the domineering male, both against the traditional expectations of conservative communities of origin and against the post-colonialist, neoliberal expectations of Spanish society. Within the narration of Karrouch's youth self, she instead assumes identity and embodiment by championing female excellence in arenas which the fundamental Islamist conservatives might deem to be traditionally "male," such as sports and academia, while simultaneously departing from Spanish host expectations by seeking to assume a Catalan identity of her own. Her resilience in doing both things and the resistance she demonstrates by journaling and publishing her experiences act as an empowering subversion of the norms of the central power-bases – especially since it is Catalan in which she writes and both Amazigh and Catalan which she aspires to be regarded as.

Sarah Bracke notes that the "prevalence of resilience as a term knew a spectacular rise at the moment of... the beginning of the hegemony of neoliberalism... encouraging their readers to regulate their conduct according to specific liberal virtues." (2020, 57). The liberal virtues value economic individualism over the common good, competition over mutual

support, market power over egalitarianism, a meritocracy of wealth accumulation over state benefits and conformity to the rule of money and power over socialism. The implication for women immigrants, therefore, is that conformity, submissive adaptability, avarice and quietude, even in the face of racial iniquity and social injustice, are more valuable than the resistance of individuality or, in the case of immigrant women, any personal ambition of choosing one's own path towards cultural cohesion or social integration. I would therefore suggest that immigrant women, in having to resist vulnerability through post-colonialist degradation, economic inferiority and having to be resilient in front of the chauvinistic male gaze and the controlling "hegemony of neoliberalism," have to respond to what Butler refers to as "the performative effect of having been named as this gender or another gender." (2016, 23-4). This resilience requires ceasing to define themselves as a 'who,' but rather changing personalities in response to the designated roles given by society, moving between fulfilling expectations, engendering their private vision of themselves, and presenting themselves as they want to be perceived by others.

Such continuous changing of personalities to fit into the mould of the patriarchy is one example of the type of survival strategy employed by women who are presented as vulnerable beings. The standard interpretation of resilience amidst vulnerability is of a coping mechanism in times of disaster and the suggestion is that this resilience to disaster can include responses to the immigration experience and the newfound otherness of being a woman immigrant in Europe. Nevertheless, the ability, election and agency to adapt and perform in new ways could just as effectively be a standpoint of strength and resistance. Bracke defines the notion that the woman is automatically the more vulnerable of the sexes as "gendering resilience" (2020, 67) and explores the notion that women in neoliberal society must be flexible to "survive patriarchy" by "endlessly bending without breaking." (67). Her

implication is that resilience is not necessarily decided along gender lines and that there is more fluidity and interplay between vulnerability, resilience and resistance. Butler suggests that her previous affirmation that “gender is performative” (2014, 25) has been taken in two contradictory ways: firstly, that people can “radically choose genders;” and secondly that “we are utterly determined by gender norms.” That inferences from this suggestion have led to such bipolar resolutions again supports the theory that vulnerability and resistance are entwined with each other and not necessarily contradictions of term or of empowerment. From this viewpoint we could equally argue that a specifically women Muslim immigrant, by wearing a hijab and while still trying to overcome the sexual subjectivity of the male gaze and forge interpersonal relationships in a foreign language are being both resistant and resilient in circumstances of gendered and cultural vulnerability.

Additionally, Butler argues that when the accepted wielder of power in a relationship (personal or political) presupposes the vulnerability of the other and thus projects vulnerability upon them, the very act of projecting that subservience or weakness reveals potential signs of insecurity on the part of the first party (2014, 13-15). This would imply a co-ownership of vulnerability in the relationship or even point towards the reversal of the power dynamic. In the case of African immigrant women in Spain, the example of the hijab debate could be said to demonstrate this dichotomy.

To examine the validity of a vulnerability/ resistance framework in the representations of immigrant women in Spain, I contend that we must first establish what would constitute an immigrant woman being vulnerable and what would constitute an example of resistance. Two key areas in which African immigrants might be considered to demonstrate vulnerability within mainstream Spanish society are in that their native language and religious beliefs are different, and thus that they create barriers to integration and confluence. Linguistic

vulnerability^{xliv} might preclude an immigrant from satisfactorily presenting their own personality to the world, slow their academic progress, limit opportunities to gain economic independence through solicitation of employment or hinder the establishment of mutually equal and rewarding interpersonal relationships. Similarly, a differing background of tradition and beliefs, which allows for insecurity, misunderstanding, distrust or prejudice on the part of the host, might compromise the completeness of self with which an immigrant woman is perceived. Resistance against the paternalistic world view and the white-led racial order might propose a Muslim African woman as a dominant partner in an interracial relationship or as a successful and influential Spanish businesswoman. (Nevertheless, as a means of resisting linguistic or religious vulnerability, commitment to becoming bilingual in the local language or to wearing a hijab headdress in a Spanish school would be equally as valid).

Initial examination shows that in the Spanish postmillennial immigration opus, representations of African women share one or more of three motifs, all of which can be linked to the tussle between vulnerability and resistance.

Firstly, they are recurrently exoticised or mysticised in the works, principally using aesthetics. This representation positions the women within the vulnerable contexts of being both 'othered' and either fetishised within the male gaze or feared. Mulvey's theory is that there is a conscious inequality in the cinematography and mise-en-scène of filmed women, where the male (director or viewer) tends to objectify and judge them; even feeling entitled to imagine visually possessing them. (Mulvey, 1975). Examples of this are in *Fátima de los naufragios*, where we are presented with an awkwardly inactive and misunderstood grieving mother, abandoned and vulnerably exposed on a beach in striking African clothes. She is presented as being so different from the locals that she is eventually assigned (Western/

Christian) saintly vision-like characteristics by both the Spanish onlookers and author but cannot express her grief or receive true sympathy from the onlookers.

Secondly, portrayals in these works tend to ostracise and alienate African immigrants. They do this either by introducing them as perverted, vagrant or criminal, as with Mimoun in *El último patriarca* or the street vendors from *Biutiful* (00:21:18 – 00:22:59), both of which representations suggest resistance to autochthonous regulation and control, or by withholding central protagonism or plot significance from them until the very end, which contrastingly proposes their vulnerability as non-agentic figures. Even when Africans do eventually emerge in the plot, it is only when it serves the needs of white leads. This can be seen when Igé is ultimately ‘promoted’ to centrality as the future mother figure, but realistically only achieves this relevance to solve Uxbal’s dilemma in *Biutiful*. Ryan (2018) notes that Uxbal develops:

“relationships with two immigrant childminders, a Senegalese woman named Igé and a Chinese factory worker named Lili, both of whom assume the role of quasi-mother figures. Innovatively, *Biutiful*’s ostensible revalorisation of these women immigrants as a panacea to the fragmentation and abjection of the transnational Spanish family accords primacy and respect to the experience of immigrant childminding.” (Ryan 390).

Where Ryan proposes that this “revalorisation” affords “primacy and respect” to women immigrants, I would temper this assertion by noting that Lili’s attitudes to this role cast her as somewhat neglectful and that Igé’s prominence is limited to a guilt-driven decision to help the children only at the end of the film. This is also important in Aisha’s tragedy, where the effects of sadness and grief are experienced more as Matilde’s than as her own towards the end of *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón* (Chacón, 1998) and where her Aisha’s

attackers clearly bring about her demise as a castigation for her lack of acceptability in their society and as a purge.

Háblame, is a unique second person imagined diatribe and self-reflection of the conscience of an unapproachable and chauvinistic patriarch, and the circumstances of his frustrated trophy wife, her marital misdemeanours and her outside relationships with non-conformist immigrant women friends. In contrast with *Fátima de los naufragios*, in this novel it is the immigrant woman's voiced vibrancy and orientalist "child-like joy" (Greskovicova-Chang, 2020,111) which implicitly result in her downfall in a violently anti-Moroccan reprisal at the end; a catastrophe which thwarts the hopeful representation of a seemingly liberated African woman. Nevertheless, the disconnect between native and immigrant remains pointed and unresolved, just as the chasm between imagined emotion written by Spanish authors and lived experience of African women immigrants remains apparent.

I would argue that, whilst the demons of neo-colonialism are represented through the glossed over abuse and murder of Aisha by autochthonous Spanish males in *Háblame*, more could be made of the inherent spectre of Said's suggested orientalism being inadequate as a rationale for Spanish-initiated violence. In line with the instances of violence against Zulema by the "funcionario" in *Princesas* (01:11:00 – 01:11:30), deeper exploration might consider both Kristeva's essay on horror and abjection (1982) and Scarry's *The Body in Pain* (1988), to strengthen the image of the immigrant woman's body as a space for immigration contention on the part of the host male population, as opposed to scenes emergent from orientalist stereotype and right-wing press (Flesler 92-5) of women being subjugated by the stereotypically savage Muslim male in their homelands. The effect of such scenes is to reinforce the notion that they suffer from the redoubled aesthetic liminality of being the marginalised other, both culturally and in terms of sexual or physical abuse. Furthermore, in

both the case of Zulema and Aisha, their suffering happens in the reader's or viewer's imagination and description or screen time is not afforded to the acts themselves, which perpetuates the sense that immigrant women's suffering is 'someone else's problem' and somehow a separate issue.

This leads onto the third point: that the African immigrant to Spain is shown to be both physically and culturally 'other' – either by choice or stereotypical decree – and to be either 'controversial' – which would necessarily present them as resistant to the European neoliberal 'norm,' or 'owned,' which represents vulnerability and helplessness. In this way, whether as a disempowered, emasculated and enslaved body for the physical enjoyment of the rich white male, as in *Los príncipes nubios*, or as 'objets d'interesse' as in *Extranjeras*, the African immigrants are presented as the object of western fantasy and entertainment, and this also extends to the ostentatious extroversion shown by El Hachmi's women narrator and her conscious sexual deviancy. Presenting them in these voyeuristic ways fetishises and differentiates them both sexually and culturally and the effect is thus similar. Regardless of whether they are seen amongst rich western abusers, being trafficked for sex, or within interior kitchen settings, preparing colourful and exotic foods for the entertainment of European viewers, they are still being introduced as the 'other.'

The principal point of divergence between Spanish- and African-authored works is, as mentioned previously, what Flesler refers to as the autochthonous use of voice and testimony by Spanish writers within fictional portrayals and associated resultant philosophical observation. Flesler considers the relative effectiveness and implied "hierarchy" of "testimonio" (163) or imagined first person narration in the works and looks at how it appears in depicted voyages and shipwrecks, poems and mysticism, prayers and laments (*Fátima de los naufragios/ Voces del estrecho*), to "represent an "accurate picture" of what "others" lives

are like.” (163). She believes that “testimonio” is an “ethnographic game” (193) or “performance” (163), rather than true “Voices from the Periphery” (my own term), since its effect is to further alienate and observe the immigrant woman form and experience subjectively. Considering the predominant external subjectivity of the Spanish-written characterisation in most of these works and the aforementioned actual employment status quo, it might be supposed that other forces are involved in both the sociological and literary/cultural spheres - those of exotic or Orientalist stereotype, racism and xenophobia.

Eddo-Lodge considers this sort of writing or directing to be representative more of white “well-wishers” or “moderates” intending to paint a picture of racial harmony but instead casting their subjects separately and differently and thereby reaffirming the normalness of the white and the otherness of the black, (Eddo-Lodge 117-9), insomuch as they succeed more in further ostracising the subject of their work and re-establishing a white privileged status quo. In partial agreement with Eddo-Lodge, I posit that Africans in the Spanish opus are seen from several different angles and with varying degrees of attempted deliverance from the periphery, however, there remains in each instance a degree of alterity in their characterisation or storyline.

Reference to or voyeurism of the unknown and unexperienced exotic or mystic becomes a trope in the cultural representation of the African in Spain and evokes Zilcosky’s comment on Kafka’s style in, in that he neither travelled nor had genuine familiarity with the “ideal distant” of his “emigré cities,” yet “imagined that travel was the magical ingredient” (Zilcosky, 2003, 9) which his writing required. Similarly, autochthonous works which attempt to cast alterity as magic, beauty and mysticism like *Fátima de los naufragios* and invented characters like Ombasi in *Bwana* (00:53:55 – 00:53:57), which exist to be chastised in storylines, and to generate western reader or viewer pathos, instead regress towards the

“epistemic violence” described by Spivak. Spivak argues that this “epistemic violence” takes place when imagined experiences or voices of poorer or more liminal “subalterns” (1988, 271-313), such as African women, are shared by empowered Westerners in their thought or public text. I would further suggest that this style and genre of literary portrayal hints at the colonialist “*Orientalism*” discussed by Edward Said (1978).

Said proposes in his introductory chapters to *Orientalism* (1978) that the existence and experience of being an immigrant is a discontinuous state of being, and I would suggest that the combined experiences of being displaced from their country of origin, removed from family, portrayed without the context and back-story of visible or functional families, obstructed from fair access to the labour market and physically and psychologically abused inevitably result in considerable instability in the representation of immigrant women protagonists. He furthermore identifies an implied and pervasive European view of Asia and Africa as a place of inferior civilization, from where peoples are seen as naturally less commanding of respect and more frequently treated as objects of entertainment, curiosity, sexual lust and naïve mystique. This exoticism labels African women as categorically different rather than displaying them in the awe-inspiring, rose-tinted style proposed, and the effect of this is to show how racism is perpetuated in society. In an online blog - *What is Orientalism?* - this particular aspect of racism is described as “a way of seeing that imagines, emphasizes, exaggerates and distorts differences of Arab peoples and cultures as compared to that of Europe and the U.S.” (www.arabstereotypes.org). Tellingly to this effect, within common Castilian parlance, D’Ors highlights the increasingly accepted pejorative use of Arabic terminology to reference people in the migration industry between Africa and Europe, “Harague y raïs son palabras árabes que se difunden cada vez más en el ámbito peninsular...con la acepción de contrabandista” (2002, 99). As a similar trope within the films

studied Similarly, whilst Uxbal's most redeeming characteristic in *Biutiful* is his determination to forge a better life for his children (01:04:10-01:04:14), his presumptuous delegation of onward maternal duties to Igé and her latter emergence from darkened background shots and sporadic appearances to more centrality in the film, exclusively as a caring and committed mother figure, evoke orientalist memories of western men using African women as either sex objects, nannies or maids.

This evocation suggests that their lack of impact upon the script and storyline mirrors their perceived lesser importance in the off-screen reality and that some of the engagement with immigration in the film was perhaps more a natural effect of white stereotype than a planned cause. I propose, therefore, that although the intention of western authors and directors may have been to cast African women as inspirational and aspirational of acceptance and to "champion hybridity", as suggested by Lúcia Nagib (2014, 21), the remnants of their alterity become more nuanced instead and the result is a more jarring and exoticist social fragmentation. I would further argue that the segregation created by this repeated differentiation of aesthetic and agency between Spanish and Africans introduces a feeling of inherent xenophobia in Spanish society. In my opinion the effect, rather than eliciting reader empathy, is to subconsciously alienate the foreigner and show them as being categorically different and potentially even unacceptable and this follows Judith Butler's assertion that "the alien is effectively established through... expulsion." (1990, 169). This brings into consideration the vulnerability/ resistance debate, in that the African immigrant women is vulnerable to white Eurocentric prejudices and must continually strive to be resilient against it.

In reference to this occidental racism and unaccepting xenophobia in arts and media, Afua Hirsch suggests that people of African background are forced to "learn" their own

identity (2018, 45) in accordance with what white people expect and to conform to colonialist expectations of acceptable western uniforms and even hairstyles as “cultural markers” to assimilate as “a member of their community” (Hirsch 58). This idea is certainly borne out in the strangeness with which Fátima is observed on the beach in her native clothes in *Fátima de los naufragios* and in the fact that immigrant women preparing strange and exotic foods become the focus for a post-colonial ‘edutainment’ (programmes promoted as being educational but presented as light entertainment) gaze in the documentary *Extranjeras* (Taberna, 2005).

The shortest of the filmic selection, *Extranjeras* is a documentary-style interview and exhibition of a collective of women immigrants at home, in which they share experiences of life in Spain and ‘at home’ and discuss their ethnic food preparation. Isolina Ballesteros proposes that in *Extranjeras*: “la familia se propone como el núcleo de negociación interracial y potencial creación de una sociedad más tolerante y multiétnica.” (2015, 257). I would add to this that the depiction of home as a safe, un-sexed and open forum for voice to be heard might afford a refuge for women immigrants, as well as a space in which they can begin to engender power, and that at times the value of this supercedes the confinement which it implies. Nevertheless, the aesthetic effect of presenting ‘foreign’ women and their lives in highly recognisable surroundings but with essentially esoteric experiences and exotic foods perhaps diminishes the informational impact of the film’s cinematic non-fiction form and broadcasts more of the ‘otherness’ of the women immigrants’ backgrounds and experiences, as well as turning the reality of their lives into something more imagined or surreal. This therefore aligns it more with the unrealistic “testimonio” of earlier written pieces, such as *Fátima de los naufragios*. Just as animals in a nature documentary, they only achieve meaningfulness for

western consumption through providing a light-hearted cultural education for the palate of the Spanish audience.

Through this presentation as superficial caricatures of orientalist intrigue, the protagonists in these works become what Shukla et al. (2017) label “*The Good Immigrant*,” and diligently act out their expected roles as a mere diversion for the western viewer. Their portrayals do not, therefore, allow space for a deeper understanding of the immigration experience or the traumas of social inaccessibility and chronic cultural isolation. This correlates with the aforementioned neoliberal ideologies of submission before the economically more powerful western audience and again presents African women striving to be resistant in situations of vulnerability.

With regards to the works authored by African women, Jesse Barker reflects on the parallels between the cultural struggles in the psyche of the Amazigh-Moroccan/ Catalan-Spanish Najat El Hachmi and the narrators in her books. He suggests that she “self-consciously responds to expectations surrounding the long-awaited development of an immigrant literature in Spain, part of hopes that Spain’s metropolises will forge a modern multicultural society.” (2017, 145). Nevertheless, he believes that “the ideal of multicultural hybridity” (Barker 21) is undermined by the “deconstruction of patriarchal figures” (20) in *El último patriarca*. His stance, therefore, is that the revelations of chauvinism and El Hachmi’s “self-conscious” explosion of the dominant male stereotype and inversion to women sexual power is counterproductive. Thus, Barker suggests that the unintended implication of El Hachmi’s characterisation and plot twists rather show patriarchy as being necessary for the narrator to remain chaste and morally potent and for order and functionality to exist within modern Spanish art and society. Furthermore, I contend that the anonymisation of African women family members, both by El Hachmi and Karrouch has twofold ramifications. Firstly,

it highlights the paternalistic outlook of the conservative Moroccan society by giving the women existence merely through their relationship to the more 'important' man/ boy. Secondly, the lack of acknowledged name symbolises the silence and lack of political agency with which they are expected to exist by the main male protagonist, both when he is with them in Morocco and when he contacts them from Spain. This silent and peripheral existence of the lowly Moroccan women again reminds us of Spivak's (1988) suggestion that the "subaltern" cannot truly speak. Paradoxically, however, the fact that El Hachmi herself publishes from the position of a "subaltern" immigrant women lends greater weight to the comment she is making about the disempowered status of women in conservative societies and the fact that often their 'worth' is higher than the perpetually favoured male.

On the other hand, Karrouch and El Hachmi's determination to become Catalan/Spanish through adopting Catalonian cultural and educational practice more than simply by moving into a Moroccan community in Spain and continuing to follow traditions of the old country does however draw attention in its difference from the roles of imagined immigrant women such as Fátima, Milady and Aisha. Their aim seems to be more of a physical, visceral assimilation, which links to Sara Ahmed's explorations of migration and assimilation, in that she explores the rationales of moving home as being less about "inhabiting a ...space" and more about "the locality intruding the senses" (1999, 341). They want to go beyond what Ballesteros refers to as the "road movie genre... structured around movement and displacement as logical reactions to poverty, war, destruction, and oppression" (2015, 178) and to achieve permanence and parity in their new homeland, through mental, verbal, physical and sexual confrontation.

Ahmed also explores the paradox of movement and relocation as representing both the dislocation and longing which appear in the works and the celebration of new hybridity and

nomadism, which has allowed both Moroccan women to become educated, multicultural and (to some degree) marketable as cross-territory authors. In the essay, Ahmed points out that Rosi Braidotti, in her treatise on existential nomadism, does not give “any positive description to home ...only... reference to what it is not” (Ahmed 339), however I would argue that both El Hachmi and Karrouch embrace their uniquely complex liminality not as “desterritorialidad” and a loss of home, but rather as a form of paradoxical empowerment. The international nomadism of the hybrid women has allowed them to master new dictionaries and languages, willingly break taboos and gain the economic independence and markers of assimilation, acceptance and psychological “home” involved in winning the Catalan *Ramon Llull* and *Columna Jove* prizes for literature respectively. I would therefore suggest that, for these two *real* hybrid African-Spanish women authors, their feminist achievement contrasts pointedly with that of the ‘real but *semi-performing*’ African women in *Extranjeras* the *imagined* advancement to recognition as a mother figure of Igé in *Biutiful* or indeed the contrived rise to martyrdom of the *fictional* Fátima in *Fátima de los naufragios*. This variance could be due to the empowerment from which the former benefit as educated people in a position of authorial authority. However, the latter two examples achieve their sense of belonging and meaning from within the spaces they seem to be confined to – namely the home kitchen and the sea (the presumed place of tragedy of the illegal ‘patera’) – and thus speak to Butler’s notion of home as “subversive” (1990, 17) deliverance. Contrastingly, the Moroccan authors have infiltrated Spanish society and readership and thus represent more of what Sara Ahmed terms “stranger fetishism” – the fascination humans have for that which is unusual or unknown. Ahmed’s assessment is that “we can only avoid stranger fetishism... by examining the social relationships that are concealed by this very fetishism” (2000, 6) and I would argue that by Karrouch and El Hachmi occupying the dual positions of being both

foreigner and new Spaniard in their writing and in their outlook, they can narrate or embody both the fetishising strangers and the inquisitive voyeur “encountering” them.

It could be argued that the comparative success which these two women African authors have achieved through being inscribed into the cosmopolitanism of the Catalan oeuvre is somewhat less notable due to their overall lack of pan-peninsular marketing success and financial prowess in comparison to the aforementioned “257 most important Spanish writers of the 21st century” (www.barnesandnoble.com) and to the fact that they may have successfully moved into an industrialised metropolis, but have not been as accepted into the literary discourse of central ‘Castilian’ Spain. A phenotypical border does seem to have come into play in their quest for economic access, nonetheless, I would argue that they represent more of an example of interculturalism than of multiculturalism and that they have therefore succeeded in overcoming the glaring paradox created by centrally successful white Spanish authors characterising fictional African women protagonists for more hollow and superficial narratives.

Multiculturalism, as depicted by native Spanish authors, does itself demand some acceptance of all cultures and communities, but whilst this promotes conviviality, it also precludes true confluence, as the differentiation of cultures remains evident. On the other hand, interculturalism's endgame is a heterogeneous clean slate and a hybrid “third space,” (Bhaba, 1993-4. See earlier definition), which therefore requires a rejection of origin, culture, belief and homogeneity, and it is in this way which Karrouch and El Hachmi have found success. El Hachmi’s comments on hijab wearing in interviews (www.tellerreport.com, 2019) reflect this notion, since she argues against the dual patriarchies of Islamic extremism, which seeks to restricts the agency and self-determinacy of Muslim females and enforce the wearing of the hijab according to interpretations of Sharia Law and Spanish neoliberal democracy,

which removes individual choice through banning the hijab as a presumed marker of an alternative system of power and belonging. Interpreting El Hachmi's stance here as anti-political and anti-religious might also be to consider it a proposal of the intercultural 'clean slate' mindset which moves beyond delimiting generalised cultural imaginary. Similarly, where Karrouch discusses erstwhile Moroccan religious icons in terms of simple adornment, (www.dretsdelpobres.org, 2004), perhaps we might consider that this is more a cipher for intercultural progress than for blasphemy.

These two authors' ability to embody the struggles between vulnerability and resistance is partly because of their contextual Catalonia-Berber duality, where the regional separation, confusion and dichotomy uniquely challenge but perhaps also complement the issues of complex immigration and assimilation. I would contend that it is also, potentially, because they are proposing a relevant revalorisation of traditions, whether they be traditions of educational curricula, mores of religious conservatism, rules on linguistic separatism, visions of patriotic mythology, divergence from paternalistic African ritualism and male-governed western eroticism, or the Islamic and Francoist hermetic closing-off of the women body and the women voice from public view and audience. The ambiguity of using cultural differentiation of heritage as and when they see fit, is promising as an intersectional cipher for the successful establishment of a functioning Bhaba-esque "third space," to act as the "isla a media distancia" intermediary which Lucía Etxebarria's narrator refers to in *Cosmofobia* (327). "I thought that we had been like two indigenous people living on two distant isles." Notwithstanding, the need to do this problematises the perceived singularity of third space.

In his discussions of the idea of a "third space" in an interview with Jonathan Rutherford (1990, 207-21), Bhaba states that, in order to establish a power equality and fairness of communication and space for communal learning and acceptance, an entrance into

a “third space” and an acceptance that all participants are thus equally native, foreign and hybrid must be achieved. In this way, understanding that all individuals are both unique and of equal rights and empowerment can permit the initiation of true sociocultural exchange.

Extending the ambiguity, this intercultural outlook can therefore, by one interpretation, potentially permit useful communicative conduit and bypass the historical Iberian ‘gender space’ obsession discussed by Flesler (and defined earlier), replacing it with an instance of “third space.” Paradoxically, I also posit that this is also potentially problematic for the African women authors since it indicates a contradictory regression to positions of alterity and dissimulation. This is because the inferred continuing need to explicitly reference a life of difference in interview or portray it in art necessarily points to a persistent prejudice in Spanish society and the ongoing need for mediation and reaffirmation, even within a supposedly “third space” Catalanian and international literary future.

These considerations aside, whereas autochthonous authors, such as Etxebarria, might have introduced montages of multiculturalism and harmonious co-existence within pastiches of reported life in the physical urban world of Lavapiés but simultaneously in an imagined world of fluid and trouble-free ethnic exchange, the works of these African-born authors have to some extent shown that true integration is still lacking. They have also exposed prejudices both ways. Firstly, they have revealed and railed against prejudices of immigrant women’ expected characteristics and the facile expectations which some might have had for their work proving to be nothing more than a ‘new exotic at home for Catalonia.’ Secondly, however, and in a less discussed way, they have also exposed prejudices held by African women themselves of expectations about life in Spain and the anticipated ease of assimilation and employability in the arrival country before completing the migration through the border space.

These complexities and contradictions from across the African-authored works tend to be communicated through plots and semi-autobiographical narration which regularly follow linear structures and involve explicit transformations of the protagonists into more consciously empowered ‘Spaniards.’ Storylines such as Karrouch’s schoolgirl striving to impress with sports and academia and El Hachmi’s narrator studying the dictionary, seemingly more to ‘learn how to be Spanish/ Catalan’ than to simply learn words, reflect this conscious and diligent determination to succeed assimilate, however I contend that even in their publication, there remains a spectre of the subaltern in the aesthetics associated with the African women portrayals.

Women’s aesthetics are repeatedly employed, whether deliberately or subconsciously, by both native and African authors to create symbolic ambience and a backdrop in which to position the women protagonists’ characterisation. Religious bias is visible in Spanish-written immigrant literature, where the more realistic representations of the woman immigrant often become skewed through an unnecessary, albeit visually aesthetically pleasing, attribution of exoticism and mysticism, such as in the religious imagery of Ortiz’s *Fátima de los naufragios*. Here the clear intent of the author to open readers’ minds to the horrendous realities of the suffering and grief of immigrant women results more tellingly in a reversion to the portrayal of a woman being delivered from the poisonous status of an illegal immigrant and a bringer of bad omens (with opportunities for interpretation as the Eve of original sin) in the villagers’ eyes to her rebirth as a symbolically Christian Virgin Mary. As Jessica Folkart reflects, the natives see the immigrant woman first as “alien and then incorporate her into their vision of identity to reify their perception of themselves as the center.” (Folkart 334). Thus, the inference I would take is that foreign women serve a purpose only as temporal satisfaction for the Spanish appetite. To compound this, the second

incarnation re-imagines the foreign woman explicitly as an actual prostitute, Marcelinda, wherein the gaze is magnified into something more erotic, exoticist and vulgar. Again, the women's presence is turned into something of direct 'use' to the local community, but this time she is no longer sacred. She is, instead, sexualised and wanton, albeit still without any discernible personal route into empathy and lasting interaction. Thus, the myth of women as either maiden, mother or whore and the "otherness" of women immigrants are prolonged and repositied. This regression is so prevalent within the Spanish immigration film and literature as to suggest that the chauvinism of a patriarchal society, the dogma of a Catholic cultural framework and the xenophobia of a colonialist past are still present within the collective outlook of Spanish society, and this conveys a bleak message about the prospects of true equality within the neoliberalism of postmillennial Europe. In this way, where Folkart asserts that Ortiz's strategy is to "critique the sexual and cultural subjugation problematically" (Folkart 334), my own contention is that the twin tales feed into the already-established Orientalist canon of exoticised and aesthetically differentiated representations of African women in Spanish immigration literature, perpetuating the post-colonialist perspective of superiority and condescension, through the quasi-visual effect of her costume. In this instance, there is an evocation of the women wearer of patterned or gaudy fabrics, whether an invented protagonist such as Fátima or an immigrant woman author such as Laila Kharrouch, as someone mystical, differentiated and 'other.'

I contend that the paradoxical effect of African women wearing the national dress of their country of origin, either out of choice or obligation, whilst it does highlight their difference from Spanish natives, can also carry three additional significances. It can either act: as a reminder of the impotence and vulnerability of both paternalistically-imposed etiquette and neoliberal interculturalist expectations; as a personal expression of hedonic celebration of

their erstwhile culture, and thus a resistance to Spanish conformity; or, perhaps most tellingly as an explanation for the paradox, as a cipher for eudaimonia and resilience through “flourishing,” as they simultaneously recognise their own plight and vulnerability, but also demonstrate resilience through their stamina and tenacity in wearing the symbolic dress and resistance to adversity if, indeed, their costume is selected through personal choice.

Di Fabio and Palazzeschi describe resilience as “a key factor in the well-being of individuals,” (2015, 1), and consider that there is a variation between “hedonic” and “eudaimonic” preventive approaches to psychological unhappiness, wherein the hedonistic response is to focus on “well-being in terms of pleasure attainment and pain avoidance” and the eudaimonic resilience is distilled from “self-realization,” “resources and strengths,” (Di Fabio and Palazzeschi 2). In Lourdes Ortiz’s two representations of African women protagonists, the “cloak” worn by the woman is itself a eudaimonic impediment, actually covering the woman’s hands and thus preventing the full visibility of her prayers and the effective agency of her hands: “reza por él, con las manos cubiertas por el manto y estática” (*Fátima de los naufragios* 7-8). Thus, the clothing which gives her origin and cultural identity also deprives her of personal potency at the same time as marking her as different from the local onlookers. Nonetheless, eudaimonically, the prayers which she offers, and her implied martyrdom, demonstrate her resilience and can thus be interpreted as her coming to terms with her ‘self’ and resisting the vulnerability of herself. The implicit contradictions in this conceit accentuate both the notion that women, in particular immigrant women, are defined more by how they appear than by what they achieve and are therefore nothing more than foreign, ethereal, consumerist beings, and speak to the emergent “flourishing” of strength in the self-aware African women. I would argue that perhaps they cannot and need not be understood or aligned to everyday Spanish life. The contradictory fact that they are, however,

routinely subjected to imposed restrictions on appearance, outfit and role in society, as much by the norms of their adoptive nation as by the conservatism of their patriarchal cultures of origin, leaves them in a state of vulnerable impotence, limited to seeking expressions of self through their adornments and yet unable to freely use clothing as expression. They can neither reject the uniform of their repressed past, nor comfortably accept that of their new nation, so their lasting impression in the literature is that of a disenfranchised mannequin, with hands bound and mouth closed. Clearly, there is a difference between the possession, clothing or artefact which has passed through families as an heirloom or accrued deeper significance as a religious icon, however I would argue that the emphasis on the superficial with regards to women presentation in the work points towards them being hollow.

Whereas some might suggest that this established preoccupation with aesthetic differences signals an attempted engagement with the immigrants' culture on the part of Spanish authors (even women authors, such as Ortiz), I would suggest that the assigned orientalism which accompanies the African representations instead serves more to reinforce the autochthonous reader's perception of the immigrant woman's 'otherness' and to hint at the voyeurism of a male gaze. As such, the emphasis on the visual and spiritual aspects of the central woman immigrant's clothes and looks, as opposed to outlining the realities of her situation and exposing her grief, focuses more on the strangeness of her superficial adornments and introduces little realistic opportunity or hope for social dialogue on confluence and equality. Additionally, I suggest that, whilst a focus on culture and aesthetics from the African traditions of origin might indicate an acceptance or a celebration of diversity, the emphasis on objects rather than people or their experiences also points to a more problematic shift from personification of non-assimilation to mere commodification. In this way, I argue that an emphasis on tradition and national identity over personality and

individuality represents a preference for the imagined over the real and an avoidance of engagement with opportunities for the emergence of society-changing voice for African women immigrants.

Further instances of symbolic pairing of women with superficial iconography and consumer products are seen within the opus written by hybrid African-Spanish authors, where adornments and accessories are depicted and discussed, such as the exchange of wedding dowry jewellery in *El último patriarca*:

“Grandmother could think of only one way to finance her son’s trip. She took one of her gold bracelets from the folded blankets she kept on top of the shelf at the back of her bedroom, making sure grandfather didn’t find out... she wrapped it in ... blue-edged handkerchiefs and whispered, see how much you can get for it and, for God’s sake, don’t tell anyone, don’t let anyone find out I’m selling part of my dowry.” (62)

The same effect is seen in *De Nador a Vic*:

“anaven vestits d’una manera molt curiosa: també portaven una espècie de gel.laba fins als peus, amb caputxa, amb butxaques als costats I, majoritàriament, de color blanc.” (64).

Here the attire and adornments are described with more captivating attention to detail and depth than any narration of the women relative’s feelings, strife or personalities – we do not even read their names in most instances. Greater importance is also given to trivialities and adornments than to personalities in comments in public interviews by immigrant authors about their work, such as in Karrouch’s *Papers* interview.

(www.dretsdelpobles.org, 2004). This suggests a reversion to the stereotyped feminine obsession with beauty, possession and superficial aesthetics and suggests that women can be defined more by what they have or what they wear than by who they are or what they have to

say. As well as stripping importance and integrity from the social contributions of the African women, this emphasis on adornments once again reveals a potential dichotomy. There is, on the one hand, the potential of vulnerability, pointing towards their Baumanesque “wasted lives,” (Bauman, 2003, 1) where they are seen as no more than hollow consumers, dehumanised in their desire for objects over essence. Nevertheless, these could also be seen as being part of their culture and heritage and thus of their own personal affirmation of resistance to the new proscriptive conformity in their new, neoliberal Spanish home.

I posit that make-up is of similar importance, since its very nature is to apply a layer of superficial masquerade and beautification to the women and thus also to hide her true nature and avoid contemplation of any personality or social commentary she might have. Lourdes Ortiz’s second incarnation of the woman immigrant is symbolically entitled “*La piel de Marcelinda*,” which points towards a focus on the skin and the superficial, rather than the person or their back-story. The effect of this superficiality or obsession with aesthetic and adornment at surface level could be seen to symbolise a societal situation in which the host population cannot see past the mirage of costume, the differentiating trappings of culture, or, more fundamentally, the differences of skin tone and race. This is therefore suggestive of racialism. Evidence of a preoccupation with superficialities and adornments can also be seen in Kharrouch’s *Papers* interview. In this interview she mentions the benefits of informing Catalan readers about elements of traditional Moroccan dress, adornment and henna make-up before eventually going on to talk about hopes for “convivència” and revealing truths about personal sacrifices made and prejudice suffered by immigrant women. Her words again remind us of the prerequisite for African women to be visually captivating in order to educate or commune with the Spanish readership:

“D’altra banda, als lectors catalans els pot servir per entendre certes coses de la nostra cultura, com per què ens posem el mocador, per què ens pintem les mans amb alquena (henna)... podrà entendre determinats comportaments propis de la nostra cultura i, a la vegada, comprendre la dificultat i els sacrificis que suposa deixar un país i començar una nova vida” (www.dretsdelpobles.org, 2004).

Although these observations appear to ‘blur the line’ between real authors and fictitious characters, the fact that Karrouch’s work is autobiographical means that she symbolically assumes both the representative and the real, and this effect is compounded by the purity and naivety of her presentation, as a piece of youth literature. It is noteworthy, therefore, that her positioning of emphasis on make-up and superficialities in interview is confirmed by the fact that she considers it remarkable and even surprising in *De Nador a Vic* when someone does not choose to discuss “boys,” “make-up” and “tights:” - “no vam parlar de nois ni de maquillatge ni de mitges.” (72). This assertion represents a cerebral resistance to the vulnerability of symbolic association with superficial ‘women’ aesthetic concerns.

Reference to women’s hair, too, is a key aesthetic cipher for understanding the significance of African representation in the work. El Hachmi, in interview, says that “from a very young age you are taught that your body is a problem,” suggesting that the wearing of covering material over one’s hair is dictated to be a way of avoiding the guilt and shame of being sexually alluring and “conflictive” to a male or revealing the unique features which make you different from everyone else. (www.tellerreport.com, 2019). In *El último patriarca*, hair is indeed referenced when El Hachmi’s protagonists are either differentiating between or criticising characters. This is the case both when males with ‘feminine’ and ‘western’ long hair are sneered at by Mimoun: “they say they’ve seen you with a boy, you were walking with him along the Rambla, a boy with long hair,” and when she gets castigated and reported to her

father by her schoolteacher for touching her hair in class: “she’s always touching her hair, she told him. It was simply the first time I’d ever been to a hairdresser’s, and I couldn’t get used to my hair coming down to my bum and feeling so smooth.” Afua Hirsch’s affirmations that her experiences of having visibly different African characteristics as a child were that “the alien hair that crowned my difference... plagued me” (Hirsch 50) are brought sharply into focus here, as a visual reminder of both non-assimilation but also the perpetuity of self-identity.

Emma Tarlo brings up the gender significance of hair styles on girls and women, comparing the perceived financial value of “black gold” and “gold gold” (Tarlo, 2016, 1-2) however she suggests that “male authority” over women hair had since been “slipping,” that men had been “castrated” by the anti-Samsonite cutting of their wives’ and daughters’ hair and that women were regaining control over their bodies and their appearance.” (Tarlo 3-4). The fact that, in *El último patriarca*, both the control of Mimoun and of the Spanish women teacher over his daughter’s appearance is contested suggests that in postmillennial Spanish literature, society and the surrounding public discourse, African women hair still occupies a central motif of an individual women’s power but also of jealousy and alterity. I posit that it is employed by white authors as a piece of differentiating aesthetics in the imagery of characterisation, as in Almudena Grandes’s *Los besos en el pan*, (2015) where foreign women’s hair is their discerning and differentiating characteristic, and yet is also presented as a symbol of self-identity by African women in the press. I propose that, although Tarlo’s discussions of women hair point towards feminine vulnerability and the supremacy of the male gaze, the self-affirmation which might be associated with choosing and maintaining an ‘immigrant hairstyle’ in Spain might contradictorily denote personal, gender and cultural resistance. Further evidence for this theory can be seen in *De Nador a Vic*, where the

emotional and observational memories of strangeness for Karrouch in the key transitional chapter of “L’arribada” lead her to mark that the most striking differences between her family and the otherwise “dolç i agradable” local lady at their point of arrival were that she “segurament tenia molts diners,” and was tellingly “de cabells rossos.” (21). The fact that the lady is then described as staring at the Muslim women one at a time and then laughing at Karima’s appearance seems to be a racial insult and thus to counter the effect of hairstyle-based self-affirmation of the African women here, yet the two juxtaposed short sentences that follow - “Se la mirava i reia. La Karima no reia” (22) - reveal the African women’s resistance to the vulnerability of being in the aesthetic minority.

Alongside symbolic references to hair, further familiar aesthetic representation within these works is of the women in religiously significant settings, poses or enactments. Examples abound in Najat El Hachmi’s *El último patriarca*, where the living martyrdom of Mimoun’s sisters, mother and wife are evident as he continuously rebukes, denies, ignores or attacks them. It does not go unnoticed that Mimoun’s repeated, selfish quests for personal financial opportunity in Spain are funded by the sale of wedding dowry jewellery. The concept of a dowry is that it cements the financial deal struck when women are effectively bought for marriage, and this is a deliberate reminder of women’s culturally lower significance in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, however, the fact that the jewellery is also the newly married woman’s last possession and only hope for survival after a husband has died or abandoned her makes Mimoun selfishly capitalising on its early sale even more meaningful. In this image, women characters’ last mementos of independence and chance of any future self-sufficiency are taken away as a direct consequence of Islam’s assertion of male dominance and, furthermore, women are seen as complicit in willingly ceding symbols of the religious sanctity of their bond to males.^{xlv} Another potential inspiration for Muslim imagery is the blanket which

Mimoun's wife gives him before an impending return journey. It could be argued that the sanctity of their marriage deal in the eyes of Islam is represented in that particular piece of fabric or even that it signifies something like the compromising cloth bands of Orthodox Christian wedding ceremonies or the prayer mat carried everywhere by Muslim men. It is also reminiscent of the "*alfombra de piel de cordero teñida*" (141) which his mother had previously attempted to give him for his travels, and which takes on a superstitious value along Mimoun's 'anti-pilgrimage' through life in Spain. In any and all of these interpretations, the women protagonists are elevated to prophetic or saintly status in their dedication, their generosity and their attempts to maintain the purity and piety of the "patriarca," yet Mimoun's attitude to both is dismissive and neglectful (perhaps reflecting the author's viewpoints on religion and the hollowness of trans-substantiating possessions or perhaps just highlighting Mimoun's self-serving paternalistic male focus) and both are eventually rejected; one by the male character, Mimoun, and one by the white native Spanish woman, Isabel. There is, therefore, a tussle between the vulnerability of the immigrant women's subjugation and the resistance shown by their own sanctification.

One exposition of the problematised duplicity between resistant and self-affirming culture and enforced vulnerability and submission is seen in both Ketz's (77-98) and Coury and Ceberio's contributions to *African Immigrants in Contemporary Spanish Texts* (2015, 193-206), where the term "dilemma" is applied to the Orientalist determination to add "alterity" or "otherness" to the immigrant, and particularly to African, Muslim, women, through both literature and even news stories on hijab bans. The very notion of trying to legally obstruct the wearing of a symbol of foreign male oppression and subjugation of the women body instead actually reemphasises the "otherness" of the wearer and deprives the woman immigrant of their own choice of personal preference or expression of voice. The

writers' observations here therefore offer a more feminist view and begin to reveal the truth about woman immigrant experience.

As much as a traditional and sentimental marker of ethnological belonging and an open attempt to engage with and revalorise African heritage, the imagery of clothing, specifically, casts up the sensory and eudaimonic effect of something soft, delicate and 'soulfully resistant,' as well as the concomitant hedonistic idea that it is a possession which is either worn in superficial self-celebration and voyeuristically appreciated or alternatively deplored as a mark of paternalism, religion and existential vulnerability. Nevertheless, it can simultaneously also be used as a guard of chastity, a cover for insecurity, a marker of conformity, a symbol of repression and slavery and a tool with which to forge one's own unique image in the outside world. The narrator's internal monologue about wanting to wear her headscarf in *El último patriarca* against such threats from her father as "that's the last time you go out with that rag on your head" (208) reflects the dilemma which ethnic dress can create. Whereas Mimoun's daughter claims that she had "not planned to make any Muslim revolution," she does acknowledge that the wearing of the hijab can be a way in which her "rebellious spirit expressed itself" and then subsequently hints at the symbolic feminine empowerment and cultural sorority it can provide by noting that "his mother had worn one, his wife, his sisters..." (208). Clothing is, therefore, often imagined as a liberating mark of personal or cultural pride, yet religion uses costume as another way to imprison the women and hold her down within the male authority of social convention and expectation. In this way, the Muslim hijab is, at once a cornerstone of religious tradition and conservatism, and an indication of dangerous rebellion and individuality. A clear example of this can be found in an essay entitled *Sempre han parlat per nosaltres* (El Hachmi, 2019) by the very author who introduced the headscarf dilemma in *El último patriarca*. Here El Hachmi's disdain for

fundamentalist authority and the enforcement of young Muslim women covering their hair with a hijab is palpable. She refers to it sometimes in the accepted terminology of “hijab,” sometimes as a “veil” and sometimes simply as a “handkerchief.”

Memorable news stories in recent years in Spain and the United Kingdom have recounted pseudo-freedom neoliberal movements for schoolgirls to be allowed to wear religious uniforms including hijabs and head scarves. Nevertheless, the most pre-eminent Muslim author, Najat El Hachmi, herself a second-generation hybridized immigrant woman to regional Spain, treats such conservatism with sarcasm and contempt. In her 2019 interview she discusses the hijab and the conflict between being “nullified” as a married and silenced, hijab-wearing Moroccan wife and the “fear of stigmatizing women who freely choose the veil,” asserting that “Islam was never feminist... Nor will it ever be.” She points out that girls never previously wore the veil before marriage in Morocco and that the new imposition was a further way of being repressed by “monotheistic religions”, all of which she labels as “paternalistic.” (www.tellerreport.com). Spanish public discourse presupposes that women Muslims wearing a hijab are doing so as a marker of submission to the ultra-conservative and patriarchal Islamic tradition and are thus revealing their vulnerability to another, unfamiliar power. Nevertheless, in many instances the women have chosen to wear this as a personal choice and an empowering symbol of their cultural and spiritual origins. Rather than being the vulnerable or the exceptional party in any way, these women are either acting as ordinary Muslims or willingly embodying their self. This would, therefore, constitute an example of an expected vulnerability being evidence of resistance and the uncertainty of Spanish society in the face of this would demonstrate their own vulnerability and narrowmindedness, rather than any social superiority or political liberalism in the face of her doubly paternalistic cultural

heritage (both through her native Moroccan/ Islamic provenance and her new positioning within the limiting xenophobia/ islamophobia in Spain).

Contentions with ‘honour,’ religious conservatism, patriarchy and suffocation are, in fact, things which might unite and align women from different backgrounds, as a sorority of similarly oppressed, repressed and resistant members of society, with experience and conflict in common. However, the correlation is not frequently enough explored or expounded to be helpful in postmillennial Spanish literature and these things end up being conveniently manipulated into ways in which autochthonous women withdraw from, castigate and disempower immigrant women. Essentially, the views of the very church or tradition which limits their own opportunities are subsequently turned by them on other, less fortunate, powerful or upwardly mobile women within the neoliberal framework of virtues. As much as covering, chastity marker or adornment, I propose that clothing and accessories create an additional border between the native and the African. The hijab, for one, represents a physical border space of its own, wherein some elements of both the familiar and the strange are visible, tangible and accessible, but others are restricted. The outsider can see the eyes of the hijab wearer and appreciate her culture but not see or share in all of it, and the wearer can see a vision of the world outside but is subject to a physical and religious barrier of honour and subservience between it and her and, as such, acceptance, trust, employment and overall fulfilment are inaccessible. Whereas Vega-Durán touches on the concept of “stretching the border” (Vega-Durán, 2016, 99) to include the entire ocean and the processes of going through customs and encountering ongoing obstruction to entry into Spain, I posit that the physical barrier created by the clothes, headwear and make-up which form a boundary between the skin and the public eye, as well as the cultural barrier between those who can and cannot identify with traditional dress or western costume make the inability to successfully

integrate chronic and ongoing. These ideas point towards an ongoing alienation of the African women from the Spanish mainstream.^{xlvi} This internal contention also forces them to accept the “foreigner within,” and to confront the prospects of unattainable social, emotional and economic convergence with the native population. Kristeva suggests that “the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder.” (1991, 1). The affirmation of her thought here is that we cannot avoid alterity and lack of belonging, even within ourselves. In this way, the idea of social “convivència” or of African women ever truly ‘belonging’ to the Spanish mainstream at any level is void and I would argue that in this literature, the effect of the hijab is to ensure this remains the case. It can provoke the hatred seen in *El Egido* or provide the levels of controversy to generate a subsequent 2019 interview with El Hachmi in www.ELPaís.com, in which her motives for rejecting the hijab are questioned, and yet it is also a catalyst for the fetishistic sexual arousal of the Spanish onlookers in *Fátima de los naufragios*.

Aside from association with the aesthetics of visual and tactile dress, adornment and iconography, African women are also presented with more multisensory aesthetics, frequently with accompanying reference to taste, smell and sound. The repeated appearance of melons and other sweets and fruits in *El último patriarca*, if taken at face value, strikes the reader as tender, positive and alluring, or perhaps as further instance of sexual experience or the cultural imagery of food theory, however the mirage is short-lived in these texts, too often ending abruptly shortly after related men have taken their sexual fill or metaphorically bruised them. Once the fruit is shown to be overly delicate, surplus to requirements and out of place, against a backdrop of male experiences and concerns which are put forward as being more solemn, serious, merit-worthy and substantial, the taste of the fruit dissipates, and the

feminine agenda is ignored. This results in the fruit receding into the background, at the same time as stifling the woman immigrant voice and stymying the feminist agenda. In this way, when Mimoun's Moroccan wife has joined him in Spain, now that she has been married, subdued and desexualised to Mimoun, the appearance of the fruit is as the pathetic fallacy of cast off "fruit peel" amidst "endless rubbish" (*El último patriarca* 150) and the promise and sexual intrigue she might have exemplified in youth or before the crossing is extinguished.

With relation to the sweetness of fruit, Sidney Mintz made important observations about the centrality of food to social sciences and an understanding of culture in history and literature. In the book he examines how sugar and sweet foods entered the western psyche initially as a luxurious spice, used to show 'subtlety,' status and wealth, suggesting that "tobacco, sugar and tea were the first objects within capitalism that conveyed with their use the complex idea that one could *become* different by *consuming* differently" (Mintz, 1959, 185-6). Contrastingly, he notes that, for Africa and the East, sugar has been "one of the massive demographic forces in world history... because of [which], literally millions of enslaved Africans reached the New World" (186). The power of sugar through history is also explored by Noah Harari, who suggests that Capitalism is the single most important driver of human development in modern history and that the stock markets which emerged in early modern times and continue to control the geopolitical destiny of mankind were originally largely governed by the cyclical trade of sugar from the Americas, weapons from Europe and slavery from Africa. (Harari 348). Mintz, in his own study, reflects on imported sweet foods as a market phenomenon and highlights the decline in the glamour and value of sugar as the popularity of its consumption increased and, to a more pointed extent, Harari reinforces this notion, suggesting in a recent talk in the *India Times* that "sugar is a greater danger [to our future survival] than gunpowder." (www.IndiaTimes.com). With reference to such

observations, I would argue that by associating women with sugar and sweetness and the more sinister connotations of the slavery-driven sugar economy, and by visualising African women, in particular, with sweet fruits, the books in the immigration corpus subconsciously introduce the Africans as products of commodity and slavery and also point to their diminished value once either sexually or visually ‘consumed.’ Nevertheless, in a contrasting portrayal, *Extranjeras* sees women amidst sweet and spicy tropical foods and the pride with which they recreate their home cultures in their new Spanish homes seems to me to tessellate with the continuing values attached to the sugar trade and to sweet foods in the economies Asian and African countries themselves, where sugar production and fruit exports remain central to the economy and thus to status.

Fruit and sugar-coated sweets as a metaphor are symbolic of women’s perceived roles, too. Just as “the three strawberries demanded lots of coins” (*El último patriarca* 137) from Mimoun, as he embarks on habits of gambling, drinking and womanising, I propose that they also represent his view of the women themselves, personifying the strawberries either as prostitutes or financial burdens. In a chauvinistic society, women are metaphorically plucked by men for sex, marriage or domestic servitude; presented to the public viewer or consumer primarily for their aesthetic, tropical qualities; valued only in terms of appearance, flavour, aroma; yet critically not of longstanding goodness and ripeness and therefore less important and fickle. Thus, the women preparing melons before one of Mimoun’s outbursts, the reference to “kilos and kilos of fruit and vegetables, olives, honey...” (118) before the abrupt “thwap!” (119) of more physical and sexual violence and the fact that the distrusted and fickle Isabel “gave us sugar-coated sweets” (165) all carry additional significance. Isabel attempts to use sugar to cover up the deceit and disillusionment caused by herself and Mimoun and the narrator’s association of soft, perishable and ‘vulnerable’ sweet fruits during instances of

Mimoun's domestic violence again reveals vulnerability being used as resilience and eventually as resistance to male aggression and neglect.

El Hachmi assigns great significance to fruit generally, describing the perils of confronting the ultra-conservative Islamic fundamentalists about their repression of Spanish Muslim women as daring to “open that melon” (www.tellerreport.com) and insinuating once again that there is a fickleness to the women fruit. Additionally, the Spanish boss's wife's weakness for Mimoun, which to some degree sees him feminised in the power-play and cast as the plundered women, focuses on the fruit-like characteristics of his skin, which “made him shine in the semi-darkness [as] the light rebounded off his skin.” (*El último patriarca* 76). I would suggest, therefore, that the femininity of fruit in El Hachmi's imagination can be extended across the aesthetic framework of immigration literature in Spain to represent the weakness and disempowerment which comes with being politically restricted, commercially consumed or sexually fetishised and that African women fit into all three categories. Nevertheless, as Bracke notes, the idea that a person (or in Bracke's case, a nation) can be entirely non-vulnerable, “unshakable, untouchable and sheltered from any kind of undoing increasingly falters” (2020, 60-61), and perhaps the eudaimonic association of sweetness and freshness, through their association with physical and psychological wellness, in these instances again corroborates Butler's (2014) assertion that vulnerability can represent resistance and Scarry's suggestion that “the body in pain” (Scarry, 1987, 1) is the site of new growth and change in the world and lend itself to being one of Nussbaum's characteristics for “flourishing” and resistance.

The recurrent association of femininity and fruit is metaphorically important, since the thin-skinned, easily perishable and delectable (for the male) nature of fruit adds both chauvinistic and feminist symbolism to repeated scenes of women sitting in groups, preparing

fruit for men and either escaping, recovering from or reacting to onomatopoeic outbursts of male violence in *El último patriarca*. In some instances, the image itself is even directly shattered by rapidly ensuing and more visceral depictions of sex or violence, such as in *El último patriarca*, where the harshness of the physical and sexual abuse is repetitive and is countered by the deliberately sarcastic levity with which the violence is reported. It could be argued that El Hachmi's motives with the forced levity are to contrast with the physicality and make it starker or that such matter-of-fact narration suggests that the violence is itself so prevalent in society, however I would counter that it runs the risk of making it mundane. In many such instances, African women characterisation and the depictions of their oppression leave them lacking cultural weight or psychological kudos within the social backdrops in which they find themselves. In this way, the chance of limiting audience pathos to a mere and useless pity of one fictional character's individual circumstances, rather than opening readers' eyes to the dangerous patterns of behaviour or alerting their critical consciences to the wider global problem is overtly risked.

The metaphor of the women as a sexually-symbolic, multisensory and perishable consumer item appears again where women are associated with perfumes, evoking both sensually-alluring fragrances and also reminiscence of religious Christian and Islamic rituals and tribal African spiritual ceremonies. Perfume is something which is more appreciated when not overpowering, but rather subtle and always as a complement to one's own odour; in this way, the notion of a trophy wife such as with Matilde in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón* or a marginal character is again reinforced. Perfume can, as in Chirbes's *En la orilla*, be enticing to those present in its vicinity or to the poetically-appreciative reader, nonetheless it is, by its very nature ephemeral, invisible, exotic and used solely as an adornment to impress third parties. Seen in this light, the allure of fragrance, along with the complement to women's

value, wears off very quickly. In this way, whereas Chacón's male patriarch focuses on the ego-massaging visual appearance of his 'trophy wife' ("ponte guapa" *Háblame* 19), Chirbes's protagonist, Esteban, associates women sexuality with enticing, multisensory imagery such as "bandejas de frutas y flores" (*En la orilla* 63) and "piel engañosa" (40). He then assigns them a "tristeza pozcoito" (41), once his lust has been satisfied and the 'perfume' has worn off. In the character's more racist diatribe, multisensory imagery associated specifically with women immigrants of African-American extraction degenerates swiftly from associating their fetishised "culos gigantescos" with tropical "aceites de girasol, de cacahuete, de palma" and "granitos de chocolate o de café africanos" to calling them "hipopótamas" and "elefantiásicos" (153). Clearly, we can see the emergence of a more multisensory trope for imagining women as exotic tastes and smells, as well as initial visions here.

Timothy Morton explores the ways in which Eastern spice has influenced food and cultural theory in literature, noting that the consumerism and capitalism which led to the western desire for spices and the multisensory exoticism with which their aromas are described has continued from the period of Romanticism to the present day. One angle explored by Morton is the "transnational capitalism and orientalist, exoticist ways of consuming and representing" the perfumes and flavours and he proposes that that the eroticism of perfumed bodies "carries with it a freight of oppression, exploitation, capitalist utopianism and slave labour." (Morton, 2006, 2-3). Within both the alluring and the repulsive descriptions of the perfume and metaphoric flavour of black and African women presented explicitly in *En la orilla* and subliminally in the ritualistic characterisation and scene-setting in *Fátima de los naufragios* and *Extranjeras*, this theory is relevant. The worth of the women presented is temporary and physical like their exotic foods or pungent perfumes, and yet their superficial sensory adornment is also symbolic of both their sexual submission to males and

the past colonialist subjugation of their continent of origin. Contrastingly and perhaps unexpectedly, Aisha, the African catalyst to Matilde's stagnation in *Háblame, musa, de aquél varón*, is brimming with life and culture and introduces her to celebrations of North African food and hospitality. This contrasts Matilde's experiences, where sex, fruitfulness and violence are exchanged for neglect and oppression, focusing on this as an alternative representation of anti-women abuse and a counter to the considerably more extreme physical violence suffered by Aisha towards the end.

Together with aesthetic correlation between African women and fruit and perfume, mentions or shots of other exotic foods in detailed visual introductions of women create two more potential obstacles to the promotion of a feminist or equal rights ideology. Firstly, there is an observed relegation of subjugated women to traditionally semi-visible scene locations, such as in the role of family-bound cooks in domestic kitchens or roles of lower-classed general servitude, such as waitresses. Secondly, we see the reappearance of lazy "Orientalism" in the presentation of immigrant women, where the most remarkable attribute is their exoticism and, by inevitable consequence, their differences from their subconsciously understood more important and 'normal' autochthonous counterparts. The concept of "*Orientalism*," introduced by Edward W. Said and discussed earlier in this thesis, proposes that there is an underlying postcolonial viewpoint from which western society patronises Asian and African people and the documentary *Extranjeras* reflects this theory through the presentation of food and exotica. Of the documentaries and films included, *Extranjeras* presents the most real and natural shots of immigrant African women, in scenes of nostalgia, 'home' and presumed 'happiness.' In respect of resistance to vulnerability, the African women presented are domesticating and "reconstituting a home," which, according to Gambetti (2016, 50-51) is a show of resilient strength and renaissance through vulnerable

circumstances. The ‘strength’ I refer to is noticeable across the opus. It is replicated in Fátima’s aura of permanence whilst surrounded by sea, grief and prejudice in *Fátima de los naufragios*; it is visible in the vitality and vivacity of Aisha’s home in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*; it is central in Karrouch’s dedication to building her athletic prowess in *De Nador a Vic*; it is implicit in Igé’s resolution to care for the children in Uxbal’s home at the end of *Biutiful*. This theme appears across both the texts written by Europeans and by Africans and suggests something of the stereotyped postcolonialist view of Africans as physically stronger but (as Flesler discusses) culturally inferior, however I would argue that their ability to *overcome* and *remain* historically and intertextually again reveals evidence of Nussbaum’s “flourishing” resilience.

The tropical foods in these scenes in *Extranjeras* does evoke for the women a sensory memory of home or patria, since the sight, aroma, taste and texture of the foods remind them of their countries of origin and might be described as affording eudaimonic strength through their connoted health and self-awareness benefits. However, for the Spanish viewer, I posit that what draws them to have interest in the scenes is their voyeurism of a scenario which almost constitutes a taboo. This taboo arises from the fact that the women are consuming the produce and the tradition of a foreign land, to the exclusion of the viewing host and their male partners or family members. They are also expressing publicly, via the camera, emotions, opinions and memories which would normally have been confined to their kitchens, hair salons and other similar women gender spaces and likely restricted by the paternalistic males in their lives.

Home, as another key concept in this documentary is presented as a safe place, a community base and a respite from the travels of migration to becoming almost what Ahmed terms a “fetish.” (1999, 344). This is both hopeful and problematic, since the medieval and

Early Modern mores of restrictive and confining interior women gender space are here repositioned in postmillennial works and echoes of the limiting Francoist image of Spanish women being the “Ángel del hogar” (as per propagandic Francoist edicts) are assigned to present day immigrant African women instead. Additionally, this same documentary’s rose-tinted scenes and script around foreign foods and customs, whilst visually interesting, is somewhat tainted, since a visual differential between the lives and society of immigrant women and those of the majority Spanish-born viewer is understood. The result from this viewpoint is no different from that of the eventual condemnation of the African women in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*, where the Maghreb women are either seen “en un rincón apartado” (135) or again in the kitchen: “las mujeres magrebíes trajinaban en la cocina. Todas hacían algo de comer, según la costumbre, y lo estaban colocando,” (135-6) and then later chastised and subjected to an arbitrary racial attack. The restriction to the kitchen could be seen to suggest that either the African women immigrants have been sufficiently dogmatised to adhere to fundamentalist and paternalist expectations of being the owned, hard-working and publically excluded wife or, as with Matilde in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*, physically retributed for flouting etiquette or simply for being different.

From a more hopeful viewpoint, however, I would argue that in some instances, such as in *Extranjeras*, the kitchen represents a semi-communal space from which women can have their voices heard (albeit primarily by other women in similar circumstances), share real emotions, maintain tangible bonds with their past and express their individuality, personality and creativity through the medium of cooking. In this view, whereas Everly talks of the requirement for “rethinking the home and rejecting the past” (2014, 1) as a feminist strategy for El Hachmi’s narrator in *El último patriarca*, in *Extranjeras* something can be said for the merits of the kitchen or the home as the birthplace of feminist autonomy, from where progress

can begin. This therefore problematises the home as both place of restriction and confinement and location of opportunity for emancipation. Once again, therefore, the duality of vulnerability and resistance are clear.

Taken together, in search of a new code for manners or styles of representing repressed women in the arts, it seems noteworthy that recurring reminders of women's etiquette and appearances of delicate, ephemeral, luxury, materialistic or multisensory, feminine-gendered items simultaneously with women plot involvement automatically raises the spectre of the women stereotype of the kitchen-bound 'ángel del hogar,' despite also providing an unexpected starting point for feminist identity-creation and consumerist empowerment. In one interpretation, images of clothes and perfume appear, almost in the recognisable form of advertising, to perpetuate stereotypical social categorisation of women as little more than superficial consumers with a penchant for vanity items, a submission to being temporary enjoyments of the fetishism of the male and a preponderance for shopping and self-beautification reflected in Bauman's theory of "liquid modernity."

Bauman's theories are related to his concept of a "liquidity" (Bauman, 2000, 1) in our neoliberal, capitalist society, in which people are not complex but rather mere consumers, dependent on their ability to purchase consumer goods and defined more by what they own, wear or consume than by what they believe in or say. In many such instances, women characterisation, embarked upon through the lens of the consumerist goods and the false hopes of capitalist consumerism, halts without giving them true personal embodiment and attention switches back to the male experience. Mark Davis suggests that: "A further aspect of "liquid modernity" is that, as social bonds are liquidated, fragmented and weakened by its twin processes of globalisation and individualisation, the experience of social life is also acutely accelerated. Like all liquids, our society cannot stand still and keep its shape for long.

Everything seems to change – the fashions we follow, the events that catch our attention, the things we dream of and the things we fear.” (Davis, 2013, 2).

Bauman’s latter theories concerning “liquid modernity” suggest that “postmodernism” no longer works as a conceptual term to describe the fluid relationships between people and their own identities in a world driven by economic capitalism. I argue that the aesthetic presentation of women immigrants with and as consumer goods and thin-skinned comestibles, detaches their bodies from their identities and reimagines them as products in a global, male-dominated marketplace. In this way, where the African women are seen as fruits, perfumes, clothes, religious icons, trophies and accessories, suggestions that they represent nothing more than hollow shells of consumerist “wasted lives” and do not successfully contribute voice to society or the arts are implicit. Nevertheless, whereas this interpretation might seem to contradict previous suggestions about the saintliness or martyrdom of the women in submission representing resistance within vulnerability, my contention is instead that the eudaimonic values associated with these multisensory and ephemeral props, costumes, descriptions and behaviours, as well as any determination to self-identify via material possession, lend themselves to the idea of “flourishing” and crystallise the conceit of vulnerability actually catalysing resistance and empowerment.

In extension of the multisensory effects of the aesthetic portrayal of African women, I aver that there is a simultaneous auditory trope within their representation (and often within representations of women in general) in the literature and films. This is the recurrent theme of restriction to expected roles of obedient women (as in *El último patriarca*) or taciturn sanctity or complicit sexual servitude (as in *Fátima de los naufragios* and *La piel de Marcelinda*).

In Dulce Chacón’s *Háblame, Musa de aquel varón*, the stagnant silence and shame of Adrián and Matilde’s relationship is the key aesthetic. Matilde’s frustrated silence as an

aesthetically-pleasing trophy wife, observed and discussed internally by Adrián as a curiosity but intellectually undervalued and marginalised, makes her appear almost ephemeral. Simple imperatives such as “*ponte guapa*” (19) directed at Matilde emphasise the importance to her husband of her appearance rather than her personality and recollections that “*se mantenía al margen a sabiendas de que su presencia pasaba desapercibida*” (18) reveal the stifled liminality in which his “*mirada [de] verguenza*” (22) leaves her. Her assumed ‘feminine’ ignorance of academic and intellectual culture are also clear where he says: “- Debemos disculpar a Matilde, no es fácil entender a Joyce” (84), although the added irony here is that the discussion is actually presented in an almost Joyce-like stream of consciousness (albeit to the second person) and is paradoxically around Virginia Woolf and her European feminist thought, which should turn the condescension of ignorance back onto the male.

In this novel, the stifling effects of Adrián’s control, disinterest and neglect are frequently revisited; reminders of them scattered at regular intervals directly after conscious visual and sensual textual reference to Matilde’s prized attractiveness and purely aesthetic worthiness. The unique second person narrator of ‘conscience’ reminds the neglectful male that “*a ti te bastaba su risa y su silencio, su discreción*” (18). The forbidden fruit of infidelity and adultery, once picked by Matilde, briefly affords requitement for her and remorse and self-reproach for her estranged husband, yet her prize for breaking free is to belong to another man, whilst her punishment is taken out on her African women friend, who is seemingly less valuable to proceedings and subsequently murdered. Outside of her original restraints she encounters a world of supposed liberty, where she seems to desire the African women’s life, but it is tinged with fear, violence and repression. Although her immigrant friend, Aisha, helps her to taste the forbidden fruit of freedom, the conservative warning is clear: Aisha is only figurative at the end of the novel, as a temptation to the exotic and the libertarian and

almost as a lesser appendix to the plot of the white love triangle, and when she is murdered in cold blood she becomes nothing more than another isolated pity case. Effectively, Aisha's death is Matilde's comeuppance for being a woman and Aisha's for being African, although it has also, albeit much less critically, taught Matilde a dual lesson about conformity and extreme subjugation. Whereas the murderous Spanish men get away, Adrián has little more than a self-examination to undergo, and the other male, Ulises, gets a central role in a film and a doting mistress without doing much more than posturing.

As such, as well as multisensory aesthetic stereotyping, there is a constant theme of repression and exclusion of the women through denial of sensory expression across the work and Coury and Ceberio suggest that the combined: "experience of the women character and her fate as a sexual victim... situates both Spain and Morocco as locations of women oppression." (2015, 198). I would suggest, however, that an important distinction still lies in the fact that, whereas the male gaze or masculine prejudice against Matilde, the European women, is limited to chauvinistic references such as "Musa" (*Háblame* 11), "guapa" (17) and "coqueta" (56), her African counterpart is more aggressively and xenophobically subjected to insults such as "putita" (162), "moras de mierda" (161) and "perra" (162). Here we again see the hierarchy of prejudice condemning African women to the double damnation of sexism and racism, through the opposing stereotypes and limitations which are assigned to native and African women, and which result in vulnerability through alienation.

In the neoliberalist attempt to elicit reader or viewer pathos for the African immigrant, their portrayals are usually tempered with alterity and differentiation, which, as just discussed, results in vulnerable representation. Africans often appear as 'the watched other,' such as in *Fátima de los naufragios*, wherein a regulatory, autochthonous "male gaze" (see earlier discussion around Mulvey's theory) holds Fátima at a convenient distance, to ensure that her

alterity poses no threat, cannot upset the status quo but can be turned to the locals' own psychological advantage as they imagine her holding a beneficent power over their community (or possibly even assign her a perverse fetishistic sexuality in her grief). Additionally, 'the feared other' is a recognisable trope, where xenophobia, jealousy and racist prejudice alienate the African immigrants, as in *Bwana* (00:16:01 – 00:16:11 and (01:11:17 – 01:12:15) and *Poniente*. Furthermore, the 'entertaining other,' as observed in *Extranjeras* casts the African women as an Orientalist curio for western consumption. There are additional literary portrayals of 'the enslaved other,' as depicted in *Los príncipes nubios*, in which the African slave of the 1500s is re-imagined in altered but similar circumstances, as the subjugate of the white entrepreneur. Next, we encounter 'the lost and expelled other,' as presented in *Bwana* (00:54:15 – 00:54:20), *Biutiful*, *Fátima de los naufragios* and *El último patriarca*, where newly arrived migrants either become bewildered by or fully rejected by the new society in which they find themselves. In addition, but exclusively limited to works from the second group of works examined, women characters also occupy the role of 'the willing other,' in *De Nador a Vic* and *El último patriarca*, and I would argue take advantage of their hybrid backgrounds and multid denominational experiences for the promotion of their personal agendas.

The concept of the African women as the 'watched other' is most clearly seen in *Fátima de los naufragios*, where the central protagonist is bereft of partner, family, home, history, spoken lines or meaningful social agency, is transformed from asylum seeker to madwoman to lucky charm to saint by the imaginations of the other characters, the white Spanish author and the reader, without actively taking any role in these assignments. Her existence to the white audience, literary and real, takes shape purely through voyeurism, and her grief is stolen from her and adapted to suit our purposes rather than her own. Apart from

the fact that the author has ensured that her “mystical qualities are captured,” - a central modus operandi noted by Ketz (2005,79) - the watched African woman in the text projects the vision of what Afua Hirsch describes as a “Hottentot Venus... reduced to her sexual parts – a pronounced backside...” (2018, 144). The voyeuristic transformation of the African immigrant is discussed by Bryson, who suggests an intersection of migration and sexuality, proposing that Western voyeurism extends the “normative social discourse,” which is “focused on immigration and differentiated identity” and says that a “postcolonial heteronormative sexual and racialized authority” (2008, 83-104) is assumed in European immigrant literature. Thus, depictions of Africans such as these seek to make cultural differences “heteronormative” and rather serve to restore autochthonous normality and superiority and to reduce the African to the abject. Taken one stage further, repeated references by Kunz and D’Ors to terms such as “contrabanda de personas,” “carne humana” and “mercantilización de la vida,” introduce the leitmotif of female immigrants as disembodied merchandise for autochthonous male consumption and apply to situations such as those of Fátima, where both her presumed trafficking to Spain and the implications of the gaze and gossip to which she is subjected dehumanise her. This implicit abjection and depravity is clearly repeated across the literature, such as in stereotypical and chauvinistic descriptions like “negros de culos gigantescos” (*En la orilla* 153).

The definition of abjection, as Kristeva suggests in *The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982), is the state of horror and disgust, usually initiated by physicality or vision, which creates physical repulsion and absolute reluctance of acceptance. Within the other characters’ responses to Ombasi in *Bwana* (01:17:20 – 01:17:30); reflected in the voyeuristic disgust, racism, violence and loathing shown by the locals in *Poniente* towards the Moroccan agricultural labourers (01:24:24 – 01:25:18); in the directorial unfamiliarity,

fetishism and implicit distrust of the African foods and customs in *Extranjeras*; in the extravagance of the violence in the reporting of El Egido tragedy (www.elpais.com); in the implicit and seemingly accepted suggestion that “Islamic jails” are less wholesome than Christian ones in *Los príncipes nubios* (“las inimaginables pesadumbres de las cárceles islámicas” (278)); and even extended to the absolute inability of Milady, the only black immigrant in *Flores de otro mundo* (Bollaín, 1999), to assimilate, abjection is evident in all portrayals of the black or African immigrant in Spanish-authored works. Nevertheless, representations of the African women as produced by African women authors also compound this, since the weakness of their characters amidst patriarchal doctrine, such as in Mimoun’s wife and mother repeatedly forgiving and enabling his selfishness and violence in *El último patriarca*, inspire reader antipathy and perhaps even disgust. In these instances, the women characters assume two of the feminine vulnerability characteristics of Nussbaum’s *Frontiers of Justice*, by demonstrating “compassion and altruism” (2007, 363). Nussbaum suggests that these “characteristics” form part of what allows vulnerability to be an organic strength and ability to absorb abuse or damage and then “flourish.” Additionally, they regularly seem to submit themselves to the taboos of sodomy, incest and pre-marital sex – whether at the whims of the abusive male or, as in the latter stages of the same book, even willingly, selfishly and maliciously – employing voyeuristic techniques of shock and graphic distaste each time and simultaneously reversing and dismantling the anal threats of male Muslim invaders in the Spanish psyche. Folkart proposes that El Hachmi transcends the established feminine “gendered space” as which the Iberian Peninsula has seen itself through historical invasions and conquests and deliberately offers the image of a penetrated women anus as the “ultimate site of scoring” (Folkart, 2013, 353-76). As such, the problems of maintaining a strong and unified ‘truly Spanish’ national identity are mocked here by the final insult of a newly

hybridized Moroccan-Catalan woman willingly submitting herself to incestuous anal sex to simultaneously explode the hypocrisy and dogma of paternalism and patriotism and the perpetuation of assigned alterity.

Amongst the types of alterities, ‘the willing other’ as a representation of the status of the African women is largely propagated by the hybridized African immigrant/ New Spanish authors themselves, and the intention seems to be to forge a “third space,” wherein cultural confluence and assimilation can occur. Indeed, El Hachmi, towards the end of *El último patriarca*, when using filmic intertextuality with *Last Tango in Paris* (Bertolucci, 1972) to set the scene for the upcoming sodomy, suggests “it wasn’t Marlon’s butter because we’re *Mediterranean*” (310) – thereby negating the need for delineation of African or European/Berber or Catalan and establishing a unified region of belonging as “Mediterranean.” Further to this, the reference to *Last Tango in Paris* is doubly significant as an indicator of El Hachmi’s rejection of past repression, because Spaniards at the time of the film’s release used to cross the border into France with the express intention of circumventing Franco’s censorship and viewing the film there, against his directives. Here, too, we note reminders of generational migration and the struggle for freedom of expression and accessibility, since Spain was contemporaneously talked of as being itself the unacceptable African foreigner in the phrase, highlighted by DiFrancesco, “África empieza en los Pirineos.” (2008, 32)

Nonetheless, I would argue that the narrators of these works are even more chronically alienated by their attempts to transcend paternalism, race and regionalism. Where the narrator’s admission in *El último patriarca*: “...I couldn’t decide where pain ended and pleasure began. I would have liked to die of pain, and still I came” (310-11) insinuates that she has ceded willingly to the male and allowed him to enforce a return to hegemonic male dominance; so, the efficacy of the attempt is undermined. Thus, despite bemoaning the fact

that “Mimoun always managed to work it so the women in his life transformed him into a patriarch” (84), the women narrator here only succeeds in breaking the shackles of her father’s dominance by allowing her uncle to become what Flesler describes as the ubiquitous male “protector of a hegemonic order” (2008, 134) in his place. Additionally, according to Scarry’s viewpoint, the history of power in the world has been shaped by the deliberate infliction of pain by one human on another (usually women) to “break” and re-shape their sense of “self” into one which can be moulded for their own purposes. (Scarry, 1987). I would therefore propose that the narrator’s submission to painful and amoral sexual acts, whilst they make her achieve personal satisfaction through orgasm, reclaim a sexual no-man’s land for the erstwhile sexually repressed Muslim woman and exact revenge on her abusive father, also point towards a bleaker re-establishment of inescapable paternalistic order, with her uncle being the next male pseudo-aggressor, and the return to implied male gender superiority re-establishing control over the African women and thus reimposing the social barriers.

The notion of occupying and holding power over the social barrier of a border space (such as the option of wearing a hijab or not or the option of writing in Eastern or European languages) itself, is key in reaching a deeper understanding of representations of African women immigrants in Spain, since borders paradoxically represent the gateways between spaces but also the regions of physical confinement and submission of control to the state. Additionally, borders can be either closed or open and can therefore represent the promise of freedom and movement or the threat of rejection and incarceration. My contention is, therefore, that rather than either Bhaba’s third space or the gendering of the Iberian Peninsula suggested by Flesler, the literary transformation of the actual border space, whether physical (passport control and customs desks), sociological (obstruction or entitlement to education, healthcare and employment), linguistic or cultural into a space of empowerment provides the

most promising opportunity for the expression of immigrant women voice in Spain. Actual recent representations of extended border spaces within the literature present three recurrent themes with accompanying imagery. These are: representations of the sea or Straits; harsh and hostile southern Spanish countryside; and more psychological chronological borders.

The sea, as geographically relevant to African women immigration and metaphorically to Chinese women immigration, represents a space where mankind is not in control over nature, and which can represent insurmountable boundaries to immigrants or less privileged people or pleasure beaches to society's more empowered members. For the immigrants in the literature, it can also be a murderer, whereas for native Spanish society its vast expanses of water act, in a Piaget-esque marker of under-developed "object permanence" as a cleanser for human waste, tragedy and the guilt of corporate colonial memory, where the immigrant can be 'out of sight and out of mind.' Fiona Noble discusses the "tragic symbol" of the sea within recent Spanish publication and its tendency to bring "death" (Noble, 2018, 637-56) to the migrant. She references visions of its dread power in *Biutiful, Retorno a Hansala* (Gutiérrez, 2008) and *En construcción* (Guerin, 2001), to which I would also add the grieving protagonist in *Fátima de los naufragios*, the abandoned Ombasi in *Bwana* (01:18:02) and the murdered Aisha in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*. In each of these instances, all written or directed by white/ western/ Spanish artists, whereas the fate of the (often women) immigrant is tragedy or death, the awkward truth is that the sea also provides a cleansing service to the guilt, jealousy and xenophobia of the white Spanish characters. Since the beach and sea are so vast, Aisha's murder, Ombasi's terror, the Chinese labourers' gassing and the presumably drowned object of Fátima's lament can be temporarily or permanently ignored, erased or forgotten, without altering the trajectory of the central plot. Across these narratives, the idea of the potentially reinvigorating and resistance-building benefit of aquatic purification is in stark contrast to

both the wasted life and feelings of abjection and expulsion experienced by either side of the migratory experience and to the paradox of vulnerability to the sea as a ‘territory,’ ownership of which is perennially politically disputed, but in or upon which their own belonging is undoubtedly rejected. The constant returns of visible dead bodies (such as in *Biutiful*), the haunting memories of fear, loss and guilt (such as in *Fátima de los naufragios* and *Bwana* (00:14:59 – 00:15:03) and the journalistic determination to post photographs of dead migrants on beaches or report fearful influxes of ‘waves of immigrants’ (www.diariodemallorca.com) also combine and repeat to create an almost superstitious, spectral effect of the sea.

The theory of Derrida regarding ghostly reminders of history and Marxism and the ominous constant returns of the ghosts and fears which they present are symbolically re-imagined as actual human ghosts in the African immigrant literature. As the colonialist guilt, angsts of immigration levels and physical corpses return on the waves, so do the memories of the African immigrants themselves. Derrida talks of “specters” (1994, 38) and reflects on the fact that they are not physically present and embodied or empowered, nor, due to their physical or metaphysical returns, are they truly absent and irrelevant. Instead, they are ghosts, which at once exist and do not exist and which cause revulsion, fear or guilt for the host, whilst being partially deprived of the opportunity to become fully-integrated members of Spanish society themselves. I would contend that whereas Derrida’s description of spectres is “of the visible, but of the invisible visible, it is the visibility of a body which is not present in flesh and blood,” (38) in the case of African women spectrality it can be reversed, so that these immigrant women are spectral not in the absence of their flesh and blood, but in the absence of their voice, agency and future aspirations.

Contrarily, in *El último patriarca*, where the text is written by an African woman, the sea is crossed repeatedly, the returns offering economic hope, connections with home and

sociocultural liaison between destinations to Mimoun, rather than foreshadowing or ghostly visitations. The disparity between the male and woman immigrant experience is again observable in this, since the sea offers passage (and those passages are only described for the male and not for the women) and return to the socially liberated male but only terror and loss to the women. In this and in *De Nador a Vic*, where description of the sea takes a more positive and poetic outlook, death and disappearance are not necessarily the only result of sea crossings and the sea is pictured wistfully in expressions like “a la mare se li va fer un somriure d’orella a orella” (65) and the “*patera*” is less symbolic of a vulnerable, illegal, floating coffin and more of a conduit. Although the fear of the sea’s terrible power is still present in this group of texts, as highlighted by the fact that the narrator’s “grandmother had always been scared of the sea” and the affirmation that “so much water all together can’t be a good thing” (*El último patriarca* 61), African immigrants are shown to successfully cross and re-cross the sea, returning of their own accord. It is of consideration, too, that these repeated safe and successful returns suggest stamina and increasing fortitude as international citizens and valorisation as accepted members of society in their new country. Perhaps the salient enunciation of the African writers is that the economic and political opportunities from across the sea in a global, neoliberal present override the motif of the African wasted life and the guilt-ridden post-colonialist European. I would add to this that perhaps the social usefulness of the preponderance to poeticise the lament of the “*patera*,” as opposed to referencing the more frequently used ship or aeroplane or to avoid mentioning the journey altogether would go further towards indicating that this neoliberalism has rid itself of the conscious Kristevan revulsion towards the African immigrant. Where mimetic “*testimonio*” and esoteric representations of ‘*pateras*’ and exoticised immigrant tales tend to be employed by autochthonous or male authors, the African women authors transform their representations of

immigration and social integration into the physicality of first-person narrative and the diegetic personal experience. This is a noticeable variance between the man and woman/autochthonous and immigrant author approach. Nevertheless, the male imagination still superceding the woman immigrant experience, notwithstanding the fact that what Spivak refers to as cultural “responsibility” and the “effect of the real” would seem to be preferable in an unbiased immigration opus. Spivak considers that “real” personal diegesis is an “ethical responsibility” in the publication of literature (Spivak, 2012, 1). I would say that, with regards to this study, it would seem logical that social superiority be given to first person immigrant narrative in the hopes of portraying the immigrant experience, so the fact that this is not the case points again towards inequality.

Beyond the seascape, imagery of desolation, hostility, confinement and unwelcoming landscapes constitute the second of the physical settings of border space in the literature. In these representations, the dry, harsh background could be described as offering a glimpse of the solitude and hopelessness of the immigrant situation: in *Bwana* Ombasi arrives on an empty beach, crossing one barrier (the sea), only to be confronted by others - the emptiness of the beach, the hostility of the arid landscape, the sociolinguistic inadequacies of the “taxista’s” family and the xenophobic hatred of the biker gang (01:15:20 – 01:15:25); Milady arrives as the only truly dark-skinned woman in *Flores de otro mundo* and is not permitted to integrate at all, and so withdraws herself from the location and the storyline and returns to spectral emptiness in the deadly surrounding desert; Moroccan families in *Poniente* are confined to community groups against impoverished rural backdrops and are only permitted into developed or arable locations when providing labour or services to Spanish landowners, eventually being physically terrorised (01:24:24 – 01:25:18) and expelled (01:25:58) amid unforgiving Andalusian scenery reminiscent of their desertified country of “belonging;” and

even in cosmopolitan environments, such as those of Ige in *Biutiful* or the women characters in *Extranjeras*, there are clear indications of deprivation, “bare life” and confinement. The role of aesthetics in this type of scene-setting in the African/ black Spanish immigration literature personifies the border as a malicious entity, stretching beyond the actual geographical and socio-political border and into the fabric of the Spanish countryside and psyche. I propose that this signifies a temporal persistence of border restriction and obstructive, institutionalised racism for African immigrants in Spain, regardless of whether or not they have successfully and legally arrived.

The question of time within immigration literature directs us to the third recurring imagination of the border space: the chronological border. This idea is put forward in Vega-Durán’s reflections on complex border liminality and heterotopias. In her monograph, she discusses the concept of immigrants being stuck “en la frontera...in the border,” (2016, 52) and I posit that this quandary continues through time for the African women characters. This is because it moves beyond the moment of official border crossing into the repeated instances of racism, exclusion and isolation which their liminality sees them encounter, and even spans generations of African families, as presented in *El último patriarca*. As Mimoun’s father struggles to adapt successfully to the Spanish lifestyle and to come to terms with the expected role of a Moroccan “patriarca” in *El último patriarca*, so does the narrator, as she feels the need to either over-step the mark in a more sexually-liberated society or embrace and memorise the Catalan dictionary in order to achieve acceptance and redemption. The overall effect of such a chronological border is to make the border space spatiotemporal and largely inescapable.^{xlvi}

Associated with the aesthetics and concerns of costume, custom, behaviour and etiquette, variations therefore also appear in the types and effects of sexuality as a key theme

used in the representations of African women in recent Spanish literature and I suggest that these variations between African and autochthonous women are ciphers for a deeper and more pronounced alterity of the immigrant.

In 20th and 21st century nationalist politics and even in journalistic pieces, the descriptions and imagery surrounding North African immigrants has continued the colonial trend of being overtly hyper-masculine. Photographs of immigrants in national newspapers are predominantly shot in animalistic fashion and depict Africans (predominantly men) almost as the hyper-masculine savage. Flesler explores this concept in *The Return of the Moor* and argues that Africans arriving as political or economic migrants are seen not as refugees or aspirational labourers, but rather as invading, violent, over-sexed and malicious aliens. In this way, I suggest that the Spanish national conscience is mapping fear onto the identity of the African immigrant and extending a racist and pejorative imagination of them. Nevertheless, this xenophobic fear also assigns considerable physical and psychological strength to their portrayals, which is a dual attribute and curse extant in all the texts. Flesler proposes that medieval Moorish invasions and repeated historic references to legends of revenge rape and sodomy against Spanish and immigrant women, such as in the stories of King Rodrigo, afford a sexual intent to imaginations of national identity-forming history and myth, contradicting Aitken's point that "the growing intrusion of an international logic of consumerism and commodification into the European public sphere has also resulted in a deconstruction of the central mythic figure of nationalism: the unitary collective subject." (Flesler, 2005, 81).^{xlviii} Flesler additionally notes that subsequent and ongoing recurrent Spanish memory has been of Moors violently attacking and conquering Spain through repeated sexually-charged immigrant invasions – whether historically by the Moors or recently, by immigrant Moroccan workers. Flesler compares imagined anal fear in the Spanish collective memory of Moorish

invasions in AD 711 and the bias seen in newspaper reports in 2002 of remembered and renewed racism against innocent immigrants in following the murder of a local girl by a Moroccan. She notes that “Moroccan immigrants, in the Spanish collective imaginary, thus become the embodiment of everything there is to fear from their history, the ghosts of a past that has not stopped haunting them, the return of the repressed.” (Flesler 80) She suggests that this fear and guilt of sexual conquest is a trope within the surrounding literature and a defining characteristic in the nation’s self-identity. Her thought is that “re-imagined” “spectres” of Moorish invasions are moulded into “irrational hatred and violence,” nevertheless, I would also point to a fearsome strength shown in the ability of African women characters to remain and survive against all odds. This is seen in: the survival of a seemingly statuesque, grieving and misunderstood woman in *Fátima de los naufragios*; in the resilience and academic determination of Karrouch to learn the language and forge career in writing in her autobiographical *De Nador a Vic*; in the fact that only an African woman (Ig ) can outlive the tragic Spanish and Chinese characters in *Beautiful* to remain as hope for the future; and in the resolve of Mimoun’s daughter in *El  ltimo patriarca* to turn the misogynistic aggression of sexual depravity back against the Muslim males and usurp the ‘male’ role of sexual ‘conquistador’ of her abusive uncle and father.

In consideration, also, of the “ghosts” discussed by Flesler, representation of immigrant women brings an additional level of spectral liminality that it is derivative of a narrated sexual otherness. Flesler says that “the fixation on ghosts might suggest that what we have today in Spain is an unproductive melancholic attachment to the past,” (95). However, I propose that the ghostliness of the African woman immigrant is a symptom of her sociocultural and sexual alienation, as much as it is a trope of national memory. In being portrayed or perceived as ghostly, the ramifications are that African women are disembodied,

disempowered and unable to have full control even in the decision-making of how they use or enjoy their bodies. Where Flesler contends that the spectrality of Moorish reappearances in the Spanish imagination associates Africans with untrustworthiness and terror, I posit that it makes the African woman more peripheral in her disembodiment and strips her of her ultimate vestiges of power: those she holds over her own body and sexuality. On the other hand, *El último patriarca* uses humour and sexual taboo as a twin path to liberation from erstwhile sexual repression and subjugation. These characters are immigrants and social outsiders through sexuality and eventually by controversial choice (albeit, for the larger initial part of their respective books, at the sexual mercies of their male or native Spanish counterparts): El Hachmi, as the thinly-veiled persona behind her narrators, finally shuns her redeeming reticence and purity by willingly committing sodomy with her uncle and Karrouch enjoys latter confidence in her different aesthetic in *De Nador a Vic*. Such attempts at reposition of power and righteousness and glorification of African and Muslim feminine physicality do succeed in the resistance of shocking the Western reader and temporarily shifting the power base and exchanging positions of vulnerability. Nonetheless, they more notably eventually dismantle their character's innocence, potency or masculinity/ femininity and render them morally bankrupt and therefore powerless once again. E. Cunniff Gilson devalues this supposed quest for invulnerability and resistance, suggesting that "the pursuit of invulnerability is illogical, since the reality of human life and society undermines its viability at every turn. The pursuit of full invulnerability via control and security is a doomed project." (2016, 6). Gilson's statement does ring true in the immigration arena, since there remains a conservatism within the receiving Spanish culture surrounding these characters, which is pervasive, and which is unlikely to allow readers to empathise with or excuse either their foreignness or their social transgressions. Thus, in much the same ways as the African women

protagonists from Spanish-authored works such as *Fátima de los naufragios* are unconsciously stripped of individuality and agency by the exoticist stereotypes with which they are interpreted, the protagonists in more consciously challenging works and in books authored by African women immigrants are deprived of their salvation too.

Mary Douglas discusses ideas of chastity and dirtiness in her work and states that: “sexual dangers are better interpreted as symbols of the relation between parts of society, as mirroring designs of hierarchy or symmetry which apply in the larger social system” (Douglas, 1966, 4-5), and these transgressions by immigrants against the traditional transgressor and within the sphere of their homeland does switch from the prevailing sexual gaze. Despite this, I would suggest that this reverse gaze and exchange of hierarchical roles feminises the male characters and un-genders the immigrant women, thereby diverging from the purely aesthetic or powerfully erotic towards pejorative and prejudiced exoticism. By revisiting the ‘anal fear’ of sodomy being symbolic of society-smashing Moorish invasions of the past and domineering sexual abuse carried out upon unwedded women in Mimoun’s native Morocco, El Hachmi assigns a shared portion of the guilt to the immigrant women themselves. Karrouch, too, gives herself a dirtier presentation by contravening the norms – in this case by favouring the antithetically less pure Catalan education system, in lieu of the Arabic “rafki.”

“Tampoc no hi ha rafki – va dir el pare. Al Marroc, el rafki ens feia treure les sabates i sèiem tots a terra. Ens controlava la higiene personal ; els peus, les mans, les orelles... Havia d’estar tot molt net o sinó ens feia rentar a la pica del pati de la mesquita.” (*De Nador a Vic* 39-40).

Here, she seems to be subtly resisting the racist notion of the base or dirty African and highlighting the Moroccan cultural emphasis on cleanliness in religion and education, whilst

simultaneously wanting to break away from the ties with her past and integrate with her new community. I aver that this dilemma between sexual liberation and subjugation and between cleanliness and taboo is correlative with the dichotomy of cultural belonging and the duality of self-identity resultant in the African characters' physical and psychological migrations between Africa to Spain.

It is likewise interesting that the women characters who seem to most enjoy their own promiscuity are instead replicating male power-plays and taboo obsessions (as in the end of *El último patriarca*, where Mimoun's daughter breaks taboo in triplicate, by being deliberately and proactively involved in sodomy, committing incest and indulging in vengeful sexual exhibitionism in attempt to reverse the male gaze against her father and uncle and assume feminist power). El Hachmi's narrator goes so far as to consciously "filter that gaze of his again." (10). The resultant effects of both attempts are, as previously discussed, moot, since any supposed moral gender victory relies on mimicking and thereby re-empowering the chauvinistic tendencies. Thus, scenes which are purportedly incorporated to engender women's solidarity work counterproductively to discriminate and to fuel insecurities, whilst simultaneously sating power-wielding white male fetishes.^{xlix} I would argue that the dilemma here is between whether the representatives of the liminalised community choose to resist their imposed vulnerability and "flourish" from the opportunity to assert themselves or whether they choose to resort to more subdued resilience.

From analysis of the texts, my conclusion is that the Spanish-authored works of "testimonio," such as *Fátima de los naufragios* portrays mute resilience and a tacit acceptance of racism and chauvinism, whereas African authors, such as El Hachmi, take their characters through journeys of self-discovery and lead them towards situations where stark reminders of the abjection of patriarchal subjugation and cultural tolerance of sexual violence against

African women leaves no alternative choice but that of feminist resistance and celebration of one's hybrid self. In *El último patriarca*, peaceful, joyous scenes of family reunions and communal festivity preparations are acutely punctured by Mimoun's abusive language about his wife, calling her a whore, then slapping and shaming her in front of his sisters while they wash melons for him. Here we see physical abuse in a scene originally introduced via the multisensory and thinly-veiled sexual significance of fragrant, sweet melons – an example of fruit imagery being employed by an African author as a symbol of the juxtaposition of vulnerability and resistance in the experiences of the African women – acting as a shocking reminder of the African women as an unwanted and restricted subaltern. Nevertheless, Mimoun's nemesis is delivered by the sexual rebellion of his daughter and his own diminishment in the face of an alien culture in which he is no longer the all-powerful patriarch.¹

In the studied works of El Hachmi and Karrouch, an epistolary style of legacy emerges, which can also be seen more recently across both native Spanish and African authors, where parents (especially mothers) seem to pass down legitimisation and increased social acceptance to their children (especially their daughters). In this way, the reader is led to understand that the narrator in *El último patriarca* will be more 'Spanish' and more post-homogenous than Mimoun and therefore more aligned to Spanish culture. Similarly, although Igé moves into an adoptive role as 'mother' of Uxbal's children in *Biutiful*, the anxiety surrounding how well his children will be able to cope with life after his death dissipates in the knowledge that they will have a more balanced outlook.^{li} It is apparent, too, that these modern, assimilated and post-paternalist daughters are more redeemable in the stories than their mothers, despite sometimes reminiscing their memories, and it is evident from interviews that both Karrouch and El Hachmi find it harder to return to their country of birth

and adapt to Moroccan society than to embrace Catalan/ Spanish lifestyles. Both refer to prescribed Spanish education as something aimed at “changing” people, but both embrace it and see the educational opportunities for helping young women succeed in the New Spain. In this way, El Hachmi’s narrator learns the dictionary and quotes definitions throughout her narration, whereas Karrouch accepts that: “van ajudar-nos al màxim perquè poguéssim adaptar-nos” (*De Nador a Vic* 40) but reveres academic excellence in Moroccan schoolgirls: “la Laila era molt intelligent” (95). I would therefore argue that education and the entitlement which it assumes represent for these Moroccan-Spanish writers the new order of generational strengthening and reaffirmation of identity. Their hope for this is that it can replace traditional father-to-son mediation of family futures and honour which constitute what Ricci refers to as the “lucha” employed by immigrant writers to strive for the “forjamiento de una identidad amazigh-catalana,” (Ricci, 2010, 71-91). In much the same way that women French Maghreb authors known as “hijas de la colonización” in the 1980s took their colonialist ancestry and their positions as women and daughters as empowerment rather than obstacle, so too do El Hachmi and Karrouch in postmillennial Spanish publication. Reni Eddo-Lodge’s contention is that, whilst education is a route to equality and achievement, people from minority ethnic backgrounds will still remain at a disadvantage and “won’t be explicitly aware of the invisible barriers placed in the way, but they will exist,” (2017, 84) perhaps providing some meaningful framework for explanations as to why neither El Hachmi nor Karrouch are considered amongst the most successful or important contemporary authors in Spain.^{lii} As can be seen, the role of the progression of time has therefore arguably been changed, particularly by El Hachmi, into one which, although it still hinders their social progress, to some extent allows them to use the cultural differentiation of heritage as and when they see fit. Through continuing to publish and provide interviews in the Spanish mainstream, whilst appropriating

both Moroccan and Spanish identities as and when they choose, they are thus able to consciously embody the border heterotopia and break free of the restraints of the chronological border. This strengthens woman immigrant claims to belonging rather than prolonging the agonies of ongoing racism and liminality beyond the physical border. It therefore reinforces my earlier suggestion that El Hachmi finds empowerment through reversing the male gaze and contravening accepted traditions, since we can argue that she enjoys her chronological and intersectional allegiances and her hybridity in a fully conscious manner – and she can move from the paternal dominance of her father into a more liberated western women role and simultaneously enjoy reversing the satisfaction of anal sexual conquest from the unspoken Moroccan tradition.

Overall, then, rather than ‘having’ to continuously seek affirmation and acceptance of her origin, El Hachmi uses literature and public commentary to transcend boundaries of social expectation, time and space. Through doing this, we could argue that she supercedes the expected limitations of African women immigrants and finds a way to open the closed door of the border heterotopia. In *El último patriarca*, El Hachmi’s ability to move backward and forward between Africa and Spain, to narrate in the past and the present and to use sarcasm, cynicism and taboo in the process, allows her to go beyond set memories and associations of the past. She therefore also moves beyond the limiting temporality of these memories and the phenotypical psychological borders which hold immigrant women back and I would suggest that this sets her work up as a cipher for a more hopeful future in cultural hybridization.

Karrouch, too, through her dedication to academic, sporting and commercial achievement in her new Catalan home, achieves linguistic and socioeconomic empowerment which enables her to ‘educate’ others in Spain about her Amazigh-Moroccan background and thus renders the hindrances of ‘desterritorialidad’ and ‘alterity’ moot. In terms

of sporting success, she focuses on her athletic ability and her decision to “deixar el basket per dedicar-me més a l’atletisme.” (*De Nador a Vic* 3). It could be said that her *conscious diligence* and ownership of her sporting prowess as well as her enjoyment of education here flies somewhat in the face of Akala’s dismissal of the purportedly racist myth that “black people in general and Caribbeans in particular are *naturally* great at sport and inimical to education” (Akala, 2018, 174). My suggestion, however, is that her aim is to show the universality of attributes and skills which she had, even as an immigrant girl, and to expose the myth of African physicality over intellect. In this way, positive and progressive associations in references to learning and achievement in *De Nador a Vic* appear in five of the fifteen chapters of the book, all of which themselves refer to academic or industrious stages and experiences in her life, such as “Vaig a l’escola,” “Sóc una bon atleta,” and “Vida laboral.” The recounts of her time at school are described with adjectives and verbs such as “contents” (54), “beneficiava,” (105) “aficionar” (131) and “conscients” (106) and much is made of the benefits of competition and progress, as can be seen from the affirmation that: “D’una manera indirecta competíem entre nosaltres tres, cosa que ens beneficiava a totes perquè així donàvem el màxim” (105).

In line with the empowerment associated with Karrouch performing well at school and finding work as a writer, her recollections of first being able to communicate in Spanish (Catalan) are important and there is a degree of triumphalism around the exclamation (and the proudly self-asserting use of first-person pronoun) that “jo ja era capaç de dir paraules en espanyol” (41). This mirrors the decision of El Hachmi’s women narrator to learn the Catalan dictionary. In Part 2 of *El último patriarca*, she uses the dictionary as a desperate means “to escape from the poltergeist” of repression and fears about her mother’s well-being. The effect she hopes for is that it provides her with the nirvana-like sleep which comes of laughing “till

your ribs are about to explode,” crying “till you feel drained” or “having an orgasm,” (161).

Instead, the impact for her is more profound. She begins to memorise words from the Catalan dictionary, gradually acquiring a linguistic portal into society in Vic and subsequently symbolically overtaking Mimoun in the morphological arms race towards sociolinguistic acceptance and empowerment. As well as using the vocabulary learning as a distraction from the emotional dilemma of her father meeting Isabel, it operates as an affirmation of her new regional identity, which as Crameri puts it, is a factor of self-identity which “must not... be underestimated” (2017, 16). Importantly for El Hachmi in any quest for educating Spanish society and engendering social confluence for herself and other African women, Crameri also suggests that “Catalan-language literature itself should have some role in upholding or changing perceptions of identity” (17). According to what she has stated in interviews and to the proclamation in the title of another of her books (which again emphasises the empowering first-person pronoun), *Jo també soc catalana*, El Hachmi clearly does have an ambition to expose the condition of the African women and to champion the legitimacy of the immigrant. I posit, therefore, that her inscription into Catalan authorship, her success with the Ramon Llull literary prize and the enshrinement of incrementally more technical and obscure alphabetical dictionary definitions at the important end of each chapter in Part 2 all reflect her stance that cognitive development,^{liii} education and sociolinguistic advancement are her key tools for driving change.

Overall, my research leads me to conclude that there are clear stereotypical aesthetic tropes, a phenotypical focus on sexual alterity and an enduring physical and metaphoric barrier between African women characters and equal integration within their Spanish communities, all of which point to a liminality and a chronic lack of voice. On the other hand, there is evidence of a clamour for recognition by immigrant women authors themselves.

Of the two groups of postmillennial ‘from Africa into Spain’ immigration literature studied, the publication of mixed background or hybridized African-Spanish women offers the most hopeful representation of woman immigrant voice for the future. I would argue that, where immigrant women such as El Hachmi and Karrouch go beyond the border, achieve a level of success or forge a new self by publishing their work for the Spanish consumption and making social commentary in interviews, the unveiling and recounting of the vulnerabilities they faced along their journey and their performative resilience instead turn into resistance and increased empowerment.

The authors’ unique intercultural stance and their part-feminist/ part-rebel/ part-libertarian literature and social comments help them to narrate and expose the realities of immigration trauma, recapture control of the lost sexuality of Muslim and African women, access education and economic autonomy and find a platform from which to promote their hopes for understanding, acceptance and social confluence. I conclude, therefore, that this comprises a resistant divergence from the heterotopia of the vulnerable woman immigrant and a eudaimonic employment of the vulnerabilities of their unique heritage towards the establishment of “a room of one’s own” (Woolf, 1929) ^{liv} within both Spanish literary publication and Spanish society itself. I would, to this end, aver that their occupation of the glaring gap of first-person immigrant authorship in Spain has rendered the prevailing genres of condescending “testimonio” and exoticist formulae somewhat anachronistic and invalid. It does, however, still remain the case that their lack of outright literary centrality in Spain points to a persistent (and potentially still racially-directed) predilection for Spanish-authored imagination, which, if taken as a mirror for the sociological situation in the country, suggests ongoing dissymmetry and non-assimilation.

This diverges from my observations of the other books and films studied, in that the latter all present, to a greater or lesser extent, an objectified, pitiable and vulnerable African women immigrant, imagined by the western author and either devoid of profundity and realism or repositioned in colonialist and Orientalist roles of otherness and inferiority. In this way, whereas the vulnerabilities of the immigrant African authors under study are manipulated by their protagonists and themselves into aspects of resilience, resistance and empowerment, those of the characters of Spanish “testimonio” or portrayal lack the agency to do this and therefore their vulnerability condemns them to chronic passivity or at best complicit resilience to the societal injustices and non-assimilation reflected by the authors. The presence of voice in some of their characters does importantly give them some degree of visibility, however they do simultaneously remain unrealistic, othered and thus peripheral, and therefore the ultimate opportunity for African women characters in this group voicing their *true experience* is somewhat nullified.

Representations of Latin American Women Immigrants

In this chapter I explore representations of Latin American women immigrants. I begin by establishing the sociocultural context of the postcolonial discourse, reflecting on ways in which consequences of recognisable, stereotypical images and phobias, similar to the fears of ‘menacing multiculturalism’ and ‘fracturing of national identities’ conceived by Douglas Murray (2017),^{lv} of Latin Americans are presented in postmillennial Spain and on how they affect our interpretation of their representation and create imagined instability and wantonness in the characterisation of the Latin American women.

To do this, I shall present an overview of the ways in which sociocultural features are developed as representative traits within the women, such as instability and superior sexuality and on how this instability is imagined as an innate personality trait of the characters, rather than an effect of the marginalisation, abuse and alienation which they suffer. I will also contrastingly reflect on the critical observation that, through their fight, their physicality and the freedoms which they represent, Latin American women also provide the basis from which life, culture and the foundations of society rest, despite being, themselves, largely excluded from the centrality and equality they deserve. I will show how representations of Latin American women appear through prisms of the conflict between utopian ideals and existential dystopia: whether political, familial or spatial. This exploration will also involve looking at the ways in which family restraints and social dysfunction hinder any supposed aesthetic harmony or imagined smooth cultural re-appropriation. Through the course of the chapter, I will also look at the femininities and feminisms involved in Latin American literary portrayal and on how this, as Gonzalez and Treece reflect, shows Latin American women, “wrestling with a metropolis that had given them... the technology of a modern world whose effects in Latin America seemed less creative than destructive,” (x). Thus, through considering the

importance of salient voice and performance within these portrayals and Gonzalez and Treece's suggested "gathering of voices," this chapter will expose a proposed "gathering" of momentum of hope for emancipation and equality from colonialist racism, neoliberalist injustice, patriarchal subjugation and cultural disembodiment which pejorative and fetishistic visions of these women might contrarily imply. Finally, thereby, I reveal the dichotomy between the contrasting ways in which Latin American women are both sexually and aesthetically exoticised and desired but also neglected, abused and chastised as bad memories from the problematic colonial period of Spanish history, whilst also being subtly representative of a transatlantic feminist move towards emancipation and political voice.

There is a complex history shared by Latin America and the metropole of the erstwhile Spanish Empire. As Andrés-Suárez states, "la situación de los latinoamericanos es muy distinta ya que para ellos nuestro país es un referente permanente por motivos históricos, culturales, religiosos y lingüísticos." (16). The Latin American woman throughout Spanish literary history has been portrayed to embody Latin American colonialist sentiment as a subordinate, a sexual object or a servant. Nevertheless, although the gendered migratory subjectivities surrounding Latin American women present them as an object of male sexual stereotyping and desire, they also represent a memory of imperial ownership and decadence and of the uncomfortable relationships forged during colonial conquest. These ideas have been revisited latterly with simultaneous postcolonial guilt and exploitative intentions on the part of the central Spanish patriarchy and a mixture of reproach, "an emerging narrative of victimhood" (Palmary 63), desperation and opportunism by the immigrant women themselves.

There is an important socio-political role reversal in representations of Latin American women in the works and in their place within Spanish society, since *they* are often the

agonistic leaders, the first arrivals and the workers. Furthermore, where the suspicions of black market or unethical dealings or of securing non-prestigious 'gig employment' to provide for family back home are more frequently the preserve of the foreign male in the opus,^{lvi} it is the women who plays the role of 'flâneur/flâneuse' (Cooke and Stone 82).^{lvii} This notion is reminiscent of the Cuban idea of "jineterismo," which refers to typically male opportunistic behaviour and propensity to cut corners or flout the law to make money. The Cuban image, however, sees the 'jinetero' as almost a charming character, like the morally bankrupt but appealing comical characters in Spanish 'picaresque' tales of bravado and 'engaño', where the opportunism, flexibility, social mobility and cunning of the male is expounded. On the contrary, these Cuban women "flâneuses" are not portrayed with the same romantic characteristics as the "transatlantic drift [males]: hobos, slackers, flâneurs etc." (Cooke and Stone 82) nor with their regular success but are instead chastised for unlawful or fickle acts - and their actions and work are looked down on and discredited. This suggests that, unlike the allure of the decadent Latino male drug cartel image, which glorifies the gangster, Latin American women deserve the more unwanted reactions to colonial decadence of jealousy at their presumed superior sexuality, envy of their illicitly-gained money and distrust of their presumed criminality.^{lviii} In all these images, there is a dichotomous situation. On the one hand, the feminist interpretation is that Latin American women's "domestic work and its contribution to the economy is fundamental," (a la Derriva 196). On the other hand, however, popular discourse asserts a negative women association with decadence, reminiscent of: "'degradation,' 'vice,' 'sin,' and 'debauchery' compound[ing] the highly stigmatized context, in which women would be seen either as entrapped, victimised or as a threat," (86). The associated immigration politics have perhaps fed into this dilemma, through the way in which "the system has clearly discouraged women from entering... the [formal/ legal] labour

market” (Andreotti et al. 51) and created a situation of bureaucratic vulnerability and social stigma for immigrant Latin American women who subsequently struggle to secure symbolic or actual validation in the country.

As concerns the socioeconomic contextualisation of Latin American women immigration, I posit that there are contesting associated roles which they fulfil as contributors to the Spanish economy, as (legal or illicit) workers and simultaneously as detractors from it, since “el dinero no tiene patria” (*En la orilla* 436).

Lutz notes that an “informal, feminised labour market has evolved” (47) in Europe, which demonstrates resistance against their vulnerable positions in the official labour market, but which leaves them financially unstable and at the mercy either of unscrupulous employers or of usurping family members. This struggle is referred to as an existential fact of life for new Latin American immigrants in Spain in *Arrival City* by Doug Saunders, where a past immigrant’s autobiographical statement, “we had to survive by our wits and ... send everything back” (254), reveals their economic status.

Coming from either currently or recently Communist places such as Cuba and Venezuela, where the utopia of equal ability and obligation to work for the nation is common and in other cases from countries (Argentina, Mexico, Chile etc.) where recent Right-Wing military dictatorships have enforced total (albeit highly gendered) employment for the state, Latin American women in the works generally arrive with expectations of access to state-recognised employment and high hopes of establishing rewarding equal opportunity for emancipation from familial and political restrictions at home. These can, indeed, also both be ciphers for empowerment, equality and progress. Nevertheless, as per the proclamation in *Cosas*, “esto es otro mundo” (00:34:12 – 00:34:16), this anticipated role is something traditionally seen as being in the ‘male’ sphere in Spain. Therefore, whereas one might

naturally expect the role reversal of the woman immigrant setting out to be the chief breadwinner to indicate a hint of hopeful empowerment for the women, it also seems to invoke jealousy and suspicion on the part of their employing hosts. As asserted in *The Journal of European Area Studies*, “Europe as ‘the home for the development of an exceptional civilisation’... is inconsiderate in what it seeks to exclude.” (Manners 70-72). In this way, where the ‘invading’ Chinese and African *men* are seen as a threat, this similarly applies to the *women* from Latin America and there is a reactionary native reversion to recapturing hierarchical power over the immigrants by exerting ownership and control over their bodies and their legitimacy as questionable sex or service workers. The resultant vulnerabilities of the Latin American women in these circumstances are thus used as a means to reassert the power of the autochthonous masculinity and, as such, resultant weapons used against these women characters are those of domestic violence and the threat of withholding ‘papeles’ – immigration and employment validation. To this end, D’Ors assumes that: “dejar de ser “un sin papeles” es la obsesión principal de la gran mayoría de los emigrantes” (78).

According to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, as of 2010, 82% of the 824,500 Latin American women registered to work in Spain occupied unqualified positions within Personal Services and Unqualified Administration or were registered as unemployed or seeking employment (www.ine.es). This reveals a situation in which almost 82% of the official Latin American women workforce are in circumstances of low or nil taxable income. What is more revealing, however, is the fact that there are over 1.016 million registered Latin American women of employable age in the country, meaning that around 191,500 (almost 19%) of the registered Latin American women immigrants in Spain in 2010 are either not registered with “papeles” to find employment in the official labour market, where “rigid labour laws protected male workers... undermining the possibilities of employment for

women” (Andreotti et al. 54), and were therefore economically marginalised or vulnerable, or were likely working illegally.

To reveal deeper understanding of the significance of the representations of Latin American women immigrants in Spain and to explore whether, how and why the artistic imagination of them might have changed through time and according to contextual factors, I shall firstly present an overview of the two most recognisable films which revolve around the introductions of Latin American women: *Flores de otro mundo* (Bollaín, 1999) and *Princesas* (León de Aranoa, 2005). These films were produced in different decades, and are set in contrasting surroundings, with *Flores de otro mundo* offering a view of the backward and timeless life in provincial Spain and the action in *Princesas* playing out against the modern urban background of Madrid (00:00:21 – 00:00:55). I shall then examine whether other filmic and literary works including *Cosas que dejé en La Habana*, *La boda* and *Beautiful* and the fictional novels *En la orilla*, *Te trataré como a un a reina* and *Instrucciones para salvar el mundo* paint similar pictures of the conception and experiences of Latin American women, and what these findings suggest about the social state of postmillennial Spain.

Flores de otro mundo is a film, produced much earlier than *Princesas*, but equally revealing in the personality and culture clashes which it portrays. The film presents assemblages of caravans of immigrant women arriving in rural, traditional communities in Spain as prospective partners for the local men and as proposed interculturally gentrifying renewers of existing family units but exposes the xenophobia and misogyny they can face and the breakdown in communication which prevails, despite the common language of immigrant and native. Raquel Vega-Durán asserts that “Bollaín presents Santa Eulalia as a microcosm where domestic and foreign, acceptance and rejection, share the same space,” (2016, 181), and Guillén Marin additionally argues that the pastoral and traditional setting of the production of

Flores de otro mundo (00:00:25-00:00:35) provides a telling backdrop for a tussle between the established patriarchy of rural Spanish convention and the modernising discord arising from the introduction of several women outsiders. Furthermore, she expands on suggestive roles played out by the dichotomy of the ‘female’ setting (private/ kitchen) and the ‘male’ setting (public/ bar) for the important episodes in the film. Guillén Marin’s statement: “The film attempts to redistribute ‘the sensible’ and tries to open up the space for political argumentation by conferring visibility on Patricia’s and Milady’s problems” (97), suggests a hopeful vindication of feminist equality and striving for freedom.

Ballesteros observes a “tendency found within immigration films made by women to show a desire to undo women migrants’ invisibility, focusing on women agency and mobility,” (2015, 66) and uses *Flores de otro mundo* as her example from within the Spanish opus. My contradictory observation is that, by only giving clear success to the most pliant of women characters, the message is that immigrant women are limited to conditional acceptance in rural Spain only if they are willing to adapt to the servility expected of domesticated women in traditional Spanish society; and only then if they are of ‘compatible’ racial appearance – Patricia being notably lighter-skinned than Milady. This sentiment is indeed uttered by Aurora, in her exclamation, “cada oveja con su pareja y cada cual en su casa.” (*Flores de otro mundo* 00:57:20 – 00:57:26). I therefore feel that, although Bollaín’s understood stance is to mock this bigotry, the outcomes of the film nevertheless seem to reestablish its validity and to consolidate the subjugation of these women. Perhaps this is more effective as an example of what Ballesteros discusses earlier in her work, where she makes the telling observations that, “white national intellectuals’ and filmmakers’ ethical commitment is in many cases less about the nonwhite Other than it is about crises in national identities and how they are articulated both publicly and privately.” (17-8).

On the other hand, Milady's role could equally be used to show that women immigrants have no space in the time or place of postmodern Spain and that their existence is both helpless and spectral. I would argue that any acceptance is critically tempered by a requirement to change and cede identity and that no emotional rejection, neglect or abuse receives voiced retribution, pathos-forging point-of-view (POV) camera angles or prolonged hold of shot to allow the audience to focus on its profundity. Equally, the rugged male exterior of the arid Spanish countryside of *Flores de otro mundo* (00:00:25-00:00:35) and the soft interior feminine confines of the bed upon which Milady bounces (00:21:40 – 00:21:45) themselves offer additional and contradictory filmic re-establishment of conventional gender spaces, which negate opportunities for equality of consideration. In this way, I argue that between the masculine gendered space of the 'self'-less exterior and the confined female interior space, the reader and viewer are presented with multiple spaces which all restrict the immigrant women. Neither do the traditional rurality of *Flores de otro mundo*, nor the urban modernity of *Biutiful* and *Princesas* provide a haven or a land of opportunity for them, owing to the arguably racist reactions of the local populace to their cultural alterity.

Princesas is a commercially successful (mainly within Spain) and visually intriguing and challenging film which also broaches issues of racism as it charts the lives of a Spanish prostitute and her newcomer Dominican peer, their blossoming but unequal friendship and the harsh but contrasting realities they experience as sex workers in Spain. Gabrielle Carty reflects on "limitaciones del realismo" in the work of León de Aranoa, but also highlights the fact that the director specifically states an intention to "dar voz a las prostitutas" and thus afford them the accomplishment of some form of parity of expression and some platform for social commentary in *Princesas* (2009, 128-30). This film was, therefore, an explicit attempt by the director to expose and almost champion the experiences of liminal women in the

Spanish sex trade and simultaneously comment on the estrangement of immigrants from their families and the difficulties of assimilation they face. Nevertheless, I suggest that the chief ‘limitation’ is in fact upon the Dominicana prostitute’s chances of lasting success, despite her entrepreneurial decision to come to Spain and work to provide for her family.

I would add to this observation that, whilst the stated intentions of the director and the two principal actresses, Caye (Candela Peña) and Zulema (Micaela Nevárez) include social commentary about the plight of marginalised and abused females who have resorted to prostitution for financial survival and to support families, even before watching the film, the effect has already been diluted by the fetishistic, male gaze through which the recurring images of shapely legs, high heels, painted lips and artistic female nudity are seen on the promotional posters, DVD sleeves, movie trailers and in most panned out scenes. This pseudo-misogynistic imagery is recurrent throughout the film’s *mise-en-scène* and systematically competes for attention with any proposed feminist agenda. The result is that the pictures and plot are successful in highlighting the perils these desperate immigrant females must confront daily, and yet there is a clear pointer towards underlying struggle between wanting to present the female immigrants as real people with real social problems to resolve and not as sex objects and wanting to indulge male fantasy with point-of-view cinematography and exoticised sexual females on display. The colourful backdrops of the film’s imagery, its ensemble cast composed of real and acting female prostitutes performing for male clients and emerging from nice cars with content-looking broad smiles (01:11:00-01:12:10 and 01:34:20-01:34:26) and healthy features and its exoticised characterisation of Zulema make it lean towards this indulgent of male fetish and its use of space provides another dilemma about otherness. Fetishism and exoticism predominate through Spanish female prostitutes taking the voyeuristic place of the “male gaze” (Mulvey, 6) and through the

use of camera angles from the eye level of soliciting car drivers, which both externalise and favour the demonstrative strut of the Latin American female's body, and thus 'turn the viewer into' a complicit male voyeur (00:52:00 – 00:53:50). Vega-Durán's complementary affirmation is that Zulema therefore captures the sense of otherness that surrounds immigrants. Her status as "undocumented" puts her beyond the scope of the law, while her condition as a "foreigner" defines her as belonging to some "other" origin (132).

Nevertheless, through Zulema's tenacity and because of her unlikely relationship with Cayetana in *Princesas*, Maria Van Liew recognises León de Aranoa's development of a "language of reciprocity... between Spanish nationals and 'illegal' immigrants" and suggests that the simultaneous "envy," "admiration" and "rivalry" catalyses a "burgeoning solidarity that transcends global issues of uneven development." (2012, 450). Important areas of Rakaseder's analysis are of the contrasting twin elements of male abuse versus feminine solidarity. Rakaseder's discouraging revelation from her interpretation of *Princesas* is that the funcionario's sexual violence against Zulema purports to a double violation, in that she is powerless both politically and physically to achieve equality or defend herself. The observation that "Zulema por ser mujer inmigrante, sin papeles, se ve afectada por una doble violencia" (157) reaffirms the notion that women immigrants are at additional disadvantage and liminality within Spanish society, and her exposure of domestic violence as a weapon of sociocultural subjugation presents a key step towards recognition of these issues within the discourse. Furthermore, it is important to note that there is another distinction between the immigrant sex worker, Zulema, and the Spanish prostitute, Caye, in that Caye is an entrepreneurial sex worker (and therefore empowered through personal choice) (00:04:05 – 00:04:40) and Zulema is a vulnerable prostitute bound by the woman's financial duties of

motherhood, the limitations of immigrant working status and the predatory sexual whims of the “funcionario.”

Zulema’s resolute determination to celebrate life where possible in the action (01:22:25-01:22:28) and have the stamina to work at building relationships within an unwelcoming and self-serving Spanish society (00:21:45 – 00:22:35) is visually symbolised by the unrealistically immediate way in which her face and body heal after she has been beaten (01:12:02-01:12:50 and 01:19:20-01:19:28). Equally, the strength of character she shows by resisting violence and adversity to the point of bringing racist and jealous prostitutes onside and inflicting retribitional revenge on her abusers is key to the lasting effect of the film as a work of gender migration fiction which offers a glimpse of empowerment for women immigrants.

Extending the narrative on gender, female solidarity is noted by Rakaseder as being central to the scripts of both *Princesas* and *Flores de otro mundo*. She observes that “en ambos casos, las mujeres se relacionan en dos ámbitos, tanto en el trabajo como en el lugar de residencia” and suggests that this solidarity is relied on by the female immigrants to “apoyarse mutuamente para sobrevivir.” (Rakaseder 152). Whilst female solidarity and the displayed union of women of divergent backgrounds are presented here as a beacon of hope for intercultural liaison, I posit that the characterisation of the controlling and abusive Aunt Marta in *Cosas que dejé en la Habana*, presents an obstacle to the notion that female solidarity might provide a keystone for universal deliverance and progress beyond simple Western ‘pity.’ There is, additionally, a contradictory sense of untrustworthiness, supposedly self-initiated and internally perpetuated hyper-sexualisation and ‘othering’ of the Latin American woman by other Latin American women themselves. This can be observed in the incongruous instances of Zulema (*Princesas*) and the three sisters (*Cosas*) discussing and promoting their

own promiscuity and availability for the Spanish male and in the seemingly uncharacteristic thievery of her female Spanish employer's dress by Mirta, the central protagonist in *La Boda*. These instances of postcolonial sexual reference in the two films add to images of voyeurism and spectacle in arrival scenes in both *Princesas* (00:09:45 – 00:12:53) and *Flores de otro mundo* (00:00:51-00:00:59) and lead to a conclusion that there is indeed an element of the measured and deliberate hyper-sexualisation of their own bodies and intentions mentioned by Cvajner (21, 89-91) being ascribed to the Latin American women characters across the corpus studied and, therefore, also across time.^{lix}

In addition to Spanish colonial spectres, the notion of an external invasion, where “colonizers turn themselves into colonized with their own colonial discourse ... [and the immigrants are] not presented to Spanish viewers as characters separated from Spain, but as an “other among us”” (Vega-Durán 126) is revisited in the representation of Latin American women. The ‘invasion scene’ in *Flores* (00:02:58-00:04:57) reflects this, where the camera presents a triumph-parade-cum-catwalk of immigrant women, watched either suspiciously or fetishistically by local villagers as though they present both their entire hopes of renewed joy and vivacity in their community and an implicit threat to decency, ‘Spanishness,’ tradition and patriarchal order. The converse implication of such scenes is also relevant and is alluded to by D’Ors as that which consciously sides the viewer with the voyeuristic and judgemental Spanish reception party and leads them to contemplate “el fenómeno desde la atalaya privilegiada del bienestar, y se alude a los inmigrantes con formulas ... avalanche, estampida, invasión.” (43). I contend that the *mise-en-scène* (defined as the practice which “develops a visual concept around which sets, props, lighting and costumes are designed to work together,” (Buckland 4)) certainly does seem to vary between the instances when the black and Latin American women are shown, with deeper focus photography, more lingering close-

up shots which seem to emphasise differences in skin colour, brighter colours and more decadent attire, (00:00:51-00:00:59) and those when their Spanish counterparts appear on the screen (00:18:26 – 00:18:32), causing the audience to instinctively view them as different and exotic. This is even more pronounced with the fact that Milady, who is the darkest-skinned woman, arrives separately, with no accompaniment and fanfare, in unbecoming, modelesque fashion, striking a glaring contrast with all others in the village – even the other immigrant women (00:18:20 – 00:18:25).

The differentiation between host and immigrant presents a presumed hierarchical disconnect on the part of the Spanish, which reveals cultural ‘hangover’ of guilt from the colonial imbalance within postmillennial Spanish literature as well as in society. This is hinted at where Liliana says, “y ahora nos queda el dolor de cabeza que deja la resaca” (*En la orilla*, 433). This historical and psychological burden of guilt is, however, re-awakened in the films and books with memories of past conquest and future opportunity for ‘modern subjugations’ which the renewed influx of Latin American women immigrants provides.

I argue that such reminders of past and present inequality see Latin American women portrayed with the same stereotypical “femininity... constructed... as a form of social retirement that implies the acceptance of women’s position of subordination and relegation to the private” (Isabel Rodríguez Mora, 2005, 44). These portrayals are inevitably accompanied by jealousy, envy, disappointment and distrust of the metropole by Latin American women, and moreover by their failure to assimilate or gain equality and true emancipation. I argue, also, that across the literature there is a repeated sense of pity and condescension, palpable from expressions such as, “pobres negros,” (*En la orilla* 153) and that any actual solidarity and acceptance are provided by other Latin American women themselves. I therefore posit that, where viewers are guided to pity Zulema (*Princesas*) and Milady (*Flores*) for the

domestic abuse which they suffer or to sympathise with Mirta (the mother in *La Boda*) for being prepared to sacrifice anything to participate in her daughter, Mairely's wedding day, or empathise with Nena's frustrations of subjectivity (*Cosas*), this somewhat negates any attempted redemption by these 'displays of regret' and that the finger of colonialist blame and hypocrisy is thus pointed back at the representative Spanish society.

Regret on the part of both the immigrants (for leaving Cuba) and the Spanish (for making themselves vulnerable by hosting them) is a central theme in *Cosas que dejé en La Habana*. This film was released in the earliest years of women immigrant portrayal under study and it exposes the darkly humorous and possibly imaginable experiences of women arriving from Cuba with ideas and intentions of settlement with estranged family members or as yet unidentified Spanish men. Sarah Barrow notes that the national identity of the film itself is of "composición híbrida" (2009, 119) in *Cosas que dejé en La Habana*, since the setting and action is clearly taking place in Spain and on Spanish time, whereas the photography visible in the scenes, the visual references to traditional Cuban dress in the nightclub and the overarching soundtrack all act as reflections of the "imaginario de nostalgia" for the three central protagonist sisters, Rosa, Nena and Ludmila. This reflects the complex internal conflict in many of the Latin American women immigrants in the works studied caused by the struggle between nostalgia for their birth country and determination to start afresh and assimilate in a new country, as well as the erosion of any presuppositions of equality and solidarity between historically and linguistically related colonial nations. The characters in *Cosas*, within these circumstances, take on artificial roles and their representations degenerate from those of hopeful and empowered immigrants proactively moving from a troubled Communist country to frustrated, restricted and laughable pawns in a

cynical and at times sarcastic and sadistic westernised capitalist one, through the course of the film.

The sense of regret in *Cosas* can be inferred from comments such as “¡esto es otro mundo!” (00:34:12 – 00:34:16) and similar effect is seen across the Works, such as in the more blatant “¡maldito sea el día en que cogí aquel barco!” (*Te trataré como a una reina* 60); and the entire content of page 18 of *En la orilla*, which associates present socioeconomic predicaments with flawed past relations and exchange between the metropole and the colonies: the importance of each of these instances coming from the fact that they represent momentary tears in the fabric of resilience and expose realisations about both the abjection of Latin American woman in 21st Century Spain and the spatiotemporal emotional vulnerabilities symptomatic of the immigrant experience.

To analyse such common traits and the significance they have, I shall set the central publications of *Flores* and *Princesas* against the wider immigration opus and contemporary literature and theory, and thus identify and expound upon four overarching roles which I propose Latin American women play in Spanish literature and film. These are: (Re-) Generation – the notions of motherhood, birth, rebirth and re-development; (Re-) Occupation – the ways in which physical, socio-political and emotional spaces can be occupied or re-occupied; Communication – the methods of transmitting messages of emotion, thought and change; Emancipation – the ways in which Latin American women representations might offer glimpses of liberation and empowerment.

The first identified role of Latin American women in the Spanish literary imagination is in terms of ‘(Re-) Generation,’ as biological or social mothers or ‘generators’ of people and communities. This suggestion has been made previously of the symbolism of mother figures in *Flores*, where Vega-Durán states that the: “figure of the Latin American mother/ woman is

fundamentally important” (179), however I contend that any implied kudos from or status as matriarch is absent from their representations.

The immigrant women in the works studied are, indeed, depicted and characterised through their fulfilment of motherly roles, such as nursing children, caring for people and cleaning houses, and are expected to fulfil what Segal describes as “affirmation of a benevolent ‘femininity’ open and sensitive to the needs and vulnerabilities of others,” (Callaghan 149). Nevertheless, within these scenarios, they are frequently set up for judgement on their perceived relative aptitudes in the exclusively women reproductive role of bearing and nursing new life and shown as untrustworthy or unhygienic in their employment as carers, personal servants, cooks and cleaners for the autochthonous citizenship. Whilst attention to these perceived maternal duties is used as yardstick for judging the performance and social suitability of the Latin American women, Douglas goes further to suggest that the idea of the “dirt” for which they are held accountable has historically actually been “compounded of two things, care for hygiene and respect for conventions,” and that inattention to either or both is tantamount to religious desecration and “impurity” (1966, 8-10). Clearly, the threat of such potential condemnation acts as a restriction for the characters and I would argue that it is even reminiscent of the association between women and biblical ‘Original Sin.’^{lx} Furthermore, through deployment as social and familial regenerators and home-makers in the conscious gentrification of ageing and isolated traditional villages in Spain, as well as through positions as sexual servants to Spanish males, they represent stereotypes of the quintessentially subservient women figure of mother, maid and whore.

Correlations between maternity and geopolitics are expressed by Yuval Davis in the statement that women “reproduce nations biologically, culturally and symbolically,” (Böttner 97). Furthermore, owing partly to their physical role in reproduction, partly to their position

as the maternal protectors, feeders and educators of their host households and new communities, and partly to the universal stereotype that the ephemeral and emotional aspects of culture and the arts are perceived as ‘femininities’ through being representative of the caring, nurturing female side of conceived gender roles (Hofstede 297), I propose that women are also the custodians of culture and society. Thus, I argue that, as well as physically conceiving, bearing and nurturing the people within society, women are by extension the mothers of state and nationhood. Capitalist considerations of European metropolises have historically regarded the lands and peoples of colonised territories as the possession of (often Right-Wing) males and as such, patriarchal terminology and imagination of land as a women part of male possession has led to the naming of a nation as ‘Patria’ or ‘Fatherland.’ Nonetheless, the unique experience of descendants of people from the erstwhile Spanish colonies returning to the “burbuja protectora amniótica” (*Instrucciones* 21) of a ‘Matria’ in the metropole is put forward as a representation of women from Latin America “repopulating Madre Patria” (Vega-Durán xxxi). This echoes the theory that women and images of femininity are central to the creation, existence and maintenance of any society, whether as embodiments of “Madre Patria” itself or as the means for its rejuvenation or rebirth via the repopulation of stagnant traditional Spanish communities, as in *Flores*. In *En la orilla*, the similar notion of Latin Americans returning to the Spanish metropole, rekindling an imagined shared past fraternity and injecting new life is first expressed as an uncomplicated and natural process via the allegorical:

“cuando llegó a España, la mayoría ... eran paisanos suyos ... después se presentaron los ecuatorianos, los peruanos, los bolivianos y los colombianos ... unos años antes ... compartían ... con los españoles,” (15).

Nevertheless, this imagery gradually changes as the Latin Americans are later described in the same book, more ambivalently, as “una especie de invitados” (100) or, in eventually dismissive and terms, as “alguna oriental – chinita o colombiana,” (37). This type of Spanish “provincial xenophobia” described by Ballesteros as a “benign racism,” (152), which embraces stereotype but rarely extends to the types of violence in films such as *Poniente* (Gutiérrez, 2002) and echoes the Spanish jealousies revealed in *Flores* and *Princesas* is more explicit and physical towards Latin American women as we move through time in the scripts and storylines. In each instance there is a climactic scene of xenophobic reaction, or physical/sexual violence from which the characters never fully recover. Across all these images the one unifying connotation is of women being the maternal point of origin: “hijos de puta son los hombres, el género humano, no importa el Dios en que crean o digan creer” (*En la orilla* 18). This proclamation declares the women to be both the maternal ‘cuña,’ who cradles society, and the vicious “puta,” who condemns it to dirt and decadence.

En la orilla (Chirbes, 2016) as a later publication, presents occasional glimpses of sarcasm interspersed through an eclectic, almost Joycean present-tense amalgamation of streams of consciousness, monologues, dialogues and letters of varied lengths and formats – but all against the backdrop of a slightly miserable economy and setting. The action commences with the symbolic and ominous appearance of bodies in the dank and uncertain marginal marshes of a fictitious coastal town, the corruption and disaffection within which has been brought to an economic head by its vulnerability to the economic recession. The storyline traces the business trials and failures and the emotional disappointments of Esteban, a carpenter who has taken his chronically ill father’s business on, had to lay off staff, lost the love of his life to his friend and been left to reflect on the selfishness and stagnation of crisis-time Spain and the tendencies of people to profit or satiate themselves to the detriment of

others. In Esteban's tenuous and dramatically ironic attempts to dispense largesse ("therefore, consider I am the money that allows to finance your circumstances" (*En la orilla* 140)) and buy his father's erstwhile carer, Lilita's, ongoing presence in his life, Alberto Ribas-Casasayas notes the "paternal-erotic relationship ... fraught by imbalances and subterfuge" (2017, 413) characteristic of the relationship between self-serving and decadent coloniser and the consciously-patronised Latin American. This "imbalance" is often challenged by the determination to be agentic and voice their sentiments on the part of Latin American women immigrants across the opus studied, but does, nonetheless remain.

The effect of Chirbes's descriptive and imaginative emotional insight is a series of interpersonal dysfunction and disaffected interchanges between Spanish misogynists in their narrated encounters with each other and with exotic Eastern European prostitutes and Latin American women in recent, post-crisis Spain. *En la orilla* is therefore a book which switches form between lamenting letters, sardonic and impressionistic immediate narration and detached personal reflection and which overtly highlights culture clashes between people, both native and foreign, in an insalubrious and symbolically ambiguous setting, within which everyone is struggling to cope - either financially or morally.

Nevertheless, through Latin American women demonstrating the resistance to paternalism (as shown by Lilita), the agency to earn despite their challenges in Spain, the communicative liaisons to send locally earned currency back to the economies of their countries of origin via remittances and family ties, and to provide maternal care to their Spanish hosts, they can be considered to remove currency from the State and power from the patriarchy whilst (re-) establishing a matriarchy of sorts. This observation, as well as connotes the femininity and maternity of society, since both the idealisation of Spain as the source of life-supporting funds and the resolution of the immigrant women within Spain to provide

succour for their own families and care services for the Spanish, positions Spain as ‘Matria’ rather than ‘Patria.’ There is an expectation that it (and they) therefore ought to fulfil both the role of all mothers in providing for dependants, young or old and, contrarily, the role of “putas” who are supposedly valued by males “como hijas, como madres” (*En la orilla* 390). In this interpretation, then, immigrant women are still only truly empowered to satisfy the various sexual or subjugating needs of the ego of patriarchy, as cleaners removing the stains of guilt or as submissive sexual partners upon whom physical dominance is reasserted.

In *En la orilla*, *La boda*, *Biutiful*, *Flores* and *Princesas*, although we do encounter Latin American women as central protagonists and in lesser roles, acting as or being mothers, it seems that the physically nurturing behaviours associated with maternity and their educational role of establishing and recalibrating acceptable behaviours and mind-sets in the family are both surprisingly absent from their characterisation. Furthermore, there is a dismissal of the socioeconomic roles they play as housewives or mother figures in quotes such as “gracias a la familia, no se notan los cinco millones y pico de paradas,” (*En la orilla* 257). Considered with relation to a recent Spanish survey entitled *¿Se ha hecho lo suficiente por las mujeres en España?* (2019, www.es.statista.com), in which responses from 62% of the Spanish people questioned (and 71% of the Spanish men) suggested that enough has already been done for the rights of women, this dismissive response to women characters could be seen as an expected reflection of a society which is arguably less concerned than most with the feminist project of further championing the support of the women. In this way, I would argue that any hopes of Latin American mother characters engendering a new and progressive society are extinguished. Whilst we may understand them to be central to the birthing, initiation, establishment and regeneration of Spanish society in the ways mentioned above, they are somehow excluded from exuding familial warmth,^{lxi} partaking of the fruits of

a reinvigorated society, or benefitting from either unhindered functionality or legal agency within it. A noteworthy statement to the effect of the thwarting and exclusion of the women is found in *Te trataré*, where we read that “el mundo no estaba hecho para mujeres,” (31).

Te trataré como a una reina (Montero, 1983) is a black comedy written in the style of “novela negra” crime fiction which employs less suspense and mystery than would normally be expected in detective fiction, but instead spends longer on the exposition after the crime and thus leaves readers to work out how characters relate to one another and what the motive for the crime was. Montero therefore encourages readers to subconsciously consider the strained relationships between and the difficulties faced by immigrant bolero dancers and night-time revellers (women in particular) in their attempts to relate to others and achieve happiness in a world full of complexity and alienation, a world also of depravity and crime. Kathleen Thompson-Casado suggests that typical of both the “novela negra” genre and Montero’s work, the “heterogeneous mix of characters have in common the fact that they all are marginalized to a greater or lesser extent by society proper and their relationships with each other are linked in great part by frustrated desires, cruelty and a predominance of violence, both verbal and physical” (1988, 28). These marginalised characters achieve their respective character expositions (and are thus ‘progenerated’ for the reader) through their relationships with either Bella or Antonia, however the relationships, based on “cruelty” and “violence” do not suggest any maternal sociability and accord. Indeed, this correlates with *Flores*, where Milady’s sporadic attempts at acquiescing to the femininities of sociability and adaptation to any kind of conceived womanly role are unsuccessful in enabling her acceptance by the villagers.

Across the works studied, recurrent images are of women characters separated from families and yet cast into situations of awkward maternity within which they are expected to

operate, whether in circumstances of essentially surrogate motherhood or as actual biological mother without the social, financial, personal or psychological means to fulfil their roles. Marambra, the Argentinian biological mother in *Biutiful* is shown, to this effect, as being mentally unhinged (00:19:50 – 00:20:25); lurching between long periods of absence from her two young children and spontaneous episodes of unrealistic mania as she attempts to ‘make up’ for lost time (00:28:06 – 00:28:59) but still retain her uninhibited sexual liberation. It seems that Marambra is doomed to failure as a mother and viewers are led to feel that her own irresponsibility is her chief downfall. Even though Uxbal’s flawed morals in the film are more consistently to blame for the positions of vulnerability in which the children often find themselves (for instance, by abandoning them through the day), the sentiment which seems to come across from the plot is that Marambra’s borderline personality disorder is more perilous to their safeguarding. This is clear from the extra reproach shown to her when she, in turn, chastises and abandons her son (01:41:20-01:41:35), and the fact that it is her who oversteps the mark into physical abuse of the children and singular culpability for the familial dysfunction.

In contrast, Zulema, the Dominican mother who has taken the step to migrate to Spain and earn money for her children through prostitution, is herself the victim of aggression in *Princesas*, casting her as the victim of wanton and undeserved abuse from a morally corrupt and cruel Spanish male sponsor. Nevertheless, the fact that neither the father figure from home nor the Spanish male are seen in the film suggests that they are not, and do not need to be, personally, financially or ethically responsible. Instead, it is the ill-equipped Latin American mother figures who are expected to create, raise, educate and protect their dysfunctional families. In neither *Princesas* nor *Flores*, are the abusive Spaniards held to account for their actions and the fact that Zulema’s abuser is presented as someone with a

recognisable position of civil responsibility somehow affords him more legitimacy than an absent, undocumented and ‘dirty’ mother who has lowered herself to the anti-maternal position of “puta.” The irresponsible, dirty, taboo and un-motherly way with which Zulema gets vengeance (through probably infecting her abuser with HIV (01:31:30)) extends the abjection amidst which she is depicted, but also, somehow assigns her part of the blame.

In the sexual and violent perpetration of the acts in these episodes, there is clear visualisation of an “abject equivalence” between Zulema and the funcionario. “Abject equivalence” is a term coined and described by Ryan (2017, 3) as “the paralleling of both hosts and immigrants in corporeal, state and spatial spaces of debasement” and, as the acts of sexual abuse and attacks take place, both characters are animalised and simultaneously “debased” beneath the acceptable behaviours and expectations of society: Zulema through her subjection to the abjection despite being mother to an unseen family and the funcionario through his grotesque actions. Zulema, at one point, physically throws up after a particularly horrendous sexual and physical attack (01:12:00-01:12:05), following which she is briefly depicted as almost struggling for life. The vomit here symbolises the ugliness of proceedings and shows her body and psyche rejecting it as unacceptable abjection^{lxii}, yet viewers are aware of what has happened and of the fact that she is indeed a marginalised and subjugated victim of males and a disembodied and disenfranchised refugee in desperate need of “papeles.” The bigoted social system and tirades of abuse to which she is subjected are real and she has no realistic opportunities for career aspiration or change, beyond the fairy tale hope for her abusive funcionario to supply her with legitimacy (00:19:35 – 00:20:06) during their heterotopian sexual border encounters, so the horror in the situation and the Agamben-esque notion of “bare life” or “zoê”^{lxiii} are what remains. Although she makes the decision to return to the Dominican Republic herself, I posit that this is more a sign of defeat than of

agency, and the determination to infect the funcionario with HIV, rather than any reaffirmation of power, debases her to the reverse side of the abject equivalence spectrum. Her horror is evident and central to her being, and yet the opportunity for viewer reflection is short-lived, as the next sequences show her fully recovered and unscarred, getting on with things and complicitly accepting the status quo.

In this manner, Zulema's character encompasses the other in numerous ways. She is: an exotically darker-skinned target for jealousy and fetish; an unregistered, illegal alien in Spain; an AIDS-infected body; a foreigner; a female sex worker in the male gender space of the outside world; an object for female voyeurism and judgement; a helpless victim of domestic violence; a mother separated from her child; an impoverished and desperate outcast from society; and a non-conformist who (seemingly unfittingly and insanely) proclaims herself a "princesa" rather than a "puta" (01:22:25-01:22:28).

The audience is left to resolve the jarring contradiction between pathos towards a woman victim who is sacrificing herself for her dependants and the shock that a mother could cross the boundaries between being femininely delicate and attractive and grotesquely vengeful. This acts as a final image of horror and almost ratifies the racist and jealous point-of-view narrative of the power-wielding prostitutes, Caren and Ángela, inside the salon who 'other' her for the dirty, foreign way she walks and categorise her together with the other black prostitutes by racially zoomorphing her on account of her animalistic and irresistible 'African' "sexual pheromones" (00:12:50 – 00:12:53). In this scene, where the salon had thus "become a place of subjugation" (Vega-Durán, 141) for the failing and unacceptable Latin American mother during her unhappy stay in Spain, her enforced deportation at the end suggests that she is destined to return to her children as a tainted pariah, and the sexually transmitted disease for which she has been assigned the blame simultaneously denies her the

feminine and maternal traits of cleanliness, composure and restraint and will also likely even curtail the length of and limit her maternal capabilities in her future life of raising her family.

Murray links the concept of generating an individual and personal “Self” with the ability of a State to self-generate and be recognised and suggests that “Liberal constructivists have argued that being a Self – that is, having an identity – depends importantly on obtaining recognition from a significant Other and therefore is an important object of states’ foreign policies,” (13). This echoes asserted theories that women generate states and that Latin American women in this opus are subject to the Spanish State not recognising their validity nor allowing them to realise successful and reciprocal relationships with Spanish significant others. The resultant paradox signifies existential failure for these women. Thus, the failure of Zulema (01:39:22-01:39:40) positions the Latin American women as both the innocent victim of chauvinist and racist violence and the creator and destroyer of her own opportunity and therefore, by extension, of civilisation.

Similar failures are repeated throughout the opus, as Marambra (*Biutiful*), Mirta (*La boda*) and Milady (*Flores*) defy the etiquette and expectation of society or lack the required gravitas, skill and instinct of natural family-makers and are therefore condemned to be excluded from the society which they are enlisted to care for or rejuvenate. Thus, whereas women feature as the birthplace from which life, empires, states and new ideas must take place and as the victims or places for breaking the patriarchies which inevitably develop in their place, they are not treated in the literature as functionally agonistic within them. Although femininities of culture are occasionally attributed to Latin Americans, therefore, (such as the association between women and clothing in *Cosas*, *Princesas* and *La boda*), it is done in a manner which suggests they are re-appropriating others’ possessions and that these possessions are exclusive from, but not accessible to, the Latin American women themselves -

who are thereby shown as flawed, unscrupulous, unsanitary and morally bereft workers, partners or mothers and punished in this way for those alleged traits and for their resultant ‘non-deservedness.’ This unequal accessibility to cultural appropriation is clearly a factor biased towards the colonial ‘conquistadors,’ and understood as the universal ‘way of things’ by both immigrant and native. On the contrary, when Latin American women attempt to engage in society on equal levels with the metropolitan population or even to simply fill the roles ascribed to them by the receiving society, it is seen as an incongruous and hubristic act, and it is met with either an awkward struggle or outright nemesis. This can be seen where both the calmer and more conformist Patricia and the unruly and bipolar Marambra attempt to take on the roles of mother which they were specifically enlisted to occupy in *Flores* and *Beautiful*. Regardless of the absolute contrast between their personalities and the variance in their seeming levels of suitability as potential mothers, their attempts result respectively in tense situations where Patricia has to ‘prove herself’ and overcome the fact that she is actually “not very welcome in this place” (00:57:15-00:57:50) in order to eventually ‘earn’ a comparatively depressing place within an unappreciative family, and Marambra is doomed to succumbing to the “voices” in her head and becoming a failed mother who is “mean to Mateo,” an uncontrollable alcoholic and a “whore” (01:40:30-01:41:45).

Besides stereotypical maternal roles of procreation and nurture, the motherly ‘duty’ of cleaning, along with those of cooking and raising children, defines the chauvinist expectation of a compliant and attentive women partner, housewife and mother in conservative society. In this way, I suggest that this deployment of Latin American women within the houses and workplaces of typically Spanish middle-class employers repositions the previously colonised immigrants as subservient and acceptant of innate lower hierarchical stature, as well as foolishly allowing themselves to be in positions of “paradoxical ‘intimate anonymity’ ... and

political invisibility” (Ballesteros 65) in other (potentially abusive) people’s homes. The personal requests of Mirta, owing to this imbalance, despite her having been an exemplary cleaning employee, are of little concern to her employers and this anonymity works in two ways. Firstly, she is forced to forfeit her job to get the time off she needs and becomes a victim of her anonymity (00:01:10 - 00:01:20); but then she realises that she can take advantage of it to ‘escape’ for the day and to steal a dress in the process. In this way, by allowing these women to ‘lower’ themselves and put themselves at the mercy of Spanish ‘overlords,’ it might consequently be argued that the Latin American women are guilty of perpetuating their own postcolonial vulnerabilities or adding to the untrustworthy stereotypes discussed earlier. Additionally, the effects of this might negate any positive and hopeful anticipation of new beginnings, fresh starts and returns to the metropolitan family fold. This turns their representations into those of undeserving and suspicious, morally-questionable or illicit ghostly visitations by subordinate undesirables and perennial, masochistic ‘clandestina’ victims, willingly condemning themselves to menial jobs in the patriarchal interior isolation of houses owned by richer, colonially-minded Spanish employers.

On the contrary, their determination to take the lead and leave their countries of origin, their (mostly) self-initiated presence and employment in an overseas country, their selection of job roles which avoid the competitive markets of skilled and qualified employment and their dedication to send financial remittances back to their families all constitute indications of empowerment and success. This corroborates what la Deriva puts forward as the “longstanding feminist strategy of visibilizing, valorizing and even quantifying domestic work and its contribution to the economy.” (196). Contradicting Gonzalez and Treece’s observation of “the anxious plaint of a subordinate culture seeking to complete itself by assimilation into the prevailing culture,” (xi), Latin American immigrant women’

commitment to taking up these ‘cash-in-hand’ cleaning roles en-masse has actually led to an “acceptance and acceptability of deregulation ... [which] reinforces the clandestine character of this work,” (Lutz 47). In this way, I argue that Latin American women characters who represent these figures in Spanish culture ought to be credited with taking the traditional “substitutive mothering” (Bond 139) role overseas and establishing a system of transnational care to circumvent, loosen and thus overcome the patriarchal power of central European government.^{lxiv} I argue that this is the case because, by engendering “social heterogeneity and the existence of extensive informal ... economics,” (Andreotti et al. 47), the restrictive power of “centralistic systems based on the assumption of the supreme power of political management” (Grasse 79) is negated and the neoliberal and existential ‘threat’ of being “sin papeles” in Spain is reduced, meaning that the Latin American women conversely decentralise the power of the patriarchy and empower themselves to achieve.

In addition to these economic aspects, there is a symbolic political significance to the aspect of previously colonised women fulfilling the maternal duties of ‘cleaning,’ which is another of the “kinds of motivation” (Lutz 49) for Latin American women migrating. Far from stereotypical shows of feminine decorum and obeisance to native male expectations, by opting to “trabajar como una mula” (*Cosas* (00:26:28 – 00:26:30)) and by selecting to do so “en los servicios y ... las tareas domésticas,” (Andrés-Suárez 16), Latin American women characters dispel the European Bourgeois fixation^{lxv} with cleanliness being the preserve of the ‘civilised’ colonising nations and dirt being the scourge of those from poorer backgrounds. Gonzalez and Treece consider that Latin American women’ “critical response to Western Bourgeois ideology” is one of resignation and taking “refuge in regionalisms and nostalgia” (xi) instead, however I suggest that two things are of note here: firstly, in real terms, itinerant women cleaners in the Spanish community are demonstrating empowered agency and

opportunism; and secondly, that they are demonstrating resistance to colonial stereotype. The European obsession with cleanliness is clearly visible in the excessive and almost masochistic cleaning routine described in *En la orilla*: “una ducha vigorosa al volver a casa, friegas con jabón, esponja dura, y, para acabar, un generoso riego de agua de colonia,” (41).

Nevertheless, it is revealing that the last word is duplicitous – since “colonia” carries two meanings: one of aftershave from Cologne - a foreign import, and the other of “colony” – a foreign place, both of which imply the requirement for employing something non-Spanish (and in this case, Latin American) to ensure cleanliness and purity.

Similar instances of ambiguity with regards to cleanliness and maternal duty extend in the works to representations of the sea. There is a trope in the immigration literature which sees immigrant women being associated with the sea. However, where my previous exploration linked it to Chinese women spectrality and the omnipresent threats and barriers to African women assimilation, for representations of Latin Americans in *En la orilla*, the sea is explicitly referred to as “incierto” and “metáfora de ambigüedad,” (100). Associative correlations between the purity of the sea and the changeability of its tides, ebbs and flows are potentially representative of the, at times fertile and life-giving, at other times taboo and ‘unclean,’ women menstrual cycle. This is reminiscent of Bond’s conceit of the “flexible subjectivity” of the women. In her discussion, Bond refers to the inconstant maternal physicality of the women almost in geopolitical terms, by suggesting that they embody an “inherent divisibility” and at times possess “leaky or breached borders, which might all potentially lead to the maternal body provoking feelings of abjection and disgust,” (111). In parallel with my suggested maternal and servile representations of women roles themselves, this contradiction between a Kristevan sense of abjection and the fact that maternal ‘duties’ consist (certainly in the imagination of the Latin American women’s experience in Spain)

largely in performing the delicate jobs of caring and cleaning. Mirroring this, it is the cleansing and caring function of the sea which is the most frequently used image in Latin American representation, however in consecutive comments the maternal commitment of the sea to keeping everything clean is somewhat called into question, when the cleanliness of “el mar lo lava todo,” (*En la orilla*, 42) gives way rapidly to “el mar trae o atrae la basura,” (43) and the ambiguity of both imagined women fickleness and the spectre of immigrant women not maintaining sufficient hygiene are again hinted at. In this way, along with Latin American mothers, for whom I propose the sea is an ambiguous metaphor, *it* is simultaneously blamed for bringing ‘foreign’ dirt to Spanish shores. Spanish emotional responses to the services and new life purveyed by Latin American women are also ambiguous in this figurative representation, since we hear that the sea’s life-giving powers and the cleansing water it provides (“el mar forma un gran pulmón de agua salubre,” (367)) also seem to taint and devalue life in Spanish society as the rolling dialogue proceeds to suggest that “en la orilla han estado siempre las viviendas más miserables,” (100). Through these extended metaphors the ambiguity of the sea is applied to the relative levels of cleanliness (and thus maternal valorisation) of both native and woman immigrant and, by extension, this leaves potential for the immigrant’s “cleanliness” to be considered superior and, therefore, with hopes of some comparative worthiness or even claims to the “godliness” described by Douglas, in her work on “dirt.” (1966, 8-9).

Through further exploration of symbolic implications which can be drawn from representations of foreign women having to clean up after Europeans, even in their own homes, across the texts, as represented by Mirta in *La boda* (Seresesky, 2012), I also challenge the colonialist presupposition that Europeans are somehow naturally superior to the housemaids they employ.

La boda is a farcical short film about a Cuban cleaner in urban Spain, who will stop at nothing to virtually attend the wedding of her daughter in Cuba and the contrasts between the brief and unequal exchanges she has with Spanish people and the eclectic links she has with fellow immigrant women (00:08:33 – 00:09:20). As one of the later pieces under study, it is interesting to note that the element of farce and comedy present in much of the earlier representations of Latin American female immigrants, such as *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* is still present (00:07:31 – 00:08:05), and that the imagined roles of the Latin American remain as cleaner (Mirta) or housekeeper (the friend from whose employer Mirta steals a dress (00:04:08 – 00:04:55)).

Biglia et al. propose that “most Social Movement theory is eurocentric” (21) and that there is therefore an assumption that European society is more aspirational than those from which immigrants come. This xenophobic presumption of hierarchy is a suggestion which is revealed by the scene in *Princesas*, where the European prostitutes observe the ‘dirty’ outsiders in the more derelict exterior space (00:09:45 – 00:12:53) from the sanity and cleanliness of a hair and beauty establishment shopfront (00:10:18 – 00:11:30). Caren’s implication about the dirtiness of black and foreign prostitutes emerges from her reference to the deliberate protrusion of their posteriors and the different odour or “pheromone” which they exude (00:12:50 – 00:12:53), almost suggesting that these are illicit and dirty tricks to fool male suitors and outdo Spanish women. Then, in the same film, this suggestion is finally reasserted by the revelation that the Dominican Zulema has AIDS. Nevertheless, I contend that an important reversal of this supposed hierarchy of cleanliness and appearance is also revealed in the film, both by the obvious jealousy of the Spanish prostitutes and by the fact that Caye reverts to employing Zulema’s help for the hair make-over which she clearly thinks improves her style (00:41:59 – 00:42:18), but which inexorably leads to a subsequent scene

where she is also pressured into unwilling sexual acts, in the same way as her Latin American friend (00:48:28 – 00:48:35).

Kilkey et al. discuss the part played by “gendered” employment in establishing an identity and securing social legitimacy. Their reference to “feminist analysts” focusing on women immigrants either being subjected to the associated “exploitation and harassment” from relying on “stereotypically feminized forms of domestic work such as cleaning, caring and catering” (149-150), implies an omnipresent pejoration to this employment femininity. Nevertheless, I propose that an equally pertinent conclusion is that pursuing obtainable and suitably “feminized” and/ or maternal employment abroad presents the Latin American women characters as having found an identity of their own, despite the obstacles of chauvinism, xenophobia, Spanish postcolonial phobias and State bureaucracy identity. This being the case, it would position them atop any such hierarchy. I would suggest that in each of these instances the Latin American women, whether through taking the actual position of cleaner, through metaphorical representation, through assuming the role of beautician, or through being envisaged as individually more exotic and attractive, are presented as hygienically or aesthetically superior to their Spanish counterparts. This superiority is exemplified in the more rigorous, multisensory and exotic way in which their hygiene and their toilet are presented in the works, in comparison with those of the Spanish (specifically: Mirta’s job in *La boda*, as well as the duties of Patricia in *Flores* are to make places cleaner; Zulema’s skills in *Princesas* are in being aesthetically pleasing to the native Spanish men and in making fellow women appear more attractive; aesthetic employment of multisensory and repeated references to hygiene and associations of foreign women with floral scents in *En la orilla*). Taken one stage further, the comparison between Spanish employers who feel they need to employ someone else to care for their homes (*La boda*), personal appearance

(*Princesas*), children (*Biutiful*), family functionality (*Flores*), sexual desires (*En la orilla*), entertainment (*Cosas*) and cleanliness (*Te trataré*) could equally suggest that, rather than the Latin American women being the unhygienic and failed mothers, it is actually their European hosts who demonstrate domestic shortcomings. The dissonance between the aesthetic representations of native and Latin American women in the works is clear and does suggest a cleaner, more desirable impression of the Latin American women.

On the one hand, descriptions or portrayals of Spanish women are either: entirely absent from maternal care roles or relationships (*Biutiful*); presented in drab costume (*Flores*); mundanely obsessed with unattractive absolute rigidity about etiquette, such as “aquí no se come todo del mismo plato” (*Cosas*) (00:13:00 – 00:13:10); or accompanied by unremarkable and surgical imagery such as “inodoro, analérgico e insípido,” (*Te trataré* 41). On the other hand, those of Latin American women are far more tropical and enticing and include reference to “piña,” “miel,” “frutas” (*En la orilla* 32-40), and “bálsamo de Perú” and “una nota de Angélica,” (*Te trataré* 45).

The multisensory metaphors which allude to exotic sexuality of foreign women and the overt, chauvinistic lewdness of language in *En la orilla* match the provocative mise-en-scène, suggestive point-of-view camera work, hyper-feminine props, costume and make-up in *Princesas* and again the conceit of the colonised female as consumer item for the imperialist Spanish patriarchy is produced. The female protagonists’ own sporadic and incongruous personal affirmations of sexuality in *Princesas*, where Zulema propositions a potential client by asking if they want “something good from the Caribbean” (00:54:00 – 00:54:10), inferring an accepted superiority of the Latin American sexual prowess, and also in *En la orilla*, where Liliana talks candidly about incest, and in *Cosas*, where dialogue between aunt and nieces hinges on an accepted truism that Cuban women’s best chances of success in Spain are

through the use of their desirability to ensnare and marry wealthy Spanish men (00:16:05 – 00:16:10) reposit the hyper-sexual and quasi amoral imagination of Latin American women. I contend, however, that this acts more as a reminder of the pervading male gaze and perverted colonialist voyeurism than as confirmation of the immigrant females' dirtiness or wantonness. This therefore reflects more unfavourably on the societal status quo than as constituted evidence for the immigrant women's calculated and underhand use of their bodies as opportunistic lures for the entrapment of potential Spanish males towards the unmerited betterment of their socio-economic standing in their new home.

The resultant effect is to re-cast those who are traditionally seen as inferior as the cleaner, more attractive and more alluring characters and this intimates that they are more feminine, both through being more sexually desirable and more maternally dedicated to cleanliness. In reality, this sense of accentuated femininity can be partially self-constructed and deliberate.^{lxvi} Nevertheless, where similar conscious hyper-femininity appears in the Spanish opus, the antagonistic male or autochthonous narrative voice perceives evidence of unsavoury, lewd and suggestive enticement to local males, narrated jealousy and disgust, which, when passed onto the viewer, strip the women of both the sexual femininity of their physical attractiveness and simultaneously of any potential maternal purity. This is the case such in the shots of Zulema parading on the streets in *Princesas*, of Nena modelling fur coats in the women clothes store in *Cosas* (00:19:16 – 00:20:30), and in the detailed and graphic descriptions of Latin American women being envisioned as ripe and alluring fruits and tropical scents in *En la orilla*. One interpretation of these repeated instances of 'Spanish men's nemeses' to the Latin American women characters is the suggestion of a universal racism being exposed through the works, but a contrasting effect is the problematisation of the notion of inherently superior European cleanliness, femininity or maternity.

I argue, in summary, that although this complex and unrealistic expectation sets them up for failure, it also subliminally reveals the reliance of Spanish society on them as the returning or rejuvenating occupation as ‘mothers of the state’ and thus reaffirms their fundamentality to the existence and operation of transatlantic societies and hopes for future acceptance, parity and progress.

This reference to ‘occupation’ of maternal and feminine expectation leads me onto the second of the frameworks in which I suggest that Latin American women are portrayed in the opus: the ways in which they occupy and reoccupy place and position and the ways in which they are themselves physically occupied. I am labelling these as ‘(Re-) Occupation’ of the Latin American women.

Firstly, in terms of their physical occupation of spatiotemporal settings, I propose that the backdrop of the film scenes they appear in is symbolic as a contrast for their own characterisation. In *Flores*, the harsh, masculine scrub of the arid Spanish countryside with the juxtaposing softness and elasticity of both Milady’s lycra USA-flag hot-pants (00:18:32 – 00:18:40) and the bed upon which she childishly jumps and then comically straddles Carmelo (00:21:40 – 00:21:45) when she is first shown into her new home introduce a suggestion that the public space outside is gritty and male and that the inside/ private is more vibrant, intimate and women. Additionally, as we see unexpected contrasts between the earthen tones of the ageing village population outside and the characters interacting for the first time in a bedroom, the hint of the implicit taboo of mixed-origin sexual relationships is seen. This presents the intercultural event through the lens’s “male gaze,”^{lxvii} with the comic effects of keeping Milady fully clothed and making Carmelo seem incompatible with Milady and incapable of coping with her light-hearted youth and vigour. Although this is at first portrayed as a promising exchange, Guillén Marin suggests that, after a very short period, Milady “is

bored at home” (96) and is later trying to counter this boredom by infringing on a Spanish male workspace and social scene from which she ‘ought’ to be precluded (00:38:05 – 00:38:23). I propose that her awkwardness in the household setting (00:20:29 – 00:20:43) and her subsequent positioning and physical chastisement (00:53:20 – 00:53:30) for being seen to dishonour Carmelo in the public arena reflect a chronic lack of belonging. This climaxes with her overall failure to engage harmoniously with the spatiality, together with her extreme colourist differentiation and social liminality and leads to her inevitable removal from existence. As she runs away, returns and then finally disappears (01:20:33), there is an ambiguous sense that she is both exercising her freedom by releasing herself from the patriarchy and being ejected by society and rendered a ghost or a “wasted life” for not serving a suitable purpose or not being ‘Spanish’ enough. Zygmunt Bauman refers to “human waste” in *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts* as “wasted humans (the ‘excessive’ and ‘redundant’ that is the population of those who either could not or were not wished to be allowed to stay)” and “an inevitable outcome of modernization” (2003, 2). Where Milady is ‘too physically and culturally different’ and too ‘revolutionary’ for her new setting, the resolution is for her to be “wasted,” rather than for liberal progress and wider social adaptation to take place.

For these reasons, Milady is both a more liberated soul than her counterparts in the literature but also more tragically transitory: she is chronically ‘othered’ by the space of the Spanish conservatism; devoid of family and social solidarity; sexually frustrated; and denied any visible history or concrete future plans in the temporal space of the film’s enactment. The noticeable lack of any flashbacks to scenes of her past or even to the transatlantic leg of her migration episode mean that her character is not given the foundation of an exposition. Similarly, the lack of any montage or time-lapse in the scenes in which she departs Santa

Eulalia reflect the fact that she has laid few roots there and that Spain has no vision for her future. This stagnant, disconnected restriction to very present-moment depictions mirrors both the real-life existence of women immigrants who are obliged to focus entirely on their present predicaments or compulsion to earn remittance money and suggests a fleeting impact on Spanish society, rather than a projected assimilation. I therefore believe that Milady's role could be used to show that Latin American women immigrants have no space in the time or place of what Morley refers to as the imagined "authentic, localized heritages" (156)^{lxviii} of postmillennial Spain. This lack of belonging suggests that their representations show them as only being considered valuable as objects for Spanish people to gaze at – meaning that they can consequently only occupy otherwise empty and spectral positions. Nevertheless, as Guillén Marin also suggests: "The film attempts to redistribute 'the sensible' and tries to open up the space for political argumentation by conferring visibility on Patricia's and Milady's problems," (68). With this proposal in mind, Milady equally presents some evidence of hopeful vindication of feminist equality in her successive (albeit unsuccessful) bids for acceptance, then for fulfilment, then for autonomy, and eventually for liberation.

Where screen space is occupied by both natives and immigrants together, either working together in similar roles or conducting intercultural social interactions, this might be thought of as a 'shared' space. It is certainly a consideration that this therefore provides opportunity for mutual construction of the new and socially egalitarian space hinted at in the hopeful proclamation: "cada jilguero - español, peruano, colombiano ... se afana en colocar ladrillos colgado en un andamio," (*En la orilla* 428). However, Latin American women shown in urban spaces are not imbued with either privacy or the freedom of movement of these co-operative "goldfinches" - they are watched simultaneously by the audience and the suspicious Spanish gaze through which the audience itself receives the images and they are

also judged for their actions and even for their problematic presence. In this way, Caren and Ángela in *Princesas* commentate^{lxix} on the perceived underhand and unsavoury wiles of foreign women in ‘their’ Spain. This commentary openly assumes that the very presence of foreign women in a shared space is a fundamental indication that the police has failed to ‘eliminate the threat’ posed by them (00:11:30 – 00:11:35) and the xenophobia is reinforced by referring to the space becoming a “jungle” since the foreigners have arrived (00:10:20 – 00:10:22). The assumption is, therefore, that the urban space is only rightfully owned by the local white women and that the police should rid them of this unwanted foreign presence.

Ballesteros suggests that there is a “binary division of urban space... according to gender categories, as well as the conception of women urban mobility as disruptive to the civic order and a cause of women’s disgrace,” (80), and the fact that a fellow woman (albeit a Spanish one) is prepared to help the patriarchy maintain this division along lines of native purity and entitlement constitutes ideas of de facto ethnic cleansing and therefore re-others the mixed-race Latin American Zulema and casts her as the catalyst for social dystopia which eternalises her status as a “clandestine” in Spain, unwanted by both the conservative patriarchy and the more empowered autochthonous ‘matriarchy’ which she potentially challenges. In line with this, Prescott avers that there is a traceable link between the presence of outsiders in western society and the judgemental scrutiny they receive, saying that there is “excessive surveillance and ordering of urban space that seeks to erase clandestine presences,” and “non-linear explorative approach to city space [which] reduces the human actualization of ... space to sets of figures ... celebrating the resolution of order to the ‘disordered worlds,’” (36-8). In all these instances of ‘outsiders’ or ‘clandestines’ being judged or castigated in the Spanish immigration opus, the understood sentiment is that order and the autochthonous image of utopia are themselves paradoxically white, male,

conservative, European and controlled by those with more financial and political means. For “order” to be restored, the respect for white Spanish (generally male) authority must be restated and the space for dangerous interculturalism or clandestine integration must be closed. In this way, I would suggest that neither the hopes of egalitarian “Third Space” nor the illusions of functional utopia are truly represented here.

Bhaba’s theories on “hybridity” and “Third Space,” developed across various treatises (1992-6), are that of a conceived place “in-between” cultures where sociocultural interactions between native and immigrant allow them both equality of opportunity through recognition that a new, hybridized and equalizing social setting has been forged from which fairer sociocultural exchange can take place. In this respect, a “Third Space” should be a place where opportunity for progress and conviviality can be found. Gonzalez and Treece prefaced their Latin American poetry collective [sic] with acknowledgement that there is a: “confrontation between metropolitan discourse and the utopian project of an autonomous society [in South America]” (xi). This struggle has now also been carried back to the metropole by returning immigration and represented as a defining aspect of the Latin American immigrant characterisation in Spanish texts and films such as *Flores de otro mundo*. I somewhat dispute that the Spanish films studied effectively set out to offer hope of any progressive “Third Space” scenario. My conclusion is, instead, tempered by the eventual trend towards the failures of Milady, Patricia, Zulema and Mirta in the films, wherein they cannot fully achieve parity, joy or liberty in any of the prescribed Latin women roles of lover, mother, sex worker or cleaner and all eventually see their hopes of individual happiness or voice dissipate. I therefore agree more with the more pessimistic view that: “it has become redundant to champion the breaking of boundaries of territory, race, genre... [and] imperative for critics to reinstate differences,” (Nagib 21), since this differentiation provides a more open

space within which past geopolitical and physical transgressions can be exposed and in which future assimilation can take place on a more level basis. As regards possible images of “Third Space” being established between the native Spanish and Latin American women within the films, the hopefulness of the supposedly equal and mutually supportive relationship between Caye and Zulema in *Princesas* is a clear example. Here we see glimpses of the Latin American having some acceptance from a Spanish woman and some social influence on shared dialogue and the activities in which they engage. Nonetheless, whereas we gain access to the private background life of Caye and are enabled to ‘see through her eyes’ (00:04:30 – 00:04:35) and sympathise with her mundane neuroses such as her childish fantasies about looking like a magazine model, we only see Zulema during fleeting exuberant moments of hubris (“somos princesas” (01:22:25-01:22:28)), or after her own ‘behind closed doors’ scenes have already taken place (01:12:02-01:12:50). Even in these instances, her appearances are generally during the scenes of resultant nemesis, angst and tragedy and it becomes starkly apparent that she owns no personal space or equilibrium of her own. I would therefore suggest that the prerequisite parity is not present from which to be satisfied that a new and progressive “Third Space” has been forged, in which immigrants can move beyond their erstwhile liminality and in which viewpoints of both newcomer and host are shared equally.

Similarly, in *Flores*, the cemetery scene provides a snapshot of a developing symbiosis between the Spanish hostess Gregoria, and the mixed-race foreign newcomer to the family, Patricia (01:12:40 – 01:12:54). This dialogue and connection indicate possible future hope and perhaps presents glimpses of the “reimagined, remodelled, and redeployed evolving metropole,” (Cooke and Stone 88), however it is tempered both by the aunt’s proclamation that: “we [women] are not very welcome in this place,” (00:57:30-00:58:00), and by the

glaring preclusion of the darker skinned and less conformist Milady from such hopes of any assimilation. Both thoughts beg the question about whether functional “Third Space” is also illusory or purely the preserve of males or white women. The concept of Third Space was developed as an ideal spatiality within which cultures and people might collide, exchange on fair terms, and develop into a new and improved hybrid unity. However, the indications from the works studied are that these opportunities are entirely inaccessible to racial outsiders and that the prospect will remain intangible for them. I conclude, therefore, that in the search of ‘voices from the periphery,’ racial factors still exclude black or mixed-race women.

Cosas also reflects these conclusions, where the three sisters demonstrate shock at moving from an impoverished but supposedly utopian Communist society^{lxx} where they were compelled to work to a supposedly liberal western society where their rights and actions are still limited and monitored and this dichotomy between expectation and reality is again visible in *Biutiful*, where Marambra fails to conform to expectations of ‘orderly’ behaviour. In *Cosas* men are largely positioned as “picaresque” opportunists (00:34:12 – 00:34:16), whereas females are more frequently envisaged as comestible “engañadas,” or proverbial damsels in distress: a direct memory of the tenets of misogynistic Early Modern fiction. Echoes of this sentiment can be seen in Kunz’s reference to “tributarias de la novels picaresca.” (124).

Bollaín begins *Flores de otro mundo* in similar fashion by positioning the inbound female protagonists as agents of their own destiny, travelling unaccompanied, in search of new opportunity and independence and then exposing their various anagnorises, such as Milady’s disillusionment and brutalising encounters with Spanish hegemony and Patricia’s feeling of being unwelcome by the Spanish matriarch of her new home. Contrarily to what I referred to earlier as the stylised “picaresque” male immigrant ‘entrepreneur,’ Ballesteros conceives of Bollaín’s intentions as the creation of female “urban flâneuses” who occupy a

similar space to the “pícaro” in immigration cinema. She assigns Milady from *Flores de otro mundo* to this category and proposes that these immigrant females “obtain agency and freedom as they conquer the public space and refuse to be confined to the domestic domain (00:59:40 – 00:59:49) and be reduced to sexual subjects/ objects or defined exclusively in terms of their romantic relationships with men.” (124). The storylines of the ‘pícaros/as’ in both films, however, subsequently see them having to adapt or fail; disengage from their sense of self or be physically and socially castigated by men. In this way, their agency is critically impeded, and the patriarchal and metropolitan balance of power is restored.

There is a paradoxical trope within the films, therefore, in which the Latin American women attempt to rebel against the patriarchy and reject “functionally geometric town-planning and its quantitative divisions of utilitarian space [and attempt] to challenge old values.” (Mello 188). I note, instead, that they end up either having to acquiesce and conform or fail and be cast out of favour with the other characters and the audience and, subsequently, out of society. Milady, Zulema and Mirta are all condemned to this fate and the poignant exit scene of Milady in *Flores* is a metaphor for the lack of black Latin American female agency and the uncertainty of their specific futures. It is evident that the outlook of the Latin American women is at times more liberated and that they do appear in symbolic episodes, such as Milady’s eventual abandonment of the village with her promise of future release and her scarce belongings or Zulema’s determination to be a “princesa,” which symbolise their search for a dream and possibly the director’s hope for a new transcultural “Third Space” elsewhere (as proposed by Vega-Durán 185) without the physical baggage of unestablished outsiders or the emotional baggage of past or present subjugation. Milady, in my view, occupies a more illusory space: separated from any concrete land of origin or familial ties; an unresolved transient within the interwoven opening and conclusion of the film; potentially en

route to rediscover an ephemeral past acquaintance; and with no evident end to or continuation of life beyond the story (01:36:01 – 01:36:10).

Despite this, I suggest that their apparent liberation or escape also symbolise immigrant transience and even death, since neither the other characters in the works nor the narrating or depicting authors ever allow readers and audiences to witness any indication of their eventual fate. Indeed, in the cases of Zulema and Milady in particular, their disappearances involve no *dénouement* or resolution whatever, except the image of failed refugees with suitcases and uncertain futures. Nagib discusses the inadequacies of a simple *mise-en-scène* approach to presenting immigrant women in situations of vulnerability and asserts that it is “insufficient to establish a film’s political agenda, starting with the fact that all films are multimedial by definition” (27). This suggests that, by depicting a dystopian situation and offering no visible suggestions of likely change or political activism alongside, the director neither remains apolitical nor acts for change, but instead perpetuates audience and societal complicity and numbness to the real status quo. For black Latin American women especially, hopes of facilitated assimilation or functional utopia are therefore seen to be limited both within the filmic representation and in postmillennial Spanish society. On the other hand, and perhaps tellingly in terms of potential racial inequality, as also suggested by Vega-Durán, there is hope with Patricia’s situation of a “new generation of this transatlantic family,” although this “will not only be produced by Damian and Patricia” (196-7) and depends on the favourable influences of white Spanish family members. This is, once again, likely to be to the exclusion of many.

Suggestions about the power of spatiality to embody the women migrant’s struggle for autonomy and acceptance in Flores are complementary to other broader observations on the contrasts between the hybridity of the urban setting in other immigration films involving

Latin American women, such as *Cosas*, *La boda*, *Princesas* and *Biutiful*. In the latter, the audience is subconsciously led towards developing viewer pathos for Uxbal, the dubious seer and supposedly well-meaning male manipulator, instead of the ‘crazy’ Latin American mother. Uxbal’s determination to control an illegal workforce, a dysfunctional family, faulty machinery, a terminal disease, the gangster underground, the chaotic streets of Barcelona’s urban sprawl (00:07:37 – 00:12:47) and even the supernatural, through duplicitous and patriarchal means, is quintessentially masculine and the audience is somehow guided towards championing his efforts.

Despite intending to ‘look after’ people, by presuming to act as a father figure, not only for his children, but for all those within his imagined paternal domain, Uxbal genders the space within which he operates and this acts as a hindrance to the freedoms of all women in the films, despite his overall failure to control anything or anyone effectively. Depictions of gender space in the films and literature often resort to sequences of differentiation and alienation between men and women, native and immigrant space and that the space occupied by the woman immigrant is often replete with horror and fetishism and subjected to the male gaze.

On the other hand, I propose that there could be an equally unorthodox validity in Marambra’s (also amoral and questionable) agency. Whereas Uxbal feels that the space around him needs to be ‘kept in place’ and managed by him, I argue that Marambra’s chaotic bipolarity and social fluidity complement the urban dystopia more easily. This is because, where Latin American women appear across the works, the space around them itself is constantly changing. These changes occur in one of two ways. Firstly, there are spatial changes catalysed by the enforced mobility and transience which they themselves experience. This is the case in scenes of Milady and Patricia either running away or agonizing about

packing cases in *Flores* (01:22:09 – 01:23:20) and is also apparent in the airport arrival scenes in *Cosas* and equally in Mirta's panicked movement through the cityscape to prepare for *La boda* and avoid being caught. Secondly, changes take place in other characters' reactions which they catalyse, such as the ultra-traditional villagers dancing and cavorting in *Flores* (00:08:45 – 00:08:49). These third-party reactions reveal that their influence has caused the surrounding space to counterintuitively cease being static. To this effect, whilst Marambra's instability (and that of the other woman immigrant characters in *Biutiful*, such as Ige and Lili) represents varying levels of aptitude, balance, maternal care and viewer pathos, the variety, flexibility and hybridity of the women characters allow them to adapt to their surroundings. I further argue that this turns these dystopian settings into subtly feminine spaces, and the actual choices of settings which they then occupy in subsequent scenes reflect this feminisation - a nursery, a room set up for a family breakfast, a dressing table in a bedroom etc. Therefore, it follows that women interaction in the urban dystopia creates its own permanence; producing feminised spaces which might prove to be future places for progress, agency and hope.

In *Cosas*, the battle for supremacy over space is conducted more as a positional struggle between the opposing stereotypical expectations of a postcolonialist European host wanting to be waited on and entertained by exotic dance and song and an optimistic and perhaps delusional Latin American immigrant anticipating apolitical and liberal utopia and opportunity. This notion is crystallised when Nena realises that her hopes of embarking on a successful career as a serious actor must be dashed if she is to earn her keep from the Spanish director. In lieu of playing parts with kudos or social commentary attached, she is requested to 'perform' roles of considerably less gravitas as an exotic salsa dancer. Miguel, to this end, controversially insinuates that cultural interest in the spectacle of Cuban salsa dance is a

Spanish phenomenon, and when he states that, “aquí lo que la gente quiere es el baile” (00:33:35 – 00:33:39), there is an unspoken inference of Spanish superiority, as a conquering nation demanding to be entertained by the facile nuances of the inferior trophy culture. The spatial significance of this is that, instead of occupying an empowered central position as a cerebral focal point on a stage or of being imbued with opportunities for expressing feminist or anti-imperialist thought as a scriptwriter, she must turn to twee dances and folksong. Her instructed body positions will therefore be directed towards entertaining the autochthonous male gaze and her enforced stage directions will force her to assume the subjugal role of the colonised women curio, which raises the spectre of orientalism and the hierarchical imbalances associated with it (see earlier definitions).

Similar subordination of the Latin American women is shown in the spatial depictions of Mirta in *La boda*, who is presented in dystopian situations of menial cleaning work for hierarchically superior Spanish employers, while desperately trying to ‘attend’ her daughter’s wedding. Mirta’s social, financial and occupational positions all become untenable as she rebels against being denied the time off to attend and sacrifices her job – the only thing which previously gave her legitimacy or purpose within the space of urban Spain – for the opportunity to farcically attend a wedding in Cuba via telephone (00:09:20 -00:09:30). Her temporary position of disobedience is destined to ensure a permanent position of societal unacceptability and tragedy as she panics and, in a seemingly uncharacteristic way, steals an expensive dress for the ceremony from her Spanish employer’s wardrobe, reinforcing the stereotype of Latin American illegitimacy and untrustworthiness and negating the redeeming traits she has shown as a doting and hard-working mother and cleaner and perhaps, even the “maternal” kudos proposed by Ballesteros or the cleanly “godliness” mentioned by Douglas. It might be said that this short film is an allegory for the constant assumption of Latin

American propensity for criminality, since Mirta is originally characterised as a homely, motherly figure and the antithesis of a criminal and then succumbs to what Prescott describes as the multiplicity, “impenetrability and disorder of the urban landscape” by exposing an unanticipated “similarly disordered and disturbed criminal mind,” (31).

Princesas, reflecting such spatial confusion and multiplicity, is shot from a triad of perspectives and gender space. With the first perspective, the audience actually becomes an internalised woman and spectators are made to side with more empowered local Spanish prostitutes as they ‘share a window and a view of the outsiders’ and voyeuristically observe and pass judgement on the others through their salon window. Like Gonzalez and Treece suggest about the colonizing cultural outlook, “there is no alternative order, only perhaps disorder and chaos” (xiii). This vista of ‘outsiders’ is largely reserved for groups of native, longer-serving prostitute women with assumed authority in their own self-projection and restricted to others, and the effect is that associated solidarity, prestige and belonging come into play for those who consider themselves elevated enough to be positioned on the inside. Worth noting, however, is that here the empowerment aspect is limited and limiting for all women protagonists. This is since they are shown to be in their most aspirational place only when they are inside, when they are performing menial service-based or potentially sexually degrading jobs, when they are indulging in clichéd feminine practices of lyricising life or beautifying themselves, when they are gossiping idly about others, and only even then if they happen to be white, native and characteristically Spanish. Carty’s criticism of León de Aranoa’s superficial style adopts a cynical tone where she first refers to his stated intention to produce a socially-moralising film and then proceeds to describe the resolution for Zulema as a “ruptura total” from this intention. Where Carty suggests that “es obvio que su interacción con diferentes ... españoles ... de igualdad se mejora ... pero sus contactos con los funcionarios

públicos y los clientes son otro tema,” (134), I would categorically ascribe this outcome to be one which reflects a society that still cannot assimilate immigrant women sex workers.

The second positional perspective in *Princesas* is the external one, from which we observe the groups of prostitutes seeking male attention in the streets, the desperate Dominican Zulema metaphorically trapped in the phone box (01:19:20-01:19:28) and semi-clothed women lying on top of men’s cars (00:52:00 – 00:53:50). This is the male gaze and forms the basis for the film’s promotional advertisements and the initial setting of scenes. The external male space seen through this perspective is a place where women are vulnerable and dependent on males and therefore subservient to them. The lack of equality implicit in this thought is symbolically highlighted by the incongruence of the ministerial car which picks the women up during the film against the impoverished lifestyles of certain prostitutes and the dystopian backdrop of urban Madrid. Happiness and fulfilment for women on the outside can seemingly only be provided by males and their cars and custom, and while this might be important as a reminder of the fragile, desperate lives they lead, the options for salvation and deliverance from potential abuse seem to point to the conservative and the interior once again. I would argue that this reflects both the inability to coexist equally with Spanish males and the inaccessibility of validation in the Spanish state for Latin American women.

The third perspective in this film is that of the director or the removed viewer. Through this perspective we see characters, men and women, Spanish and foreign, inside mundane buildings, such as houses, shops, restaurants and motels and all within the aforementioned urban dystopia of the hybrid modern Spanish capital city (00:00:21 – 00:00:55, 00:10:18 – 00:11:30, 00:52:00 – 00:53:50, and 01:31:30-01:31:50). This view is generally of between 1 and 4 people building and breaking bonds and exposing realities of their existence, however it is particularly noticeable that the Dominican woman’s recurrent

stance is that of the hopeless, the abject and the doubly othered, as she attempts to recover from physical and psychological abuse and to cope with the displacement and estrangement she feels from her family back home. In addition, her observed presence in the film often shows her either ‘lingering promiscuously’ while Spanish males drive by or strutting suggestively along the street whilst the watching Spanish women sit and judge. Nonetheless, there is a narrative to the film which offers some contradictory hope – Zulema’s relationships with the other prostitutes improves and she forges friendships and even laughs and dances in later scenes, between episodes of suspicion and physical abuse. This spatiality is where the film’s storyline and more profound characterisation unfold, as people from ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ meet and where pathos, prestige, realism and moralisation take place. Prescott posits that the “propensity towards waiting and lingering represents an approach to urban space ... almost exclusively accessible within derelict places and industrial ruins,” (34), which I contend reveals an unspoken association between the moral decay of Zulema and the physical deprivation of the urban neighbourhood in which she is viewed (01:31:43). Although all the prostitutes occupy the same area, the audience is guided to focus on Zulema and the black prostitutes outside (00:09:45 – 00:12:53) and to associate the disorderliness of that space more with them than with the Spanish women who are simultaneously orchestrating viewer ideologies by criticising them. Prescott goes on to suggest that: “such modes of spatio-temporal expedience are subversive and powerful due to their contrast with those available in ... the more directional and linear modes,” (31-9) which, when applied to the realisation that Zulema is always seen being somewhere or doing something other than the prevailing power group, reinforces her racial otherness.

In *Princesas*, the social scenes between Caye and Zulema and the sexual business transactions which occur are the moments when this clear separation between native and

immigrant occur and I would therefore suggest that these moments form the spatio-temporal space which is intended to align either with Bhaba's "Third Space," or with Derrida's thoughts on the "possibilities of a democracy to come," since prevailing social theory suggests that "diasporic communities create arenas of division and dissent but also of debate and celebration." (Ballesteros 208). This concept appears through later Derrida works, such as *Specters of Marx* (1994) and *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason* (2005), wherein he asserts that recent democracy itself is anti-democratic, since it depends on a sovereignty of leadership and is governed by ruling male elites, making it thus both paternalistic and ideologically 'self-destructive.' Nevertheless, the ideology of "Third Space" is problematized from this viewpoint in *Princesas*. It is from this perspective that we see Caye's issues with body image and self-esteem, as she puts photographs of her head on pictures of more exotic models' bodies in glossy, superficial magazines (00:14:20 – 00:14:30) and attempts to culturally appropriate the black body image of the Latin American Zulema by putting her hair in cane rolls (00:41:59 – 00:42:18). This has the effect, once again, of associating Caye's "white woman's" insecurities with Zulema's African-American otherness.^{lxxi}

The bleak significance of the tripartite viewpoints in *Princesas* is that, while there is an imbalanced point-of-view narrative viewpoint for the established Spanish prostitutes, a reasonably full interior and exterior portrayal for Caye as a central protagonist and camera angles which reveal the empowered and the male gaze, there is no Zulema-central viewpoint in the film, owing to my earlier assertion that she has no personal space. From this realization, viewers only seem to see things happening *to* her and to find out about her successive failures or tragedies *after* they have taken place, as semi-concealed sub-plots to the main story. There is redemption in her managing to at least overcome jealousy to spark friendships with Caye and soften the xenophobic distrust of Caren and other women prostitutes through her cultural

sharing of hairdressing skills. Nevertheless, her resounding failure to gain traction or respect from males confirms Carty's reflection about the triple layers of othering experienced by women immigrants in the sex industry. She cannot break through the three glass ceilings of unacceptability of being Dominican, women and a prostitute and, as such, her unsuitability for the space results in her leaving suddenly (01:39:22-01:39:40).

Whilst it is true that there needs to be a certain contention of space for the plot's character construction, and for crisis and melodrama to take place before there can be any kind of meaningful resolution or progressive social agenda presented, the overwhelming sense in the film is that all life takes place behind closed doors and that there is no attempt to put this right for the Latin American woman, as the moralising almost seems to stop there. In this way, exploration of Zulema's personal demons, domestic violence, sexual abuse, love making and any form of women-centric activity (except shopping, beautification and gossiping) is removed from the shaming eyes of the public, just as was encouraged in the suffocating, conservative and patriarchal Francoist times. The moral therefore does not go beyond the merits of women abiding by misogynistic social norms, keeping quiet and coping with things and there is no educational stance or nemesis for the males, since this conformity is seen as the only solution for the immigrant women. It is interesting to note that even for the white Spanish prostitute, Caye, since her lowest points come after she has been seen with her hair in African-style cane roles, the thinly veiled message is that everything is better for those who conform to the familiar and therefore to Western, positions of paternalism and that there is an association between Latin American women and dysfunction, disorder and dystopia for which they seem to be destined and almost blamed.

As well as the immigrant women being presented in dystopian physical settings of urban decay or being associated with moral decadence, it seems that the settings themselves

come to life and personify the clash of cultures. In *Instrucciones*, the city is referred to as: “un enclave aislado...[que] ha ido creciendo caóticamente” (32) which “vibraba, se desdibujaba, palpitaba como una turbia masa viva al mismo compás del doloroso latido de sus sienas” (14), perhaps suggesting that the Latin American woman is being physically and vividly warned away and rejected by a power greater than herself.

Instrucciones para salvar el mundo (Montero, 2008) is a novel, written 9 years after the production of *Flores de otro mundo* but still relating how six distinct and seemingly unrelatable characters interact with each other and overcome communication issues in an alienating world. Victoria L. Ketz actually suggests that Matías, Draco, Rashid, Daniel, Fatma and Cerebro, are “united in their feelings of alienation,” (2015, 4) and that this ‘united isolation within insalubrious spaces’ somehow forges an unlikely community within the anti-sentimental urban setting and brings them together. The novel juxtaposes people with would-be empowered positions in Spanish society, and social outliers, such as immigrants, a drug-lord and a prostitute, and the result is that some unification occurs within their existences. Similarly, a modern virtual relationship is formed from the unlikely beginnings of computer screens in different continents between a Spanish man and an Argentinian woman. The novel is an interesting complement-cum-contrast to Montero’s earlier *Te trataré como a una reina*, wherein the (lack of) progress away from displacement in the changing spaces of the new virtual arena to the experiences of Latin American women can be seen.

The additional effect of relentlessly showing Latin American women as displaced or juxtaposed in these instances is to create a narrative in which they are unsuitable for the space in which they find themselves and therefore probably mentally unstable. To this end, Vega-Durán describes the Latin American women as “self-conflicted” but also as being universally “abused and oppressed by men,” (133). My conclusion is that there are in the books, films and

social discourse, recurrent hints at inevitable psychological turmoil within the Latin American character and this raises the xenophobic notion that there is a genealogical predisposition to insanity amongst all Latin American women, more so than it does the spectre of universal abusive patriarchy.

Across the films studied one can observe erratic behaviours which might reasonably be explained as realistic reactions to the suffocating conservative spaces in which Latin American women find themselves, and yet all can be put into the same bracket of making the woman immigrant protagonists seem mentally unprepared, unhinged and absurd. The farcical fall from subservient grace of Mirta in *La boda* presents viewers with an image of a serious woman lead becoming childish and playing hide and seek with authorities in a ridiculous manner. Similarly, the destructive mania of Marambra in *Beautiful* clearly suggests her mental incapacity for childcare or even responsible adulthood in suburbia – and scenes of her cavorting and drinking with Uxal's brother in a bedroom which looks like a student's university accommodation connote her psychological immaturity (00:18:38 – 00:19:17). The brazen coquettishness of Milady in *Flores*, as she flits between presenting herself as a celebrity on a red carpet and a young girl jumping on a bed again associate her with immaturity and insanity and even the resolute determination to survive sexual abuse in order to secure immigration documentation of Zulema in *Princesas* makes viewers question why anyone with any degree of sanity would continue to believe the manipulative lies of her tormentor or manage to 'bounce back' from repeated physical abuse and cheapening at the hands of her clients and dance care-free in a nightclub. What we are presented with instead is a repeating narrative of women making attempts to liberate themselves from the patriarchy of past or present circumstances and ending up as hapless victims. Nevertheless, whether through the sequence of failures to assimilate or succeed depicted in the films, or through the

blame ascribed to them for their plight in sentiments such as, “as a result of immigrants’ ‘lack of principles’ in accepting low payments” (Vega-Durán 140), or through the ‘original sin-
esque’^{lxxii} women guilt for all suffering implied in the statement that: “las mujeres eran las verdaderas asesinas de la felicidad” (*Instrucciones* 24), little genuine empathy is expressed for Latin American women. This repeated dismissal of either their contributions to society and the presentation that their suffering is something to which they expose themselves negates their innate resolve and exempts society from blame.

Buckland describes the sub-genre of film which casts women protagonists as unsuccessful family makers as “paranoid women’s films” and suggests that they, perforce, contain “a space in the home not accessible to the woman character,” (134-5). The suggestion that women roles in postmodern European films potentially exclude them from specific domestic roles, spaces or fulfilment is certainly applicable in all the Spanish immigration opus studied. In *Princesas*, Zulema is allowed no access to the normalising home environment which Caye can seek refuge in; in *Flores* Milady is deprived of the warmth, conversation and entertainment of an equal and loving relationship and of the freedom to move or seek self-sufficiency and employment; in *Cosas* the Cuban nieces are forbidden freedom of expression in their Aunt Marta’s living room and told to “¡no levanta la voz!” (00:27:30 – 00:27:33) when trying to appeal for opportunities of matrimonial self-determination; in *La boda* Mirta’s position as a menial and underpaid house cleaner precludes her from the power to choose her own daily schedule or have affordable economic access to the dress she is compelled to steal (00:04:08 – 00:04:55); in *Biutiful* Marambra moves between abandoning the role of mother to the children and being denied access due to her mental instability and alcoholism (00:18:38 – 00:19:17); in *Instrucciones* Latin American women are denied legitimacy as mothers and access to their children on account of their unreliability and alcoholism, as seen where we are

told that “su propia madre no había mostrado nunca tanta preocupación por él... la madre ... llegaba tan borracha,” (27-8); and in *En la orilla* we can assume from Liliana’s words that no Latin American women even have access to sexual privacy, physical safety or empathy for their struggles against abuse by their actual family members in their bedrooms, since “pelearon nuestras madres intentando disimular una miseria que no había manera de ocultar ... ¿quién no ha sido violada por su padre o por su abuelo en estos tiempos?” (257). If we are, therefore, to relate this restriction and claustrophobia to the paranoid woman syndrome suggested by Buckland, the effect is, once again, to position Latin American women as mentally unstable and thus either as incapable of altering or even ultimately as blameworthy^{lxxiii} for their own predicament. In addition to this, Buckland also refers to an additional trait within the sub-genre of paranoid women films known as “the melodrama of the unknown woman” where their “failure is an inability to recognize [another] woman from the past” (130), and supposedly reveals them to be somewhat mentally unsound.

By way of examples of this effect in the films: in *Cosas* the airport conversations reveal the fact that neither the nieces nor the aunt at first recognize each other (00:01:00 – 00:01:15); there are bizarre scenarios in *Flores*, where the two Latin American women, despite being of different racial skin tones, seem to be indistinguishable to the locals (00:18:26 – 00:18:32); and in *En la orilla*, where a “colombiana” and a “chinita” are both “oriental,” (37). I would argue that these confusions seem to again be intended to reflect ideas about the psychological fragility of the Latin American immigrant and suggest that the blame for such casual and dismissive racism is laid at the feet of the women themselves, due to their own questionable ‘sanity,’ almost to the point of “gaslighting.”

Davis and Ernst define “racial gaslighting” as an entrenched white supremacist “social project” and as an established process “which relies on the production of particular

narratives” (2016, 762-5). These effects succeed (consciously or otherwise) in presenting Latin American women as insane and culpable and are evidence of both postcolonial reluctance to acknowledge past misdemeanours or present iniquities and of propagandic racialism, since, far from being deluded, the women characters themselves often clearly recognise the realities of their situations and hint at their disempowerment, in exclamations such as: “como si durmieramos un sueño largo, pero con el tiempo nos despertamos ... no hay tiempo, no hay ganas, no estamos capacitadas nosotras.” (*En la orilla* 403-4). Additionally, the women demonstrate keener mental abilities than these episodes suggest through continuing to seek self-sufficiency, acceptance or liberation in “reclaiming the future” (Gonzalez and Treece 347), as is the case in Milady first taking employment within the forbidden masculine space of the village bar and then leaving the restrictions of her surroundings to visit the sea or seek a brighter future elsewhere. Rodríguez suggests that Milady’s particular attempts at liberation catalyse “collective anxieties towards the unknown,” and result in “melodrama” (2008, 1-2) for the local inhabitants of Santa Eulalia. Rather than producing the “interculturalisation” which Rodríguez explores in his article, however, Milady’s attempt to do what might be considered reasonable and normal instead causes marital and societal disruption, violence and her own existential demise.

In these instances, one thing which becomes apparent is that Latin American women, rather than being crazy and incognisant of their sociocultural status quo and the imposed limits and expectations of their positions, could be regarded as capable and conscious occupiers of all three timeframes in the opus^{lxxiv} in their apparently predestined failure to secure a more desirable future for themselves and their families. As well as occupying the future through their economic aspirations and their various attempts to self-liberate, I also propose that these women occupy the pains of the present through the relationships, work and

suffering with which they contend and the memory of the past. This idea is summarized in the rhetorical question, “¿quién nos dice que el polvo no tenga memoria?” (*En la orilla* 364), which is so relevant in an immigration opus which features previously colonized and interbred subjects and in which the colonial memory of metropolitan sexual subordination and reminders of the subsequent, historical but unforgotten, genetic links between Spain and Latin America are evident.

Whilst Latin American women present these occupations of temporal spaces metaphorically, their actual occupation of positions of employment in the works (and in Spain) represents individual agency and is a pointer towards empowerment. The decisions to earn reasonable and potentially tax-free money in a democratic country also objectively seems to be a logical one. Their economic migration promises women such as Ludmila (*Cosas*) a degree of independence both from paternalism at home and from Spanish State interference in their duties. Additionally, it provides an economy which seems preferable in its European democracy and does not present any language barriers nor involve any requirement for previous expertise, experience or qualifications. This therefore allows them to provide financially for their children via remittance monies and through fulfilling fittingly maternal duties of care and hygiene, whilst maintaining a degree of kudos for their efforts with family members – in particular Mirta’s daughter (*La boda* 00:03:59 – 00:04:05) and Zulema’s son (*Princesas* 00:21:26 – 00:21:40) – back home.

Nevertheless, there does remain a higher sense of slavery and illegality around black women, such as Milady (*Flores*) and, even more so, to prostitutes, such as Zulema (*Princesas*). According to Freire, Zulema “suffers due to her status as an immigrant” and “lose[s] some rights and access to certain spaces, and ... in their struggle to be respected as individuals in the city” (2009, 26-7), as she is in constant fear and submission to

representatives of the law, is shown looking furtively around when running to telephone boxes during daylight hours and only allows her extroversion to emerge in night-time scenes. There are, in fact, contrary and even pejorative viewpoints to each of these potentially desirable reasons for seeking employment in Spain, which can be seen in the film and literature. Firstly, through being pictured in out-of-place settings, such as Milady's alienation and chronic displacement as a housewife in *Flores*, there is an implication that they are not 'good enough' and do not merit their position in Spanish society. Taking this idea further, we could infer that, even though they are sacrificing so much, their inability to fit the Spanish mould also prevents them from satisfying the conservative prerequisites of their employers and so they are punished by having their opportunities for fulfilment taken away from them. In the case of Milady, she resorts to running away from another suffocating situation of paternalism, which, when compared to the eventual integration achieved by Patricia upon her assumption of the maternal family role (01:36:01 – 01:36:10), suggests that women can only be either content or acceptable if they act as traditionally compliant and subservient mothers.

Across the works studied there are other instances of such quests for independence 'back-firing,' such as Marambra's need to escape the family fold and revert to a lifestyle of liberty and chaos in *Biutiful*. The overarching sentiment, therefore, is that non-conformist women forfeit their rights to peace, acceptance and success if they fail to take up their prescribed positions in the roles of mothers. Secondly, through engaging in often illicit employment, Latin American women perpetuate colonialist stereotypes of being lawless and untrustworthy. Mirta in *La Boda*, as soon as she refuses to fulfil her cleaning duties for her Spanish employers, and her house-cleaner friend, who helps her steal a dress (00:04:08 – 00:04:33), immediately compromise their wholesome image to the viewer and this automatically negates Mirta's legitimacy as a doting actual mother or a merit-worthy

employee. From the very moment that she misses her cleaning shift and decides to assume the Latin American stereotype of felon, her subsequent scenes all show her reverting to the role of the ‘foreign female’ as she engages in the more superficially ‘female’ acts of vanity and gossip in an Asian hair salon, begins to use far more Caribbean colloquialisms (00:06:40 – 00:06:53) and extra-linguistics in her speech and ‘wastes time’ on the telephone with family back home (00:03:59 – 00:04:05). All these scenes, despite presenting tragic scenes of desperate and lonely females in situations of disempowerment and separation from loved ones, are presented with humour, as farcical situations, which again detracts from the positive and diligent image created by the probable long periods of earnest work and self-sacrifice made by them.

More so than through occupation of jobs, the principal way in which Latin American women consciously, agonistically and successfully occupy any tangible positions of superiority and success within the Spanish immigration opus is when they themselves either assume subjugating roles over other less established immigrants and re-establish postcolonial hierarchies or when they occupy the place of the patronising Western male. Instances of these occupations of the patriarchy are: the cynical advice given that “hooking up with a Spanish male [for his money and position] will liberate you from your problems” (00:20:31-00:25:00); Aunt Marta’s dictatorial insistence on the upkeep of Spanish social etiquette in her house (00:13:00 – 00:13:10); her deceitful personal profiteering from her nieces’ immigration to Spain (00:15:05-00:15:30); conformity to Spanish neoliberal bureaucracy when she says that “aquí, sin papeles, ni se puede fregar los suelos” (00:16:05 – 00:16:10), in spite of the dramatically ironic scene in which she secretly eats the left-overs of the Cuban “ajiacó” (01:02:50 – 01:03:00) which she had earlier ostentatiously rejected (evidence, according to Barrow (2009, 121) that she is not entirely able to cast off the yoke of being a Cuban woman

by birth); the colourism which is barely concealed as the newly arrived Cuban couple are shown (03:18:08 – 03:18:16) to their new accommodation in Spain and exchange horrified judgemental glances as they catch a glimpse of black-skinned fellow residents in the apartment block (all in *Cosas*); Caren and Ángela animalising and ‘body-shaming’ the foreign prostitutes in the square in *Princesas*; and Marambra’s cruelty towards Mateo and preferential treatment to his sister in *Biutiful* when she does take the opportunity to occupy the patriarchy and fill the role of household decision-maker. Scenes such as these tend to show women re-categorising themselves and each other within what Wilkerson refers to as an imagined “caste”^{lxxv} system (1), which assigns relative merit to people on the bases of their country of birth, race, profession, skin pigmentation, walking style and conformity to expectations and thus perpetuating their own racial and gendered othering. This concept, explored by Biglia et al., presents an image of women who might otherwise be establishing a progressive alliance of feminist familiarity and solidarity, mimicking the patriarchal obsession with “questions of legitimacy, entitlement and power,” (14).

I propose that the colourism, in particular, is problematic, since the condescension or pity shown towards the “pobres negros” (*En la orilla* 153) actually adds to the subversion of black and Latin American women sexuality demonstrated by Ángela’s echoes of Shohat and Stam’s “Hottentot Venus” in her definition of the foreign prostitutes’ accentuated posterior walking styles in *Princesas* (00:12:40 – 00:12:53), and the consciously skewed and derogatory prejudice apparent in “nos llaman negros a los colombianos, aunque no lo seamos” from Liliana’s discussion about race and nationality in *En la orilla* (85). In *Unthinking Eurocentrism*, (1994), Shohat and Stam established the thought that stereotypical and imaginations of previously colonised black women in the European mind automatically associate them with both more pronounced physical features and less ‘civilised’ but more

erotically-charged sexuality. This image originates in derogatory cartoon images from pro-slavery campaign propaganda in the 18th century and they propose that perpetuation of such imagery implies a postcolonialist European vision. All these character comments by and about foreign women seem to deliberately extend the Latin American phobic and racist obsession with skin tone. Emma Bond proposes that “skin memory” is both an identification with and comfort within one’s skin and a place of stigma and reminder of past struggles (2018, 29-30). Her metaphors for memory associate superficial appearance with provenance, self-identification and belonging and propose scars or tattoos as manuscripts of personal experience. In this way, where Zulema flaunts her body and openly implies that “something good from the Caribbean” (00:54:00 – 00:54:10) is something special, she embraces the physical opportunities which her racial identity offer, however, when she presents more closed body language during (still public and visible) private moments and appears with horrific injuries from her brutal attack, she also exposes the vulnerabilities which someone of foreign extraction and mixed race has. I aver that either of these definitions could fit the aesthetic narrative of Latin American women. From one point of view, Nena in *Cosas* and Liliana and the other stereotyped women in *En la orilla*, similarly to Zulema, are visually or linguistically imbued with heightened sexual appeal, which both allows them an opportunity to assert pride and ownership of their culture and to champion hybridity in a new society to achieve perceived (albeit exoticist) sexual superiority over Spanish women. In equal contrast, however, the stigma for Latin American women around perceived levels of “mestizaje” and entitlement or caste perpetuates the (generally colonialist white male-engendered) subjugation of both the women and the black foreigner. In this way, while Milady is chronically and hopelessly othered in *Flores*, the lighter-skinned Patricia eventually forges some sense of family membership. Taken one stage further, I propose a deeper significance to Nena

modelling animal fur coats for Spanish customers in *Cosas* (00:19:16 – 00:20:30), since she is perceived by her own sisters to become more attractive when in another skin.^{lxxvi}

Similarly, through women peers occupying the male gaze of the Spanish male towards the observed Latin American women, either sexually and directly, through the point-of-view camera shots of the public arrival parade in *Flores* or the salon window in *Princesas*, or indirectly, via the imagined viewpoints of Marta and her co-conspirators which are exposed in their snippets of dialogue in *Cosas*, they find themselves objectified in the ways referred to by Laura Mulvey. Mulvey proposes that “film reflects, reveals, and plays on the socially established interpretations of sexual difference which controls erotic ways of looking and spectacle,” (6). Her theory is that there is an established dissymmetry in the filmic representation of voyeurism by the male figure, who is typically imbued with a penchant and an imagined right to view and sexually objectify the known or unknown women from a position of hierarchical control and possession, as suggested by Carmelo’s assertion in *Flores* that “I already have my Cuban woman, whenever I feel like it” (00:07:50 -00:08:02). My extension to this is that, in this opus, Latin American women are subject to such a relentless ‘gaze’ from both men and women peers, and this extends my findings from the earlier analysis of the occupation of space, in that their subjection is perpetuated by both men and women, native and immigrant.

Whilst such episodes in these films are included to generate viewer pathos for the victims, the lasting impression is of a society in which power comes purely from brazen opportunism and brutal paternalism and equally of a postcolonial society where the supposed victims are also guilty of “allow[ing] themselves to be sucked into these arrangements despite all the obvious disadvantages,” (Lutz 54) and where there is a clear “gender distinction” (Mulvey 6) and unequal binary of power between the autochthonous male (and, as I suggest,

the empowered other women who occupies this paternity) and the disempowered and othered immigrant women. Bergoffen makes an assertion to the same effect that “sexual difference is the crucial site of the dissymmetrical and heteronomous,” (130), and Palmary suggests that this proposed gender difference is actually a “central means by which we transmit ‘race’ and nationalism across generations,” (59), however, I would argue that in the Spanish immigration opus, if we are to consider that film is a “window onto a world... charged with ideology” and a “mirror where society can ... (mis)recognise itself,” (Garza 68), the Latin American women’s body maps immigrant arrival in Spain as both a place of revisited transatlantic subjugation and suffering and a place through which the patriarchy can be (albeit in a perpetuation of peer emasculation) occupied and perhaps, thereby, overcome.

Overall, the contentious identity binaries of woman and man, immigrant and native, colonised and coloniser, dirty and clean, liminal and empowered all figure as key in the representation of Latin American women in postmillennial Spain. Since so many of these contentions are exposed, I can conclude that there is a dispute about what defines the neutral or the universal in both fictional representation and society. Indeed, I might even suggest that the negativity shown in the characterisation of these amoral Spanish male and usurping women profiteers points towards the Latin American women as the resilient, meritorious and empowered members of society.

Established commentary suggests that the white, European, colonising man represents the power centre and, consequently, the position of least vulnerability and purest homogeneity. Through occupying positions of power in terms of everything from linguistic gendering to domination of literary publication and even government, the effective discourse on the subject would label this group as the neutral universal. In this way, Vega-Durán posits that “the Spaniards’ perception of the outsider, however, has several degrees,” (182), referring

to the several levels of perceived hierarchies of human value within Spanish popular discourse, and relating to: country of origin; gender; colour of skin; aesthetics; conformity to type; and submission to Spanish lifestyles and outlook. On the other hand, in the *Interrelated News* section of *Feminisms and Activisms*, it is stated that “the feminine represents what is symbolised or not, what can be controlled, what can be subverted,” (81). Despite this, I would suggest that this opus of literature could equally point to the concepts put forward by Bergoffen relating to the women Other being “symmetrical and reflective” or even to the women as superior in the “sexual dissymmetry,” since the continued attempts at engagement of the non-conformist Latin American women in roles within employment, relationships, care and community-building creates conscious agency and negates the myth of male non-vulnerability and the “fallacy of treating the masculine body as the universal/ neutral body.” (120-131).

This, I contend, proposes the “woman’s body as the mark of the universal,” (120-131) in the Spanish immigration opus. In reaction to the expressions of women immigrants’ ‘occupation of the patriarchy,’ it seems important that the women who find themselves subject to the ignominies of being taken advantage of also demonstrate individual resistance and thus “rehearse the dismembering of all the central columns of the prevailing order,” (Gonzalez and Treece xiii). In this way, during her scenes of greatest centrality and independence, Milady in *Flores* either wears an American flag lycra outfit (00:18:32 – 00:18:40), which clearly rebels against the Communist Cuban oppression and against the parochial Spanish conformity of expectation of decency of women’s attire, or disregards assumed limitations on the freedom and mobility of traditionally ‘kept’ wives, by hitching rides to the city with a male stranger or a lorry driver (00:45:02 – 00:46:00). In line with this, in *Cosas*, Ludmila first shows a clearly affected and reluctant submissive admiration for the

prevailing social hierarchy by proclaiming: “¿han visto los hombres de aquí? Hay muy buenísimos ...tienen unos paquetes... de toreros” (00:26:05 – 00:27:00), but then, along with Rosa and Nena, proceeds to rebel against this expected submissive stance and the oppressive series of short, sharp imperative retributions from her ‘patronising’ aunt (00:27:30 – 00:27:33). The climax of this scene comes from Nena’s subsequent assertion that: “si yo no quiero un hombre, ¡no me caso con él! (*Cosas* 00:27:25 – 00:27:29), and this vocalisation and show of women’s solidarity marks a turning point of sorts in the sisters’ destinies and, more importantly, a recognition of empowerment amongst portrayed Latin American immigrant women. Although Nena finds herself instantly castigated and silenced for this expression of autonomy, I argue that the effect also highlights her intended rebellion against the amoral and feudal systems of exploiting undocumented women and goes further to reject the “structure through which only one sex lives the humanity of vulnerability,” (Bergoffen 131) and the previously perceived primary worth of the character as a symbol of exotic, youthful sexuality for Spanish men.

The most key visual effect of the presentation of newcomer women in the films is the recurrent imagery of the carnal, sexual and fetishistic. My contention, therefore, is that occupation is again relevant, since the women immigrant’s body is repeatedly ‘occupying’ the screen and being ‘occupied,’ either by secondary male characters or the guided imagination of the autochthonous audience. In *Princesas*, prostitutes and the vulnerability of their lives are voyeuristically observed by the audience, largely through the suggested gaze of their women peers. The title, premise and strapline, together with commentary from the actors and director themselves promise a hint of possible empowerment for the immigrant women here: Zulema, the secondary protagonist, is a newly-established outsider from Latin America and utters the line: “Esta noche no somos putas, somos princesas” (01:22:25-01:22:28), which provides the

film title. Nevertheless, the resonance of the consciously sardonic sentiment in this expression (and thus the very title of the film) presents a deliberate juxtaposition of public opinion (in which they are just “putas”) with the self-affirming “princesas” that they want and perhaps ought to feel like. This expression also forms the closing comment from Manu Chao’s videoclip for the *Me llaman calle* soundtrack (01:20:40-01:22:25). The central song of the film’s soundtrack itself is symbolic, since it is sung by a commercially successful white European male and thus defines a white privilege song of “testimonio,” and since it is called “*Me llaman calle*,” which clearly mirrors the directorial bias towards the Spanish women protagonist, Caye, rather than on the plight of her Latin American counterpart, and which forms a phonetic minimal pair with the accepted Iberian Spanish pronunciation of calle. In some Latin American countries, such as in some parts of Argentina, the pronunciation of ‘calle’ is more frequently with a /zh/ sound, rather than the more frequent Spanish pronunciation of /y/. This phonetic note also suggests a further linguistic bias toward the centrality of representation of the Spanish protagonist.

In this film, viewer shock and pity are successfully generated by scenes which depict or suggest graphic sexual violence on the part of males and the police and depraved language and mentions of serious illness on the part of voyeuristic Spanish women in the salon. These instances contrast starkly with the smiling, dancing, colourful, attractive and relaxed aspects of the prostitutes in their street performances, as they socialise, joke and await male custom. However, in *Princesas* the most shocking and memorable scenes present the pain absorbed by the body of Zulema at the hands of her ‘patron,’ and other instances of sexual degradation and I would contend that this bodily absorption of pain also results in audience absorption of “unease and awareness with regard to the inhuman consequences derived from the ‘borderless’ nature of globalization,” (Ballesteros 178). In this way, the audience is conducted

to observe that the pain inflicted on Zulema is an inevitability for her to endure and seems to give physical resonance to the inner traumas navigated by transmigrant women battling with conflicting national identities and past and present patriarchies.

Exposition of the types of subjugation suffered by women is one important area wherein Spanish feminists have published, and I aver that subjectivity of the female body in *Princesas* is central to an understanding of the imagination of the overall immigrant woman in the postmillennial publication. Their thought relates to the theories of Scarry where we see the image of the female “body in pain” (1985, 1) defining Zulema’s existence in the film and generating the viewer pathos which introduces us to León de Aranoa’s presumably intended message about the injustices in the woman immigrant experience before eventually signalling her failure and precipitating her hasty departure. This reflects Scarry’s thought, as her “body in pain” is in fact the “making and unmaking” of her own world in the film and of any vestiges of decent and acceptable society.

Bergoffen expounds on Derrida’s theory that “to mark the thought of mortality is to invoke the category of the vulnerable” with the assertions that “all human bodies are vulnerable ... and [we] cannot ignore our animality by dismissing the criminality of body abuse,” (121-9). Despite this, I would argue that the abjection and horror presented in Zulema’s treatment in *Princesas*, together with the revelations that she receives no redemption and that her abuser is subject to no lawful retribution, negate the universality of these theories. Repeatedly in the opus, the women’s bodies are those which absorb pain and punishment, and it is the women’s psyches which are attacked or shown to be frail. This reflects the feminist theory that “the ‘othering’ of women focuses on their bodies, which are to display the signs of deservingness and belonging ... or be proscribed behind the boundaries of exclusion,” (Mora 43). Considering these things together with the previously

acknowledged notion that Latin American women all seem to lack context or conclusion in the stories, we can surmise that the writers either identify with the thought that Latin American women are inherently vulnerable, undeserving and unwanted, out-of-place others and victims in Spanish society or that there is indeed a Scarry-esque necessity for pain to be inflicted on the women body in order to pique audience awareness and bring about the social change or the new world order intended by the title “*The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*” (Scarry, 1987). This idea is taken one stage further in *Instrucciones*, where Daniel’s alternative virtual existence takes place in a newly ‘made’ world where women avatars are controlled by men and specifically directed to simulate ‘bodies in pain’ by performing “los movimientos adecuados al castigo, como los latigazos o los retorcimientos de dolor,” (75).

Themes such as Kristeva’s “Powers of Horror” from her *Essay on Abjection* are also relevant in relation to the occupation of bodies in the works. In her essay, Kristeva explores the notion that people banish and reject grotesque, unseemly and shameful aspects of their own nature, focusing rather on the vision of themselves which more comfortably sits with them. She pictures abjection being vomited up and expelled in disgust and conceives of it almost as an unrecognized and unacceptable alter-ego within us, which must therefore be both rejected and ejected. I suggest that, through the violation revealed in filmed imagery of domestic violence in *Flores* and *Princesas*, and the conscious physical disregard for the women body in expressions such as “el cuerpo humano no merece el respeto que se le guardaba cuando era considerado templo del Espíritu Santo,” (*En la orilla* 43), the writers are attempting a Kristevan exposé and expulsion of the bodily abuse in the occupation of Latin American women’ bodies from the realms of private subjugation and into public view, which constitutes “the criminality of body abuse” being exposed and countered as suggested by

Bergoffen (121). However, I contrarily posit that this simultaneously contradicts the earlier quoted thoughts on equal vulnerabilities, since the Spanish men are never referred to as weak or victimized and are instead alleged to be either physically “duros” or “well-built” (*Cosas*, (00:26:05 – 00:27:00), *En la orilla* (105) and *Princesas*) or sexually and economically empowered “comprador[es] de coños,” (*En la orilla*). In contrast with this facile perpetuation of masculinity as the “invisible and deproblematised other that supports and sustains ... femininity in dispute,” (Mora 40), in the same film, the bodies of the central women figures are sexually or even violently occupied by Spanish males as “putas” for rent and thus emasculated by them.

Despite their bodily occupations as prostitutes, the women in this film have the facile conceit of calling themselves “princesas,” and of spending off-duty periods beautifying their bodies and attempting to figuratively raise their own self-worth above the perceived levels of their foreign or less prestigious peers, thus abolishing any recognition of the horrifying realities of their existence and reminding us of Kristeva’s proposal on horrors of abjection. Additionally, it is particularly poignant to note that the main time at which Caye stands up and speaks out about the horrors of their situation is where she refutes the fact that their sexual dealings with predatory men constitute bodily affairs or meaningful occupational relationships of any worthiness. She does this in her repeated exclamation: “¡No son líos!” (01:15:12). Here, for once it is noteworthy that a non-Latin American character is actively expressing their rage, disgust and frustration at circumstances, and this might offer itself as an indication of the Spanish filmmakers engaging in the political activism which Carty suggests León de Aranoa is attempting. Where Carty quotes the director’s suggestion that he wanted to make those least visible, such as prostitutes and immigrants, more apparent and film it “desde la mirada de las chicas” (2009, 129), such an explicit repeated exclamation would begin to

achieve this; yet this instance is subsequently relegated to the cutting room floor of the production and only appears as a deleted scene in the extras after the main feature has been watched and would not, therefore, have been seen by larger audiences in public cinemas.

With regards to *Princesas*, the fetishistic, carnal, male view of women is foremost, since prostitutes, the majority of whom are young, slim, attractive women with body parts on show, parade in front of the lens and in the mind's eye of the male director, camera man and majority viewer. However, this also brings to the fore other crucial issues from which marginalized Latin American women in the sex trade in actual Spanish society might be expected to suffer, such as insecurities about occupying their own bodies under the public gaze and, by extension, body dysmorphia. Although the notion of body dysmorphia is touched upon in the same film, when the Spanish prostitute, Caye, is seen sticking her own photo on images of magazine models (00:14:20 – 00:14:30), there is very little profound dialogue around it, particularly for the Dominican prostitute, and this lack of consideration looms larger when set against this cast comprised almost exclusively of tall, athletic, tanned and sexually hyper-available women. The absence of any notable variety of body type and the prolonged camera shots of prostitutes in sexually demonstrative positions are unrealistic and point towards exoticism of the Latin American women, which heightens the fetishism of the cinematography and subconsciously promotes the idea of a perfect ratio for the foreign women body and, by consequence, the perceived lower value of less physically attractive women. With this in consideration, I would suggest that the Latin American woman becomes more desirable and assumes a fleeting sexual power over the individual males. This power is then washed off again with a “pastilla de jabón” or “detergente” (80) in *En la orilla* or forgotten once the police ‘funcionario’ has taken his sexual fill of Zulema in *Princesas*, which reinforces their inability to sustain this kudos or empowerment in the face of the wider

elements of white male-dominated societal and governmental power, and instead often results in merely re-associating Latin women with little more than skin deep physical worth and sexual promiscuity.

Those characters who seem to actually most enjoy their own body/ promiscuity and the position of supposed power which they get from their work typically possess the most physically attractive forms, and thus scenes which are purportedly incorporated to engender women solidarity and transculturalism, such as those with women from different ethnic backgrounds soliciting work together or communing flirtatiously, actually work counterproductively to discriminate and to fuel insecurities, while simultaneously sating male fetishes and re-strengthening the patriarchy. Ballesteros suggests that “white national intellectuals’ and filmmakers’ ethical commitment is in many cases less about the nonwhite other than it is about crises in national identities,” (17), so the conclusions that might be drawn here are that either: 1) the white filmmakers are ignoring any commitment to ethics in exchange for displaying more superficial and aesthetically pleasing cinematography; 2) the filmmakers are potentially complicit in a Spanish national identity crisis wherein “whiteness is only invisible to those who inhabit it,” (Biglia et al. 13) and there is a complex over the lost strength of the previous aura of imperialism; or 3) the filmmaker’s camera more hopefully “wanted to distance itself from the women’s subjectivity in order to register the birth of this community objectivity,” as proposed by Santaolalla (193). Despite the polemic ways of interpreting the authors’ and filmmakers’ representations of Latin American women’s bodies under occupation, my own assertion is that, in all instances, the writers are consciously or unconsciously “*Writing Migration through the Body*,” as coined by Emma Bond in her study of the same name. Bond theorises that the female body even moves beyond simply “describing the movement of people” and is a pseudo-linguistic “archive,” which “creates the

conditions for configuring border-crossing flows of ideas, images, memories, languages and cultures.” My suggestion, therefore, is that in the Latin American representations, the occupation by and of the women body is the actual conduit for communicating the memory and future of Bond’s proposed “trans-nationalization” (2018, 1-4). As such, I do recognize that the relative primary effects on viewers and readers of these representations and the imbalances within them equate to a deliberate presentation of the perceived “women immigrants’ interactions with diasporic and adopted communities, and ... caught in no-exit situations constructed in terms of exploitation, seclusion and isolation,” (Ballesteros 66). However, I also note this secondary (possibly less anticipated) effect which reveals the transnational stories of Latin American women in their portrayals and demonstrates their resilience and importance.

This notion leads onto the third of the ways in which I propose Latin American women are presented in the Spanish arts: in terms of ‘communication.’

Latin American women characters are employed by authors and directors to convey key sociolinguistic messages to audiences about society, themselves and each other, and possibly even to “reflectively renegotiate [their] own borders,” as suggested in the feminist agendas described by Biglia et al. (9). These borders can be individual and corporeal, as is the case with Milady in *Flores* assuming the role of sexual control when she first meets her Spanish partner and then presuming to counter parochial conventions and choose her own path to employment and leisure. Equally, these borders can also be more associated with self- and national identity (two concepts which Anthony D. Smith considered inseparable in his 1991 monograph) and with the Latin American women attempting to regain value for their heritage and race from within the territory and social system which they have chosen to penetrate.

In films such as *Princesas* and written texts such as *En la orilla*, whereas both León de Aranoa (in the film's 'guión literaria') and Chirbes (in a 2014 *Lee por gusto* interview) have signalled intentions to make their works "realista," it could be argued that the writers and directors have revisited and updated the epistolary format, once transmitted as letters, written by or about women and delivered on ships between the colonies and Europe, to accommodate both technological and societal developments.^{lxxvii} On the other hand, I contend that postmillennial "women epistolary positions" in the Spanish literature are instead in film scenes of women in payphones or on telephones borrowed from others, dialling back to Latin America. These are depicted largely on camera in films, where the camera lens and windows of the payphones permit us to observe the Latin American women from all angles in the process of expressing themselves. This changes the event from a culturally elevated, but restricted and personal written communication to a visual feast for viewers, who are led to focus on the women's bodies and lip movements more than on what they say (01:19:20-01:19:28), despite still being precluded from the other half of the conversation. In this way, the audience focuses on the movements, emotions and other extralinguistic features of the message, rather than on the words themselves and this leads to a tendency to infer physicality from the women rather than hear the gravitas of their voiced speech and the women remain objects of the previously discussed "male gaze."

The re-imagination of epistolary narrative communication is particularly pertinent to the Latin American women in Spain. This is firstly because they are native speakers of Spanish and thereby possess the language "ability ... to 'pass' as" Spanish themselves and thereby represent what Bond refers to as an example of "linguistic haunting" (201). The notion of linguistic spectres suggests a phobic proximity of the Latin Americans for the Spanish, which uncomfortably challenges the culture of othering them and threatens Spanish

society with current and colonial culpability. Where Cook's notion of 18th century women writers "haunting" literary borders concerns historic struggles with cultural accessibility and limitation, Bond's definition of 20th century "linguistic haunting" reveals an ongoing failure to be accepted, even though Latin American women ought to be culturally and linguistically able to convey a clear message of emotional experience. Owing to such linguistic haunting, in *Cosas*, the phobia of hearing Nena's complaints about injustice or stereotype cannot be ignored as the language of an outright foreigner or of someone entirely unfamiliar with Spanish culture, and so the only option available for blocking her is for the Spanish people she meets (and her aunt Marta, who *wants* to be Spanish) to talk over her, shout at her, shut her down or even walk away, as in the bar scene discussion about her upcoming theatre production. Secondly, there is a shared, although oppositely-experienced cultural and religious past between Spain and the Americas which feeds into the narratives themselves. This history saw the former as entitled conqueror and the latter either as subjugate or traitor, but now causes crises of conscience over the guilt of colonial oppression for the former and phobias about self-identity and self-worth for the latter. Zulema's unequal relationship with her government "lío" is characterised in this way and the fine line between aggression, guilt and hope is palpable. This unique circumstance has helped to produce several shared and recognizable but slightly altered features and methods of communication, such as: in both historic and current works, stories and conditions are told or inferred through reference to the women body and deprivation which it suffers; in both periods, the majority of the work produced has actually been by males presenting these scenarios; and, across both periods, certain restrictions to the social and literary imbalances have remained, which have kept the Latin American women as disempowered and therefore peripheral. Equally, I propose that the three key variations between the periods can be identified as: the move from written

communication into multimedia technology which opens up a more visual and voyeuristic element and moves coverage of stories from the private to the public; the effect which the geopolitical return and presence of unaccompanied Latin American women in Spain has had on public discourse and the reactionary Spanish national “sentimiento de saturación” (Andrés-Suárez 16) which has been produced; and the diminishment of the taboos associated with graphic sexual imagery in written publication, which allow for more visceral and even violent expression of physical human interaction and repression.

In *En la orilla*, the aesthetic of sexualisation and exoticisation is used to communicate imagery and ideas and the multisensory use of symbolism as allegory assumes the same role as the lingering camera shots of Latin American women. Chirbes begins by casting up images of “piñas tropicales” imported from Colombia, then almost immediately switches to sexualisation of Liliana in terms reminiscent of fruit: “... el color de la piel, el tono, la suavidad del tacto: la piel metida entre mi mano...” (40-41). The pejorative use of expressions such as “echamos polvo ... sin condón ... o mete por atrás por treinta euros” (39) and “las chicas ... la polla” (46) however, follows swiftly, and Esteban (the first person male narrator) destroys his own poetic allegory to say: “Excitante la práctica del sexo en la intrincada alcoba vegetal: satisfactoria, sin duda, deseo y miedos revueltos, combinación idónea. Pero, una vez consumado el acto, me he sentido más sucio.... (lo alivio con una ducha vigorosa al volver a casa, friegas con jabón, esponja dura, y, para acabar, un generoso riego de agua de colonia)” (41). As the motif of fruit is posited and repositied here, we see the vision of the women move from the voluptuous temptation of forbidden fruit to the less sweet vegetal state of plucking and consumption and then to a soured and lingering aftertaste, for which irrigation with another aroma is required. Essentially, the male has taken his fill and is

now ready to cast off memories of the traditionally epistolary sentimentality for the women and instead begin a search for the next alluring aroma or women to consume and dispose of.

This use of visual aesthetic and suggestion is clearly repeated across the films as well, although the visual medium is conducive to communicating such messages in a slightly different way. Women film makers, especially Bollaín, opt to use the woman's body itself more as their own new epistolary medium through which to navigate what are described as women "coming of age" stories (*Ballesteros* 209). In *Flores*, for example, the different levels of fetishisation, use and abuse of the desirable but unfamiliar Latin American bodies of the lighter-skinned Patricia and the darker-skinned Milady amidst the physical settings of disorganised transcultural diaspora in rural Spain seem to be her own epistolary attempt at 'writing to the audience' to communicate her intended message about the hope of the Latin American women body attempting to challenge and overcoming the stagnancy, restriction and loneliness and to fight for acceptance (Patricia) or liberty (Milady) and thus for equality and social progress.^{lxxviii} I argue that the intended impact of both the repeated imagery of symbolism, sexuality and vulnerability used in the literature and the cinematic techniques employed in the films to convey messages to society encompass twofold relevant purposes here: firstly, they engender similar imagined memories amongst the reader/ viewer of the exotic hybridity of liaisons between immigrant and natives and women and males; secondly, they communicate narratives in which transatlantic postcolonial stereotype tempers or hinders progressive intercultural exchange.

The prevalence of various techniques used for these purposes in the texts studied creates a trope: a subliminal, implied or virtual social and/ or personal message transmitted from writer or sender to receiver. Biglia et al. explore the "complex relationship between historical epistemological shifts and representational politics," (18), and I would suggest that

the variety of ways in which opinions or revelations about the status of Latin American women characters in the opus are communicated reflects the complexity of this relationship, since the writers and directors both develop characters, symbols, storylines and plots which purport to expose the realities of ‘clandestinas’ and discuss these sociological intentions in related interviews.

Whereas in the italic last 20 pages of *En la orilla* and the letter between daughter and mother in *Te trataré* (63-4) the epistolary technique is presented in the historically standard literary format of an emotional and plaintive written letter, in *Princesas*, similarly to in earlier parts of *En la orilla*, we are instead presented with revelatory character comments on biological variances between races, which seem to mimic public social discourse. In another communication format, Caren and Ángela (*Princesas*) propose the theory that undetectable pheromones or distinctively exotic scents are being used to send the women’s messages and to initiate and influence interactions between Latin American women and Spanish males. This message of alleged sensory and biophysical variance between Black/ Latin American and Spanish and male and women appears repeatedly in the opus, such as when the Cuban men immigrants in *Cosas* attest that “la saliva de la cubana sabe distinta a la de la española” (00:31:20 – 00:31:30), and where the distinctively less appealing “olor corporal” of a Spanish male is referred to as “tan ruinoso... leche agrio,” in *Te trataré* (48). This repetition suggests that there is a genre trait in the new immigration epistolary tradition of employing biological and physical messages to convey messages about gender, racial and social compatibility. I assert that repeated reference to biological or olfactory signals being transmitted or interpreted between (often mixed race) Latin Americans and Spanish characters runs the risk of implying animalistic tendencies. This would constitute what Gadsden refers to as the categorisation of “black women’s sexuality as deviant ... [and the prohibition of] black women from creating

their own images,” (119). In such comments, characters seem to be bordering on outright racism, which points to a breakdown of both communication and social acceptance.

In a more direct reference to epistolary tradition, though, the ambivalent word “historia” (which can signify “history” and “story” - both concepts relatable to the idea of epistolary communication), is used in the seemingly poignant description of an intercultural Spanish-American relationship in *Instrucciones*. The clearly ironic and sardonic sentiment conveyed by Rosa Montero in “mantendrá una aceptable historia de amor durante un par de años con un avatar llamado Phelizia, que en realidad es una viuda de la Patagonia a quien no llegará a conocer personalmente,” (305) uses epistolary technique to convey linguistic ambiguity and humour to the reader and potentially to highlight the incompatibility of Spaniard with Latin American. The words “historia” and “aceptable” are here to suggest that transatlantic relationships must remain purely intangible, in “barrenos virtuales,” (20), and that they are doomed to fail. Furthermore, this irony is accompanied with the mocked significance of the deliberately misspelt name (“Phelizia” / “Happiness”) of the Latin American virtual partner, and a closing statement which diminishes the mystery and suggests that two people from such different backgrounds can never actually know each other. Clearly, therefore, humour is being used as another communicative technique by the authors representing Latin American women.

Although the humorous tone adopted in quotes such as “mantendrá una aceptable historia de amor durante un par de años con un avatar” (305) in *Instrucciones* is arguably used either light-heartedly or with the intention of making readers self-reflect, it also has the opposite effect of degrading and making a mockery of the Latin American women in question. In this case, the humour conceals the import of the more sobering juxtaposing statement, which communicates to us that she is widowed and probably lonely. Similar farce

and derision are to be found unsuitably positioned across the opus, wherever such serious revelations of the Latin American women condition is revealed. To this end, the actual blurb on the original DVD case and billboard advertisements for *Cosas* specifically reduced such series of melodrama and trauma as “todo un mundo de líos, engaños y situaciones divertidísimas” in their reviews. Repeated instances of comic disregard for Latin American immigrants’ circumstances can be identified in all the works studied. In this way, in *La boda*, from the moment that Mirta forfeits her job, the genre switches from feel-good romantic comedy to farce, and the revelation at the end that her daughter is not even in the country for her wedding completes Mirta’s descent from serious and caring maternal protagonist to slapstick clown. Similarly, in *Biutiful*, the most maniacal revelations of Marambra’s poor mental health are seen in moments of drunken revelry and sexual lasciviousness with Uxbal’s brother or (reminiscently of Milady in *Flores*) childish delusion as she embarks on unplanned day trips to the seaside. Here the severity of Marambra’s bipolar disorder seems to focus more on the hilarity of her mental state than on supporting or safeguarding her or the children. Equally, the alienation and racism experienced by Milady which have precipitated her escape are passed off as humorous idiocy on the part of a local population which cannot seem to even recognise her skin colour and the comic wiles of an older Spanish partner who cannot comprehend her and thinks she is “easier because she is black, and they like it” (00:07:50 - 00:08:02). Furthermore, allusions to the degradation of having to work as a prostitute and even to sexual violence are treated with levity and comic disregard where Zulema blithely switches from focusing on the bleakness of her situation (00:18:25 – 00:19:00) to dancing merrily in a club or pretending she is a princess in *Princesas* (01:22:25-01:22:28). Meanwhile, the narrative voice trivialises and even makes a joke out of incestuous rape in *En la orilla*. The overall product of this incongruous humour in situations of trauma for the Latin

American women characters highlights such disharmonies and the result on the reader is therefore an imagined Spanish society wherein immigrant women are present but neither valued nor taken seriously. I thus propose that, when correlated with the actual sociological data and the potentially distrusting social discourse surrounding their status in Spain reviewed earlier, this constitutes the communication of a cipher for ongoing disregard, inequality and possibly even racism, with the humour representing the communication method of this.

Comedy, alongside this suggested vehicle for diminution of the Latin American women, also represents one strand of the communicative genre of entertainment and performance. Through their performances in the works reviewed, encompassing elements of entertainment such as music, dance, speech and body language, the Latin American women characters add complexity to the messages which they communicate. Although more radical feminist theory contests the classical role of “women as performers and producers of music” for men (Böttner 97), I posit that this role offers a powerful medium through which the *Voices from the Periphery* of immigrant women can be heard by Rosa Montero’s autochthonous and international readership. Through their spatial positioning, their movement, their language and their unique cultural identities, Latin American women manage to transmit the pain and pleasure of their experiences, their heterogeneous background, their sense of self-identity and their physical and metaphoric resilience and strength.

In each of the films and books studied the women are at some point associated with dance, acting and music, as exemplified by Milady’s carousing on the bed (*Flores*), Zulema’s nightclub scene with Caye (*Princesas*), Nena’s disillusionment at Miguel’s insistence on her dancing salsa in lieu of performing a meaningful script for the Spanish audiences (*Cosas*), the quasi sales-pitch of “también canto boleros, si quieres, y además soy actriz,” (*Te trataré* 55) or the references to women voices as “rica plata” and “altavoces emitiendo música” (*En la*

orilla 36 and 339). Despite the stereotypical patriarchal associations with women being muses for males or with the perceived femininity of the arts, it is apparent in these works that all instances take place at moments when the Latin American women are demonstrating resistance to the constrictive conventions in which they find themselves. In these episodes they are instead depicted taking the opportunity to express liberty and independence in physical or sensory opposition to their male counterparts, either by doing what is unexpected or taboo or by refusing to do what is dictated. In this way, both the choreographed coquetry of Marambra's naked dance in Tito's room in (*Beautiful* 00:18:38 – 00:19:17) and Nena's reluctance to dance with the affirmation "no tiene nada que ver con la obra, Miguel, ¡entonces no soy una mujer frágil y complicada!" (*Cosas* 00:33:45 – 00:33:50) both fulfil the same purpose of challenging the power imbalance. Dance is both symbolic of an intercultural and inter-gender synergy and of spatiotemporal progression. It is also, more importantly, seen as central to the heritage and culture of Latin American countries, which pride themselves in performances of their cultural exports of tango, salsa, rumba, lambada and samba dances – all of which involve suggestive steps, performance of which is stereotypically associated with risqué behaviour and even referred to as 'forbidden dance.'

Bergoffen explores the theme of performance and refers to the "undecidability of performative contradiction," (125), which she associates with Judith Butler's theory on the contradictory processes of "performativity," (*Performative Acts* 519-31).^{lxxix} My contention is that, as well as stimulating the audience into engagement with the immigrants' plight via an "intention to produce an effect of strangeness" (Nagib 30) in an otherwise bleak scenario of colonial narrative, these contradictions and dualities at least purvey some equity to the women. The individual and the communal powers of musical dance and performance are explored both by Magaraggia et al. (37-8) and Mora (39-40), where dance and the emergence

of liberated body positions which it entails are described as a personal “metamorphosis” and the communal “choreographic process” of interacting performatively with (male) others involves “taking into account the other, whose participation is fundamental.”

As concerns the women in each of the examples listed in these works, my contention is that the individual metamorphoses which take place during these episodes symbolise their resistance and communicate their transcending of the patriarchy, refocusing them on their own self-worth. This idea is symbolically confirmed by the fact that in each case the males’ “participation” in their dance or their refusal to do so is by way of either absenting themselves, as in *Cosas* and the nightclub scene in *Princesas*, or remaining static and emasculated, as bemused and awkward voyeurs, as in *Flores*. Contrastingly, from a communal point of view, the instances of ‘public performance’ afford the women power to lead, entice or even emasculate others. This can be seen in the streetwalking scene in *Princesas* and the “caravana” arrival scene in *Flores*, where the villagers in the community are induced into the unusual behaviours of dancing with the arriving foreign women.

Furthermore, the women protagonists’ performances in presenting raised voices, occupying provocative body positions or even dramatically affecting walking styles seems to have an empowering effect on the women themselves, since during these performances, they are generally filmed smiling, laughing or expressing confident body language, whether temporary and consciously enacted or not. This represents the feminist conceit of occupying and communicating one’s “position as positive and pleasurable,” (Böttner 104), and equally reconnects the Latin American women with their own cultural and individual self-identities, as seen in the expression “la previsión de sus movimientos la reconcilió un poco consigo mismo,” (*Te trataré* 41).

Even walking in the films can be defined as performance, since there is such judgement of all the movements and body positions of the immigrant women by other characters that the audience cannot help but take notice of the model-esque flaunting of the fur coat by Nena in *Cosas*, Zulema's business-seeking strut in *Princesas* or the awkwardness with which Milady stands in front of the trio of commentating and lecherous old men in the street or continuously backs away from Carmelo as he tries to conduct her into the bedroom. Walking in the films signifies the independence and freedom of mobility which the women clearly desire in society, and I posit that the act of walking therefore also represents a direct reaction: to both poverty - through their catwalk entrance into opportunities for economic security; and to paternalism - where Milady rejects Carmelo's paternalistic offer of financial security by walking away (00:45:02 – 00:46:00). Solnit refers to walking as "wanderlust" (2000, 1-2) and defines it as a pastime which can be done as much for reasons of politics, sexuality and aesthetics as for leisure and exercise. Her assertion is that "walking is a subject that is always straying" (8), acting as catalyst in the redefinition of borders, boundaries and acceptabilities. In this sense, 'unruly' caravana women such as Milady entering and disturbing the status quo of Santa Eulalia, before fleeing and dismounting her ride and "straying" into the Spanish wilderness is as much of a political statement about the impact and resilience of Latin American women immigrants as Mirta's comic evasion of her employers and the government officials in *La boda* is an indictment of their mental instability and superficiality.^{lxxx}

Furthermore, in relation to the earlier discussions on the spatial conceits of utopia and dystopia, the respective walks of the Latin American women in the various settings where they are filmed seem to contradict them and even bring them under their control. In this way, where Zulema 'rises above' her personal traumas to strut along the street and in the chaotic

urban space of the prostitutes' square in *Princesas* (00:11:00-00:14:20, 01:11:50-01:12:00 and 01:31:43), she is simultaneously achieving the paradox of subverting the moral conservatism of conformity and bringing aesthetic order to the dystopia of the Spanish cityscape. Holly Prescott refers to this latter effect of purposeful walking styles as "normalisation of walking at 'modern pace' 'in a linear fashion' through urban space," (35) and actually proposes that it is a means of making the "clandestine" more visible and in control. Therefore, this communicates a more complex characterisation of Latin American women such as Zulema and Milady than the stranded victim narratives of their curtailed immigration episodes suggest.

Buckland's definition of 'mise-en-scène' states that it is a technique used by directors to enable the audience to "clearly distinguish the filmed events from the way they are filmed," (7), and as such there is communicative comment within the ways in which characters, props and settings appear on the screen. It is therefore of note that the mise-en-scène of the Latin American women in the films assigns such emphasis on setting, body position, appearance and movements in the films which so often contrast with those of the Spanish characters. In this way, their provocative poses, attention-calling dance-moves and affected gaits are just as strong an indication of their dissimilitude as the colourful or suggestive clothing they wear. Both, in fact, combine to ensure that the Latin American women stands out against the rugged, lunar countryside or the dark, muted and impersonal tones of the urban sprawl against which they appear, but, more importantly, also against the expected presentation of women in their situations. This is also reflected in the more explicit responses which they catalyse amongst other characters, and in *Flores*, for example, the screen positioning, bright blue clothing and designer sunglasses of Milady arriving separately from the mass of otherwise indistinguishable women actually results in their visual input overcoming the fact that the

Spanish women voices are the only ones heard and ‘in their presence,’ therefore being more memorable (00:18:20 – 00:18:25). I aver that this is an important indication of the film directors recognising the Latin American women’s potential as conduits for messages of social change. In this way, through the unlikely episodes of Zulema exacting the horrific ‘revenge’ on her abuser (*Princesas*) or through Milady embarrassing Carmelo by taking a job at the bar (*Flores*) they are demonstrating momentary resistance to their patriarchal male overlords. These visions of Latin American women contradicting social convention and introducing or being associated with more visual and even visceral imagery and plots coincide with a time in reality when Ryan and Corbalán suggest that the counter-balance touchstone of masculinity in Spain is in crisis and presents as an “impaired and insecure identity fissured by the ascendancy of neoliberalism, regionalism, women’s increasing autonomy and the debilitation of the family as a patriarchal structure,” (2).

With consideration to the suggested communicative potency of the Latin American in recent Spanish culture, I would suggest that there is hope for revision and amelioration of both the conception of the universal and the valorisation of the woman immigrant as a resilient, determined and deserving member of society. Nevertheless, there is a continued failure for any of the Latin American women to obtain validation as residents, legally achieve financial security, enjoy reciprocal personal relationships, move beyond chauvinistic maternal expectations or even avoid physical and psychological abuse in the literary and filmic representations studied.

Through scrutiny of the works we can deduce that a series of paradoxes remain in the representation of Spanish responses to and expectations of Latin American women immigrants: they are imbued with almost taboo tropical sexuality but discriminated against or condemned for displaying any physical or cultural taint of African/ American “mestizaje” in

their outlook, heritage or skin colour; there are persistent expectations that they will fulfil the roles of unchanged, ‘unblemished,’ subservient, silent and pure ‘Spanish’ women and mothers, but without the support of reciprocal relationships; they are expected to earn money legally in order to support their families, but without access to the documentation which gives them the freedom to do so; and they are expected to occupy and entertain all spaces, timeframes and audiences, without being given the plot centrality, mobility, self-determination and voice to achieve this and express their own individuality.

If the optimal situation for the immigrant women is that of true acceptance and egalitarianism, the conclusions are certainly that this is not to be found in the depicted or imagined experiences of the literary characters in Spain. Derrida’s vision for a hoped for or anticipated future unity of immigrant and native in Europe lies outwith the current socio-political system, since he suggested that there is a “patriarchal gesture embedded in the discourse of democracy,” (Bergoffen 123). My contention is that this centrality of patriarchy in Spain is a relic of colonial superiority complexes and more recent Falangist dogma and that it requires conscious realignment, both politically and in the arts, to make the images of rejection, isolation, jealousy, distrust and violence which are evident in the works less representative of the Latin American women experience. Accordingly, where authors and filmmakers have begun to use “feminist approaches that emphasise agency in women migrants and ... the roles they play in maintaining transnational economic networks,” (Ballesteros 66), and where characters such as Patricia in *Flores* are shown to feel some greater sense of “belonging and permanence in a place that she will eventually call home,” (Vega-Durán 185), this signifies a shift towards a minimum of recognition of their struggles and their validity and offers glimpses of a future emancipation and a move towards “Third Space” where immigrant women voices will be heard with equal resonance.

The ways in which representations of Latin American women offer some communication of 'emancipation' (my considered fourth incarnation of the representation of Latin American women) and empowerment of immigrant women is less in the rhetoric (which, as mentioned is lacking and would still position them as entirely without voice) and more about the ways in which they compare to other immigrants and to the power centres. Nevertheless, empowered women can be a hindrance to feminist progress, as there is notable and recurring need to re-address the origin of the disempowering force, and, as stated above, more established Latin American immigrant women in the films obstruct their newly arrived peers from assimilation and occupy patriarchal positions. I averred that this occupation of power constitutes a move to the centre, however it is the suggestions of resistance to the subsequent secondary expectation of obeisance to their more established peers by the perceived 'lower caste' women and rejection of quietude which present genuine hope of emancipation and this is noticeable in some of the older texts and films, such as *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* and *Flores de otro mundo*, but certainly more explicit in more recent production, such as *En la orilla* and *Princesas*, where the women respectively voice their opinions with more freedom and rebel by retaliating with more violence and stamina.

I conclude that Latin Americans are the woman immigrant group most notably represented as proposed catalysts of change of those considered and that there is evidence of progression over time to this effect. They undertake agentic economic migration away from the mixed safety and suffocation of known family structures and to the exclusion of State control; they assume (whether coerced or otherwise) the motherhood of society; they demonstrate determination to make more attempt at forging new physical relationships; they obtain what they want legally or illegally; and they communicate (consciously or otherwise) the validity of their culture transnationally. I assert that for these reasons they symbolise hope

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for emancipation from colonialist, sexist and chauvinist society and thus for future
intercultural (re-)assimilation in Spain.

Conclusion

Following my research, I can conclude that certain commonalities are apparent in the representation of the woman immigrant in the postmillennial Spanish opus. Representations of women from all world regions considered and across the 2-3 decades reveal and confirm alterity and marginalisation, with limited opportunities for the women's voice to be heard, in particular from the Chinese immigrants, who represent the most marginalised group in this opus. Inequality characterises the experience of the immigrant women in Spanish production, as well as a perpetuation of both chauvinist sexism and racial suspicions and stereotyping. However, my research also demonstrated that the imagination of the woman immigrant experience and the autochthonous Spanish response to them is not universal and that the place of origin, and potentially accompanying racial concerns, generate recognisable prejudices.

Most noticeable, from the analysis of the works was the constant emergence of dichotomies of style and focus and the duality of conceivable interpretations of the roles and experiences of immigrant women. In this way, the clear contentions between expositions of vulnerability and resistance, the variance in style and concept between (pre-) millennial and postmillennial publications, the differences of subjectivity between works written by native Spanish and immigrant authors and the debate about whether the overall representation is one of inevitable liminality or hopeful empowerment shaped the learning and presentation of this thesis.

My innovative proposal that women immigrants from China might represent visions of inundation and indigestion in the Spanish imaginary is, as discussed, possibly a result of economic jealousy, historical unfamiliarity and a subsequent expression of political and cultural incompatibility amongst an unknowing and suspicious host. Current scholarship, such

as Donovan's seminal articles, corroborates that suggestion. Nevertheless, my research shows that this phobia extends into one of disorder which seeks to dehumanise the women immigrants, limit their self-expression and leave them as an embodiment of contamination suggests that there must therefore remain additional barriers to the reception and success of new Spanish 'citizens' who occupy the triply 'other' position of women, immigrant and historically unrelated people. The new barriers which I have evidenced from within the opus include a perceived incapacity to forge meaningful human relationships (especially the Chinese), a concerning reproduced inability for autochthonous characters to allow immigrant women to act as self-determining individuals (on the part of the Latin Americans), and the chronological and metaphoric extension of the 'border space' to one which cannot be fully traversed. Most notable in their chronic resultant liminality are the Chinese women.

As demonstrated, the Chinese woman immigrant voice is usually limited to cameo appearances or very brief expressions and is dominated both by the voice of the autochthonous and more centrally-agent Spanish women (for example in *Vis a vis*) and the overriding Spanish male voice (as in *Biutiful*). This limited and limiting representation extends to the way in which the immigrant women experience is presented to us, since the entirety of the representative works which could be found are written or directed by Spanish speaking authors and directors and therefore the salient immigrant Chinese women voice is at best mimetic and at worst stereotyped, superficial and unrealistic.

In the majority of the works studied, unless the Chinese women are carrying out a service for Spanish people in the scenes, they surreptitiously seem to be hidden from the main focus or to take themselves away, out of sight and out of mind, both physically and metaphorically.^{lxxxix} This is the case even in the minimal instances of agency in the works (such as in *La ciudad feliz*) whenever a male or a native character enters the scene. This

liminality even dictates that the menacing and powerful women triads in the *Vis a vis* series do not enter until the third season and that every scene in which they feature sees them ‘appear’ unexpectedly from nowhere and then disappear again equally as quickly – both from the scene and the series – without engendering personal human relationships outside their own group. This confirms my new hypothesis that the Chinese women are represented as indigestible, and that this indigestion is an indication of a chronic suspicion, misunderstanding and sinophobia in Spanish society.

The paradoxical observation is that the Chinese do, however, continuously return, either as peripheral entities (as in *El próximo oriente*), as quasi-supernatural witches (as in *Vis a vis*) or as irremovable corpses and ghosts (as in *Biutiful*). To this end, it can be concluded that, within the fabric of neoliberal Spain, at least some women immigrants are still further removed from visible opportunities for personal expression, relational acceptance, political activism and an egalitarian or even humane welcome and that a subliminal desire to ethnically cleanse perhaps exists in the imagined description of the ‘New Spanish.’ With this conclusion in mind, it might therefore be surmised that little social progress has occurred in Spain and that Eurocentrism prevails. On the other hand, there is some hope visible, in that there is an unspoken admiration shown for Chinese women diligence and industry and for the social stoicism and economic resilience which this produces. Furthermore, there is an implicit maternal trust shown in Lili in *Biutiful* and (albeit momentary) acknowledgement of humanity and maternity in *Los besos en el pan* and this suggests the beginnings of a symbolic potential for the generation of a new hybrid society. In addition to this, the agentic proactivity demonstrated by the more empowered women restaurateurs in *La ciudad feliz*, as discussed, involves their hand delivery of symbolic red flyers with new menus on amongst their

indigenous customer base, and this provides evidence of significant interaction between Chinese woman immigrant and host.

Unilateral marginalisation and outright exclusion are less recognisable in the Spanish-authored representation of the African women, such as *Fátima de los naufragios* and *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*. In both of these works there is a noted tussle between the ascribed vulnerability of their portrayal as a one-dimensional, exoticised and pathetic grieving mother and a physically-threatened and socially marginalised victim respectively and the resilience with which they are imagined as they endeavour to maintain the costume and traditions of their origin and their own 'private lives' amidst an exclusive, voyeuristic and judgemental society. In these portrayals, the noted voyeurism and inclusion of aesthetic detail indicates a public interest in them and, despite their causative or ensuing personal tragedies, their cultural resistance in itself indicates a degree of associated 'fight' and agency, since it points towards their capacity to preserve their migrant identities and to remain visible (if unsatisfactorily represented) in the fabric of Spanish literature and society.

The fact that African women immigration literature is largely an indigenous male-dominated sphere is contradictory to the increasing ratio of African immigrant women in the population. This being said, it is evident that a believable African women perspective cannot be identified or appreciated in texts where voyeuristically-imagined, generic and two-dimensional characters seem simply to sensationalise a storyline, such as in the twin tales *Fátima de los naufragios*. It can therefore be concluded that, in spite of the discussed political progress in postmillennial Spain and the existence of some historical symbiosis, representation of African women immigrants in a significant proportion of this 'testimonio' is still paternalistic and Orientalist, and stereotype and post-colonialist sentiment still pervades the sociological Spanish memory towards this group by casting them as either the mystic

exotic as seen in *Fátima de los naufragios* or the hounded social outcast as seen in *Háblame, musa, de aquel varón*.

The memorable imagery from the works studied reveals the patronising pity of Spanish society and on the ingrained mores of the societies from which they originate, and this imagery also influences reader opinion of the women immigrants themselves. In both visual and literary genres, the characterisation, scene-setting, costume and plots present exoticist tendencies and negate opportunities for more profound exegesis of the woman immigrant experience, which might, more holistically, have given the immigrant characters a voice with which to express their emotions and experience, in the case of *Fátima*, or included them in central protagonism earlier and with less ominous foreshadowing in *Háblame*. As it stands, women are imagined aesthetically as materialistic possession, religious iconography and transient multisensory produce and their instances of greatest involvement are as an afterthought to the storylines and experiences of the white Spanish characters. This type of metaphoric presentation only part-forms the African women persona and leaves them open to interpretation as lacking cultural weight or psychological kudos and therefore even as culturally unevolved ghosts. The effect of this is to switch audience perception from sympathy to empathy and thus to trivialise their contributions, such as Aisha's promising transcultural hosting and interaction and Fátima's apparent ability to catalyse or 'dynamise' change in a Spanish village, with judgmental pity. The suggested Eurocentric sentiment created in these instances extends to non-fiction documentary, where *Extranjeras* elicits another type of hierarchy of consciousness with its contrived postcolonial 'edutainment' narrative. This is significant since it means the African woman immigrant is presented with stereotypically superficial consumerism and fetishistic exoticism and therefore cannot

effectively challenge the liminality and racism they face nor champion feminist progression and the cause of social confluence.

Instances of aesthetic trope are even apparent in the works produced by hybrid immigrant women authors. It is key, however, that in these works, the initially exoticist metaphor for the feminine vulnerability of the women African woman immigrant - that of a fruit, a perfume or an adornment - is more frequently dismantled by subsequent and more memorable images of patriarchal violence, taboo sexuality and the social or academic 'vindication' of the immigrant women. These ideas are visible both where Mimoun's abusive behaviour ruptures the trite melon-preparation metaphor of women solidarity in *El último patriarca* and where Karrouch's autobiographical narrator in *De Nador a Vic* overcomes initial prejudice about clothing, hair and otherness to achieve both academic and sporting success in her new school/country. The effect of this dismantling of the stereotypical metaphor is to shift the focus from postcolonial imagination of formulaic multisensory and sentimental femininity and perishable vulnerability to representative comment on the challenges of the woman immigrant experience. In this way, this presents telling opportunities for illumination of the stark realities of xenophobia and paternalism. The result in both works is that the structural narrative leads to both physiological resistance by El Hachmi's character as she stakes a claim for areligious immigrant women sexual empowerment and to cultural resistance by Karrouch as she resolves, against the odds, to 'become' Catalan/ Spanish in a sociological sense.

Another opportunity for hearing the voice of the African women without the masquerade of scripted and acted film or the aesthetic considerations of characterisation in written novels is via the media of interview, autobiography and documentary film. In the opus, *Extranjeras* shows immigrant women in their most realistic light; however, the effect of

the interviewees being filmed in strictly interior, stereotypically women settings and synthetically encouraged to emphasise the difference of their foods and their reminiscence for a previous 'home' elsewhere again raises the spectre of regressive stereotype and reinforces separation. This is also partially true of the interviews with the Spanish-African authors, El Hachmi and Karrouch, where topics of discussion typically center around symbols of religious distinction such as the hijab, hair and ethnic costume. Indeed, even autobiographies focus on the differences between life in Africa and Spain, and thus represent an ongoing border or boundary between what is 'Spanish' (or Catalan) and what is 'other.' This paradoxically seems to perpetuate vulnerable orientalism, even on the part of the women immigrants themselves and thus reinforces autochthonous male perceptions of the immigrant women's 'otherness.' By laying the emphasis on the visual and spiritual aspects of the central women immigrant's clothes and looks, as opposed to the realities exposed in this new focus on her resilience and resistance, little realistic opportunity for social confluence and equality can be expected.

With regards to representation of Latin American women in the works studied, it can be confirmed that they are characteristically imbued with more supposed sexuality and fetishistic exoticisation than women from the other two places of origin, which, whilst fleetingly empowering, necessarily reduces their worth to the physical. My conclusions as to the reasons for this correspond to some extent with existing scholarship, in that they satisfy the imperialistic Spanish male gaze by simultaneously occupying three assigned roles: postcolonial conquest; object of exotic intrigue and variety; and, uniquely, because their shared historic ancestry makes them more permissible and compatible love interests in the xenophobic bias of paternalistic public opinion. Nevertheless, my research for this thesis raises the revised notion that experience and memory of erstwhile world exploration and

colonial exploitation and the postmodern consequences of it on the horrors faced by immigrants during the processes of immigration imbue inescapable spectres of loss, melancholy and a predisposition to regress. In the scenes presented in *Princesas*, *Flores* and *Cosas* I have shown that these spectres cannot be ignored and my significant realisation is that the obstruction of postcolonial prejudice, memory and guilt can only be overcome and pave the way for retrospective progressive moralising when the physical and psychological abuse against the 'returning' Latin American women character has already taken place. In this way, as suggested in my innovative conceived framework, the Latin American women's voice is heard as a communicator of sociocultural truths, but also a marginalised victim in a society which is reticent to castigate the offending xenophobe or paternalist.

Whilst the represented works and the codes they proffer are varied, I conclude that little realistically changes for Latin American women themselves and their ascribed access to conventional and legal social capital or control, since their place is invariably described as the mother, the homemaker and the apolitical, disenfranchised male subject. In this way, my conclusions point to the fact that my suggested initial roles of (re-)generation and (re-)occupation best describe the experience of characters such as Zulema, Milady and Nena. Furthermore, whilst beginning to present some semblance of women personality in postmillennial Spanish literature, the works featuring Latin American women immigrants with some agency and empowerment are yet interspersed with less credible ones. Perhaps due to conceived requirements to challenge the conventions from premillennial Spanish literature, women authored works in the postmillennial opus, such as *Flores de otro mundo*, do broach such things as stereotypes and taboos for women, however my evidence suggests that they do so at the cost of losing verisimilitude and weakening any potential impact of social commentary about the plight of marginalised women. As a stark extension to this, the

portrayal of the victimhood of the Latin American women in these works still does not afford rigorous treatment of the episodes of subjugation and violence they face, nor demonstrate significant reproach of their male perpetrators. Similarly, the clear intent of filmmakers such as Iñárritu to open the audience's minds to the horrendous realities of the suffering and grief of disempowered Latin American immigrant women results more tellingly in a reversion to the portrayal of a woman being delivered from the poisonous status of an illegal immigrant and a guilty 'missing' mother to that of a sexually desirable but individually deprived and depraved prostitute. This thesis furthermore introduces the notion, mirrored in *Flores de otro mundo*, *Beautiful* and *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* (Aragón, 1998), that Latin American women arrive as aspirational or self-motivated individuals but then immediately find themselves at the mercy of both Spanish male authority figures and, more notably, of Spanish women prostitutes.

My new framework for interpretation of the delimitation of the Latin American woman immigrant within assigned roles as the (re-)generative but personally (re-)occupied, abused and restricted figures in Spanish society highlights their perceived lower status and seems to reconfirm phobias of post-colonialist spectrality and to re-establish chauvinist stereotypes about them being no more than mothers, maids or whores for the (ab)use of the metropolitan male. In this way, the vulnerable and wanton "otherness" of colonialist imaginations of Latin American women immigrants is repositied. Nonetheless, my new foci on the complicity of fellow women, such as Caren in *Princesas*, and especially family members, such as the Aunt figure in *Cosas*, in their perpetuated subjugation or colourist condescension and the trope I have identified of presenting them as mentally unstable (even to the point of gaslighting), serves to hinder social progress and confine the experience of the Latin American women to one of physical and psychological dystopia.

Despite the failure and victimhood of the characters themselves, I offer a new conclusion that the very inclusion of scenes of abuse towards the Latin American women presented in these works signifies a potential turning point within Spanish popular culture towards openness and a conscious determination to confront inequalities and seek progress with these societal issues. This clearly constitutes the chrysalis of a woman immigrant voice. With this voice, role which I have identified of Latin American characters as communicators across the opus allows writers to elucidate and publicise more broadly the social issues faced by immigrant women in Spain. Similarly, regardless of the failures which result in every instance, I add to previous interpretations the judgement that the repeated attempts by Nena (*Cosas*), Zulema (*Princesas*), Milady (*Flores*) and Mirta (*La boda*) to transcend both the economic and the cultural restrictions which they face and to campaign proactively for their individual rights and desires suggests that there is evidence of a movement towards outright emancipation and empowerment of the immigrant women.

Having established the overarching delays or breakdowns in universal assimilation and equality, however, it has been essential to take the threefold approach of analysing immigrant women representation in the opus whilst simultaneously consulting such immigration and employment data as is discussed in this thesis and scrutinising the history of gender and women's rights in Spain and the imaginary of a post-colonial public discourse. Through this method I have noted that progress from the proscription and insularity of Francoism is inevitably going to take time, despite Spain's comparatively recent move to European Union membership and democracy. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, even ten years after Franco, marital rape had still not been criminalised and women immigrants were considered almost exclusively as family reunion cases or at most as a source of sex or domestic service worker (as seen in the films *Princesas* and *Flores de otro mundo*) right up

until the late 1990s. Politically, I propose that much of this slow move towards ‘liberalism’ in Spain as it has moved to occupy a more central position on the world stage takes root in the overt attempts by Spanish governments to win favour and increased power within the European Union, rather than as any marked determination to improve the circumstances of immigrants or as any concerted nationwide move towards unquestioning acceptance of outsiders.

The most notable overall effect of these sociopolitical circumstances on the literary representation of immigrant women is that, even in postmillennial publication, the descriptions and perceived worth of women are more often than not viewed in terms of beauty or sex, and this seems to be further accentuated when representing the immigrant women, who is subject to introduction through the dual prisms of otherness: the foreign and the women. Furthermore, when even beauty and self-determining sexuality are withheld from the representations, as in the case of the Chinese women and some of the African women, disorder, dehumanisation and taboo ensues – either to the extent of rendering the women as themselves morally-bereft (as in *El último patriarca*) or as unsavoury and androgenous cyborgs (as in practically all Chinese representation). This accounts for the observed representational tropes, for example, as alienated figures and as peripheral ghosts. Nevertheless, this research also introduces additional representations of the immigrant women: as non-human, robotic workers; as subordinate vessels for childbearing; as confined domestic workers; as male possessions; and as one-dimensional embodiments of the contrasting expectations of maternal figures.

The conclusions I have arrived at partially match my hypotheses in terms of prejudice and silencing of the woman immigrant voice in the opus. Nevertheless, the extremity of the alienation and vulnerability of the African women, the implications of the unrepressed

violence and mental anguish suffered by the Latin American women and the chronic non-assimilation and complete silencing of the Chinese women go beyond what I expected and introduce stark new commentary on ongoing marginalisation and origin-founded dissymmetry to the existing scholarship.

The revealing conclusion that all immigrant women depicted in these works are either liminal, voiceless, impeded from cultural assimilation and personal success or even abused can leave no doubt that paternalism and xenophobia remain. Furthermore, the fact that I have identified a race-dictated disparity in the treatment of women immigrants in the social discourse which matches or even influences the representations of the women characters and their respective likelihood of achieving fulfilment and happiness in the opus suggests that prejudice plays a central role in their continuing marginalisation.

Therefore, as an indication of sociological status quo and in response to my questions about how clearly the voice of those most peripheral to the traditional centers of power are heard, I can aver that there is much work to do in order for these groups to widely, uniformly and successfully project their voice and for the autochthonous host society to respond more progressively and proactively to it.

The less expected and most unique finding from my research was that representations from all world regions do also present contrasting but undeniable glimpses of resistance, strength and endorsement within the immigrant women portrayal and experience and therefore act as a positive cipher for progress and change. This is all the more hopeful, considering the fact that evidence for this is more apparent in the most recent works, such as *La ciudad feliz* (2009) and *Vis a vis* (2017) and in those produced by newly-popular immigrant women themselves, such as *El último patriarca*. The conclusions to be drawn from

this are that my search for a woman immigrant voice is one which has opened the door to the unexpected additional consideration of the woman immigrant experience in postmillennial Spain as one of increasing empowerment.

Even amidst the silent stereotype and obvious prejudice against the apparently insoluble Chinese immigrant in both the fiction and public/ journalistic discourse, evidence of an envied social and economic resilience is present, and this advances to statements of economic success and agency in *La ciudad feliz* and of innate power in *Vis a vis*, where Chinese women achieve temporary central protagonism in a mainstream cult television series and their characters disrupt proceedings and assert a degree of presence and authority.

My suggested third and fourth roles of communication and emancipation within the Latin American women representation highlight the agency and leadership involved in the characters' determination to travel for work as family breadwinners. Their illicitly empowering counter-culture circumvention of neoliberal state governance in occupying and excelling at undocumented employment via use of their seemingly superior care, cleaning or sexual services suggests a degree of emancipation from their limitations as 'sin papeles.'^{lxxxii} Similarly, despite repeated work and relationship failures, there are indications that their conveyance of messages through their linguistic liaison with Spain, their refusal to conform and their various performances somehow transcend their ongoing subjection to the post-colonialist male gaze and afford them the seeds of a voice in the opus.

This project has, as hypothesised, revealed a previously under-explored tendency to exoticise and mysticise foreign women in the opus. I conclude to this end that, as well as confirming existing scholarship which notes the othering of African women, my closer scrutiny of the aesthetics of alterity also suggests an almost fetishistic interest, which I aver as

evidence of a progressive captivation of the autochthonous interest. Additionally, within the tenacity of resilience against prejudice and pitiable vulnerability a form of eudaimonia and the previously discussed “flourishing” can be described, which might be indicative of anti-racist and feminist resistance and offers a lesser explored conceptualisation of hope for social progress.

The most notable signs of a move towards assimilation and intercultural confluence, however, are to be found in the works (and comparative regional success thereof) of the hybrid Spanish-African authors, El Hachmi and Karrouch, both of whom have won prizes and given associated interviews to the Spanish/ Catalan press in the last ten years. More recently, El Hachmi, a second-generation Moroccan immigrant and an outspoken voice against chauvinism, bigotry and patriarchal religious conservatism, has emerged at the forefront of women narrative in Spanish immigration literature, and in her works such as *El último patriarca*, the empowerment of education, bilingualism and overt women sexuality is afforded to the woman immigrant protagonists. In her books and interviews we are confronted with the harsh realities of paternalism, racist prejudice, extreme domestic abuse and a first-hand women take on the difficulties and repression of being both an immigrant in Spain and a woman within the bounds of male-centric regimes (Moroccan and Spanish). Nevertheless, the reversal of power roles and the conscious breaking of taboo, albeit mainly at the end of *El último patriarca*, the use of cynical and ironic humour and the mastering of regional dialect and culture (in both Moroccan and Spanish society) offer the strongest signs of woman immigrant empowerment in the works studied.

By establishing such findings, my research contributes a resounding conclusion that there is a more personally and realistically representative element to the works produced by women authors with first-hand experience of the challenges of foreign immigration to Spain.

This finding furthermore offers a partially affirmative response to the questions of whether there is more postmillennial cosmopolitanism to the Spanish film production and authorship and whether the publication of women (and immigrant) authors in the last ten years does give more voice to woman immigrant characters, offer more realistic representation and effectively champion interculturalism in the immigration opus. Similarly, I note that both El Hachmi and Karrouch originally wrote in Catalan and published out of Barcelona, so this raises questions about whether there is more regional advancement and divergence in the levels of realism, success and earnest contribution to the immigrant experience and the women voice, and about whether regional centres identify with and are thus more open to works treating the alterity experienced by these characters. Further investigation into the linguistic and political variance of regionalism across a wider opus of works would be required to establish a firm response to this, however that might form part of subsequent onward research.

In relation to my overall conclusions, having reached the end of this project, I believe that it does indeed contribute new and valid scholarship to the corpus of Race, Gender, Hispanic, European and Immigration Studies, adding a timely review of current literature which includes portrayals of very topical human and global concerns. This work offers a first unilateral focus on the uniquely woman immigrant representation and experience in Spain. In so doing, it encompasses a key theoretical crossover between ciphers for racial and gender equality at a time when the fundamental ethos and operation of the European Union is being tested by responses to the recent economic crisis of 2008 and the ramifications of 'Brexit.'

Areas of novelty in my contribution to the associated scholarship include the focus on the response to the Chinese immigrant community in Spain, which, as demonstrated, has remained almost entirely silent in terms of primary production and feature within literary review, and the proposal of new theoretical frameworks through which to explore and

interpret immigrant women representation. The focus on vulnerability and resistance in the eidetic memory of imagined African women experience and the considerations of regeneration and occupation as regards the propinquity of space and the ascription of delimiting roles in the representation of the Latin American woman immigrant also comprise new alternatives to understanding their portrayals.

During the period of research and compilation of this thesis, unpredictable international events and internal Spanish affairs which might have impact on future findings from similar studies have taken place.^{lxxxiii} The most pertinent of these has been the European Migrant Crisis and the subsequent polemic about refugee rights and the respective reception of ‘new Spanish’ people. It is important to note with hindsight that, partly because so much change has occurred in this period, there are certain areas in which I might extend or adapt my research in future projects, taking these global events and developments into consideration.

To this effect, an ongoing focus on representations of marginalised women immigrants from other world regions, such as Eastern Europe and Subcontinental Asia, as well as on other marginalised groups, such as the representations of women victims of domestic abuse, would add interesting and revealing knowledge and help to paint a more complete literary and sociological picture. Additionally, an equally pertinent and intriguing area of future research would focus on variations between these traditional filmic and literary portrayals and alternative representations in social media, fine arts and consumerist advertisement. This would function as a useful foil, since the latter formats represent more immediate and perhaps more raw and unadulterated media, which would reveal both the most contemporary and the most instant and emotional responses to women immigrants in Spanish art and society.

Obstacles which I have encountered in the compilation of this project have included intermittent COVID-19 related global restrictions to physical access to some key studies which I would have liked to include and might thus incorporate in future projects. Additionally, in a current project of this nature which considers works by contemporary writers, the personal nature of some of the issues raised in the research and discussions of inferred response to them does leave opportunity for offense. I can confirm that this effect would never be my intention.

Finally, I would like to conclude by reiterating the most positive of my findings in this research. Albeit latent and dissymmetrical, there is reaffirming evidence of chronological progress to be gleaned from explorations of immigrant women representations in postmillennial Spanish culture, and I conclude that this social progress merits increased attention in future studies of 'Voices from the Periphery.'

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Filmography

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- Cosas que dejé en La Habana*. Directed by Manuel G. Aragón, performances by Jorge Perugorria, Violeta Rodríguez and Kiti Manver, Sogecine and Tornasol Films, 1997.
- El próximo Oriente*. Directed by Fernando Colomo, performances by Javier Cifrián and Nur Al Levi, Sogepaq and Colomo Producciones Cinematográficas. 2006.
- En construcción*. Directed by Jose Luis Guerin, Ovideo, 2001.
- Ex Machina*. Directed by Alex Garland, performances by Alicia Vikander and Oscar Isaac, Universal, 2015.
- Extranjeras*. Directed by Helena Taberna, Lamia Productions, 2003.
- Flores de otro mundo*. Directed by Iciar Bollaín, performances by José Sancho, Luis Tosar, Lissete Mejía and Marilín Torres, Mercury Films, 1999.
- La boda*. Directed by Marina Seresesky, performances by Yailene Sierra, Hui Chi Chiu and Ileana Wilson, Teatro Meridional, 2012.
- Last Tango in Paris*. Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci, performances by Maria Schneider and Marlon Brando, United Artists, 1972.
- Mannequin*. Directed by Michael Gottlieb, performances by Kim Cattrall and Andrew McCarthy, Gladden Entertainment, 1987.
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Coronado, Olmo Films, 2002.

Princesas. Directed by Fernando León de Aranoa, performances by Candela Peña and Micaela

Nevárez, Reposado, 2005.

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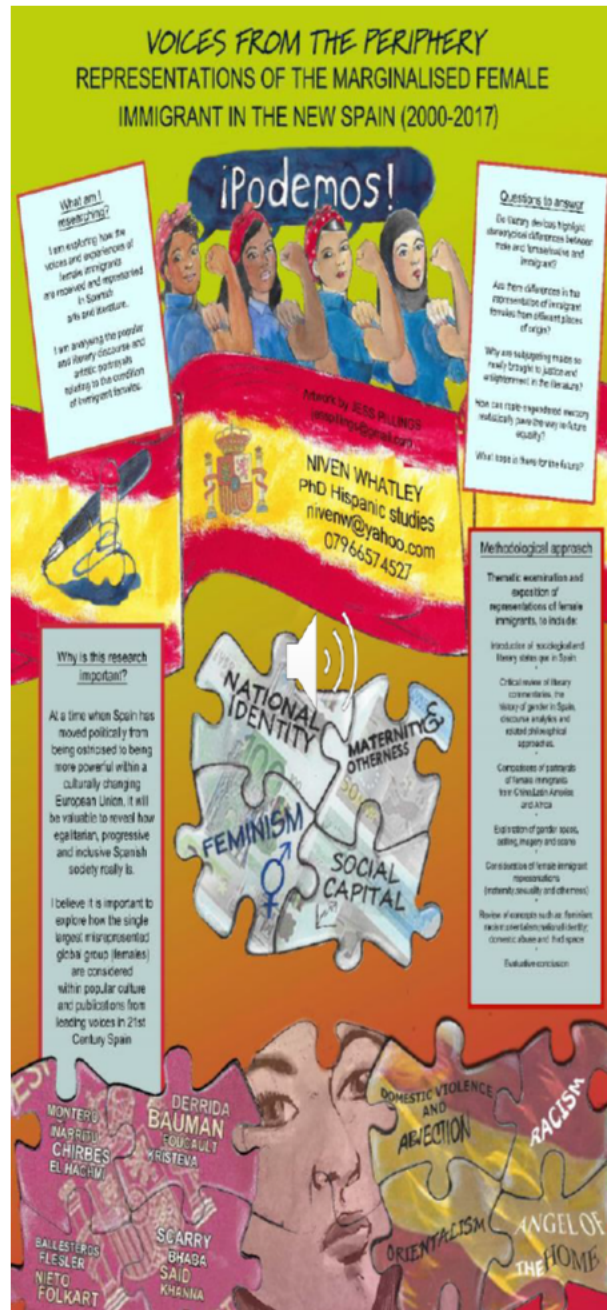
Appendices/ Bound Materials

Appendix 1

Academic Poster Award Winning Presentation

Voices From The Periphery:
Representations of the
Marginalised Female
Immigrant in The New Spain
(2000-2017).

Academic Research Poster
Conference 2018 Presentation



Niven Whatley

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Appendix 2Representations of Chinese Immigrant Women – Published Paper for GCFE 2018Conference, University of Birmingham

- *Throughout the history of Spain's present day 17 autonomous regions, political flux has been the norm and Sephardic Jews, Romans, Carthaginians and Islamic Moors have all at one time settled, governed or been expelled from Iberian lands. In this way it seems to follow that migration and the associated experiences of loss, displacement, bigotry, subjugation and liminality are and have consistently been central to the Spanish psyche and have served as building blocks to both the inclusive fortress and the exclusive frontier of any universal Spanish national identity.*

- *In Aldaraca's El Ángel Del Hogar: Galdós and the Ideology of Domesticity in Spain (1991) she traces the journey of the Spanish dilemma around domesticity and the expected role of the women in Spain. There are sections charting the variations from: Fray Luis de León's 1583 work La perfecta casada; the 18th century bourgeois contemplations of gender roles and home being the heart of the rational family unit; the 19th century obsessions of the mutually exclusive public and private spheres and women's prescribed exclusion from public life; and the problems of domesticity exposed in the works of Galdós, such as La de Bringas and Tristana.*

- *Poetry and plays written by Garcia Lorca at the beginning of the 20th century present quite pointed comment about the repressed sexuality of the women in Spain and the unnatural tensions caused by confinement to social expectation, family honour and predominantly stifled home lifestyles. Perhaps the clearest examples of this can be found in La casa de Bernarda Alba.*

- *Moving through the 20th century and the complex route to power of Franco, the perpetuated pattern of prescribed gender roles continued and, according to True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain: "The Franco regime shared with the Roman Catholic Church a series of assumptions about gender roles and their allegedly 'natural' basis in sexual biology... Work outside the home was at best... as an extension of the woman's domestic role as nurturer and healer. By contrast, the external world of work was regarded as a male sphere." (Morcillo, 2000)*

- *The motifs of social, religious and political repression, xenophobia and patriarchal dominance have reverberated down the ages in Spain and, in comparatively recent memory, Spain was essentially isolationist and was politically ostracised by many of its more progressive and liberal Northern European neighbours, as the country spent 36 years under a military and misogynistic dictatorship. At the time, a common saying which somewhat illumines the views of Spain by more democratic and capitalist countries, suggested that: "África empieza en los Pirineos." (DiFrancesco, 2015)*

- *In spite of the alleged move towards open, democratic, egalitarian and forward-thinking politics in postmillennial Spain, woman immigrant representation in a significant proportion of recent cultural output is still predominantly that of the exotic, the pathetic or the visually fetishistic and spectres of paternalism remain in the sociological mind-set of many people in the country.*

- *In pursuit of a coherent and collective women memory, it is difficult to pinpoint, since the women (perhaps especially the women immigrant) often appears merely voyeuristically, as a generic and two dimensional character whose presence allows the author or commentator to broach just one more trending issue or sensationalise a storyline. This issue is often introduced as one of many, prohibiting the possibility of any lasting reader empathy or intrigue for resolution (as in some of Goytisolo's latter work), and often women narrative itself comprises one amongst many others in a series of varyingly brief introductions of women characters (as in *Los besos en el pan* by Almudena Grandes and the film *Princesas*).*

- *Furthermore, coming from a historically male-dominated literary tradition, there is an overall majority of indigenous male-authored output on feminist and immigrant literature and criticism on works which broach the issues I am researching. This statistic is notable, considering the contradictory sociological data, which points towards an increasing ratio of immigrant women in the population.*

- *This initial observation seems to suggest that would-be women authors, artists, commentators and directors seem largely to "accept the fact of being an outsider, they pose willingly as the "other,"" (Oppermann, 1994). However, with such a variation in the make-up of the authorship, it will prove interesting to investigate whether there are any notable signs to the contrary and whether there is, in fact, a forward-thinking agenda in Spanish literary and artistic output.*
- *Recurrent imagery in the majority of the films and novels studied seems to codify author viewpoints and reveal their underlying sympathies or the ingrained mores of the society from which they present and this imagery also influences reader opinion of the women characters.*
- *In both visual and literary genres, character introductions, scene imagination and evaluative descriptions of women protagonists employ symbolic metaphors, similes and adjectives to poeticise them and the effects of these introductions immediately establish their likelihood or otherwise of success as individuals or as representatives of the women condition in general.*
- *Women are frequently presented in a multisensory manner, either as or alongside material items: thus readers are led to imagine them through the prism of tropical fruits, exotic foods, perfumes, possessions, colourful clothing and religious iconography. One effect of this allegory, whether intentional or otherwise, is to cast women in a capitalist, consumerist world, where they are*

either shell-like shoppers without moral depth and independent gravitas or, more often, items to be consumed and cast aside.

- *In many such instances, women characterisation, embarked upon through the lens of the consumerist goods and the false hopes of capitalist consumerism, halts without giving them true personal embodiment and attention switches back to the male experience.*
- *Of all major demographic groups within the immigrant population in Spain the least represented within media and literature is the Chinese.*
- *Despite a longstanding, continuous and increasingly populous presence within Spanish society in the last hundred years, acceptance, understanding and assimilation of Chinese citizens has remained almost entirely invisible and a tacit sinophobia seems to pervade public sentiment and literary discourse.*
- *The Chinese women is even further removed from representation within filmic output and excluded from visible opportunities for cultural confluence and political agency, restricted as they are to portrayals as disenfranchised and disembodied workers in *Biutiful* and silent cameos or even just passing mention in films such as *El próximo Oriente* and *Tapas*.*
- *In postmillennial fiction, Chinese women are limited to Spanish-authored, stereotypical and awkwardly caricatured appearances in *Cosmofobia* and *Los**

besos en el pan, and they only appear as central or partially empowered

characters in Elvira Navarro's La ciudad feliz (2009).

- *Other literary representations are principally only to be found in non-fiction outputs with economic and sociological commentary, such as Ángel Villarino's Adónde van los chinos cuando mueren (2012), Gladys Nieto's The Chinese in Spain (2003) and Cindy Wong's critical article, The Chinese Who Never Die: Spectral Chinese and Contemporary European Cinema (2012). As an additional observation here, it is interesting to note that these titles themselves point towards two characteristics of the Chinese woman immigrant representation: the swarm-like imagery of "los chinos" as a singular, faceless, generic entity and their spectral liminality to Spanish society.*
- *In themselves, this paucity of imagined cultural centrality and the notable absence of Chinese-authored novels point towards a separation or exclusion from the Spanish social mainstream and a liminalising differentiation between white, native Spanish and immigrant Chinese women. However, there are also discernable, but previously unexplored motifs within the characterisation, commentary and imagery surrounding their inclusions across these media.*
- *Across all the aforementioned representations, Chinese immigrant women are afforded infrequent individuality, are heavily stereotyped in the majority of films, novels, journalistic articles and online fora and are imagined severally as: ghosts; social isolationists; suspicious watchers; a faceless work-force; cyborgs or robots; gender non-specific androgynes; illegal, mercenary profiteers; objects of suspicion;*

plagues of number; aliens; thieves and complicit usurpers in the financial crisis; ornamental figurines or one-dimensional cartoons; gangsters; silent masses; and disaffected mothers.

- *In Beautiful the role of the Chinese women immigrants is that of the voiceless “sin papeles,” existent as mere functionaries in their own quintessentially impersonal bare life. The group of Chinese immigrants in the film are imagined as an assemblage of worker drones, devoid of individuality, emotion or economic agency. They are confined in near-derelict buildings, under the direction of amoral gangsters and within the dystopian maze of Barcelona’s capitalist underworld and the hopeless, paternalistic profiteering of Uxbal’s guardianship.*
- *Almudena Grandes’s representation of Chinese women in Los besos en el pan focuses repeatedly on their doll-like physical appearance and quasi-racialist observations about the similarity in their straight, black hair and even their actions. Whilst effort is made to afford them more detailed and descriptive introductions and to broadcast their imagined voices, these efforts instead lead more towards facile stereotype and reiteration of racial differences. Similarly, rather than create a central, unique and empowered persona for the Chinese women, the depiction of two or more characters together and the inferred commentary about their physical similarities leaves an image of numerous, unidentifiable foreigners.*

- *Fernando Colomo's 2006 film, El próximo Oriente, depicts Chinese immigrants as silent mule-like workers, carrying out the city's 'dirty work' and offering no active or spoken involvement in proceedings. This is particularly interesting, considering the fact that the word "oriente" brings Chinese imagery to the mind of the viewer. In a film in which cultural assimilation plays a central, if hackneyed part, it is a stark observation that the Chinese are still separated and liminal. An additional observation is that the Chinese seen are all viewed from the darkness of doorways, or as expressionless, voyeuristic passers-by in the streets, watching the protagonists suspiciously, in an almost sinister fashion. These repeated visions of Chinese immigrants either as voiceless, caricatured "objets d'interesse" or alternatively as silent, liminal watchers strips them of human personality and repositions them as inanimate curios.*

- *In Cosmofobia, Etxebarria's characters' obsession with the cost, quality and deceptive appearance of Hong Kong or Chinese produced fake designer handbags introduces affiliations between Chinese imports and an inextricable link to concepts of finance, money and therefore profit. Furthermore, by mentioning fake feminine Chinese imports within the "arrival city" setting of Lavapiés, it could be said that she is making political comment about the spurious intentions of Chinese women immigrants themselves.*

- *La ciudad feliz presents a somewhat contrasting view. In these narratives, the Chinese "madre" and "abuelastra" wield a degree of financial power and*

familial control unseen in the other literature, albeit siphoned and diluted from the enigmatic, entrepreneurial and silently controlling “abuelo.” Their efforts are recognised as key to the success of the dynastic roast chicken restaurant and they seem to be permitted to make decisions and bypass the secondary male figure of the “padre.” This makes for interesting comparison and unity of representation later in this discussion.

- *In her Manifesto for Cyborgs (1985), Donna Haraway introduces the posthumanist conceit that humans, when interacting in or influenced by technologically-affected circumstances, merge into part-human-part-machine cyborgs. She describes this phenomenon as “indeterminacy” and “intersectionality.” The theory presented supposes that the boundaries between organic, human life and artificial intelligence or machine become fluid, as each depends on, influences and thereby interacts with the performance of the other in a quasi-symbiotic moment of existence.*
- *In this notion, the supremacy of the machine emerges as the human’s dependence on or use of it increases and the triumph of man over machine occurs whenever the machine is switched off, becomes less visible or ceases to hold sway over their actions.*
- *In the Spanish immigration opus, instances of human-machine cyborg interaction tend to be minimal, except in the portrayals of Chinese women immigrants. Whereas the emphatic imagery associated with the majority of*

women immigrants is associated with the sexualized, fetishistic or damaged human body or with some degree of spirituality, Chinese women are more often seen in spaces and circumstances 'controlled' by machines.

- *They are pictured severally alongside: hairdressing tools and equipment (Los besos en el pan); chicken-roasting ovens (La ciudad feliz and Los besos en el pan); shackled to sweatshop sewing machines in the textile mass-production industry (Cosmofobia); pushing a cart along the street (El próximo Oriente); in rooms with the background drone of formulaic television programmes (Biutiful); or in enclosed industrial warehouses with broken-down heaters for comfort and survival (Biutiful).*
- *This observation suggests that the association between human women and tools or technology addressed by Haraway is pertinent to the representation of the Chinese women in Spain. Nevertheless, Haraway ends her essay with her feminist declaration that she "would rather be a cyborg than a goddess." The presupposition here is that an empowered postmodern women would be better advised to seize futuristic techno-humanity and the ability to use technology to control matters in her own life as an existence than to be the disempowered submissive or the stereotypical aesthetically pleasing but essentially hollow women doll of patriarchal, postcolonial subjugation.*
- *From a feminist viewpoint, this cyborg existence could indeed be said to offer hope of empowerment to the women immigrant. An ability to switch between*

human and machine in order to manipulate one's surroundings and to 'use' the power of tools and technology to help garner some human potency or parity for oneself is certainly more appealing than the alternative. Indeed, the very option of moving between human and machine offers a broader scope of life opportunity, since the woman immigrant can select to either be Haraway's "goddess" or her "cyborg."

- *With relation to the Chinese women immigrant, however, there is no matriarchal goddess-like past existence to compare to, so the resounding conclusion here is that they are predestined to be cyborgs. Furthermore, they are portrayed almost relentlessly alongside, under the control of and as cyborgs, without the human side of the intersectionality or even the aforementioned opportunities to choose between the women human stereotype or the role of the cyborg.*

- *In this way, they could be described as appearing purely as robots, rather than as semi-human cyborgs, and therefore as being entirely devoid of personality or personal agenda. This suggestion re-emphasises the bleakness of their existence and the impersonality of their representations within postmillennial Spanish discourse and output.*

- *With such minimal and illusory representation in the Spanish arts, media and literature, exploration of the representations of Chinese women within established theoretical frameworks at first seem inappropriate, however I*

propose that one key question regarding their portrayal and existence leads towards a more global suggestion. That question is: what are the intrinsic reasons for this extreme alienation and alterity of representation?

- *If the prerogative has been to dehumanise the Chinese women in Spain, we can begin to talk about this as a mass conduit towards institutionalised racism, since dehumanisation is the primary indications of racist tendencies and historically the primary excuse for them.*

- *Such observable traits within society as suspicion, jealousy, reference to exaggerated physical differentiation and media-generated apocryphal tales relating to a race of people would suggest that racism pervades, however the literary representations are less explicit and more complex than pure racism.*

- *Whilst orientalist imagery is witnessed within the literature and cultural ignorance is visible to some degree within both left and right wing press reports, I posit that there must be other explanations for the emergence of widely-held views that Chinese immigrants live purely to work, are always present in huge numbers, never die and are never seen to seek state benefits or bank loans, regardless of the financial crises faced by the general populace.*

- *There are simple, contradictory responses to these preconceptions and urban myths: the social segregation initiated by both host and immigrant dictates that the majority of instances in which native Spanish people will encounter*

Chinese immigrants will be in the public arena, and therefore in the places of work which are indeed frequented by Spanish people (restaurants, shops and centres of public works); the Chinese account for a reasonably large percentage of the recently established immigrant population and Chinese are, in fact, the most populous nation generally; the greatest influx of Chinese immigrants has only been a fairly recent phenomenon, with mainly working-age newcomers or child dependants, so comparatively few have reached the age of dying as yet; and, critically, they originally come from a family-centric, traditional, recently isolationist and strongly Communist country.

- *The importance of this last detail potentially lies in the fact that state benefits have not formed a part of their previous socioeconomic options and political ideologies (both of the traditional family variety and the established party politics) have inscribed the centrality of community, workmanship and taciturn acceptance of one's duties into the overarching psyche of the current and previous generation.*
- *In migrating to Europe, Chinese women have taken themselves out of this supposedly class-less and self-less society and into the realms of egocentric, consumerist capitalism.*
- *In-so-doing, they have removed themselves from being the China dolls, oversexualised and silent colonial submissives of history and have achieved a form*

of economic success within their regional and familial groups in the midst of a culture that no longer values, nor remembers, the same communal mores.

- *Perhaps this is why there is a lack of understanding and evidence of an innate suspicion within filmic and literary depictions of the Chinese women in Spain.*

- *Now Chinese women contrarily represent both a target for racist and orientalist bigotry and suspicion and an image of personal success seemingly unassailable by autochthonous Europeans.*

Appendix 3

Published website and Round-Table Project for which I was Research Assistant, Co-Organiser and Translator, along with Dr. Emma Wagstaff, University of Birmingham.

Protest in Print – Please also see website - www.protestinprint.co.uk

'1968 in Reviews'

How do creative writers respond to protest? The late 1960s and early 1970s saw unrest across European countries and beyond. For writers, journals and reviews offered a means of responding rapidly to what they were experiencing. From student uprisings in Paris to the rejection of segregation in the USA, from repression in Eastern Europe to the Troubles in Northern Ireland, '1968' was more than a year of events, but rather a period of change with historical roots that extended back into the late 1950s beyond, and forward into the 1970s, with repercussions still today.

There has been much discussion of '1968', its causes and its consequences, in different places and from various perspectives, with anniversaries offering new lenses through which to view events. This website is the online version of an [exhibition](#) taking place in Birmingham in September-October 2019, at [Impact Hub, Digbeth](#), on 16 September, and subsequently on the Edgbaston campus at the [University of Birmingham](#). The exhibition focuses on the literary and cultural review, and it brings together examples of reviews or journals from different countries and languages. The reviews on display are not representative of the places in which they appeared, but rather offer snapshots of what writers, editors, and sometimes artists thought was important.

With digital communications increasingly dominating cultural conversations today, these reviews remind us of the power, the potential, and perhaps the limitations of the printed form. Some reviews were distributed by established publishing houses, some were produced by editors familiar with fine art processes, and others are the result of a dedicated editor at home with a typewriter, or young activists with improvised printing presses. Reviews may be by their nature ephemeral, but they bring vividly to life the hopes and frustrations of a generation, and their material form endures.

The project is part of a [series of activities](#) generously supported by the British Academy and Leverhulme Trust. Photographs of reviews are supplied by the British Library, the University Library, Cambridge, the Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, and the Archivio Luciano Caruso. Thanks are due to members of staff at these institutions and to Impact Hub, Birmingham. The photographs were printed by Streamline Imaging, Cambridge, and the information panels by Creative Media, University of Birmingham. The organiser is grateful for the assistance of the following individuals: Katie Blair, Peter Finch, Sara Jones, Abdellatif Laâbi, Rainer Langhans, Emanuela Patti, Ellen Pilsworth, Sonia Puccetti, Mererid Puw Davies, Chris Reynolds, Andy Stafford, Dean Sygrove, Lynn Wadding, and especially Niven Whatley, who undertook much of the research on the locations described here.

Notes

ⁱ Said observes a recurrent and wide-ranging tendency amongst Western colonial nations, artists, historians and authors to stereotype the East and represent it with diminutive mysticism and some inferiority. He proposes instead that “all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic.” (xxv). In this way, his own concept of “Orientalism” varies from but is associated with the artistic orientalist movement.

ⁱⁱ Throughout the history of Spain’s present-day 17 autonomous regions, political flux has been the norm and Sephardic Jews, Romans, Carthaginians and Islamic Moors have all at one time settled, governed or been expelled from Iberian lands. In this way it seems to follow that migration and the associated experiences of loss, displacement, bigotry, subjugation and liminality are and have consistently been central to the Spanish psyche and have served as building blocks to both the inclusive fortress and the exclusive frontier of any universal Spanish national identity.

Following the Medieval period, ruling and mercantile classes in Spain enjoyed a so-called ‘Golden Age’ of arts, discovery and social fortunes as Ferdinand and Isabella united large parts of the country into a Catholic entity, expelled other ethnicities of inhabitant, commissioned explorations and conquests of ‘new’ territories and reigned over the beginning of an age of increased artistic output.

The Spanish Inquisition, with its repressive, single creed agenda, pseudo-religious zeal and brutality, together with intensely patriarchal dogma surrounding the social roles and expectations of the populace, and women in particular, sowed the seeds for a situation whereby, of all the dozens of world famous historical figures who produced portraits, poetry, plays and architecture or who made world changing discoveries, only a handful (such as María de Zayas y Sotomayor and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz) were openly female or foreign. Similarly, representations of immigrants were almost entirely distrusting, pejorative and ridden with stereotypical hyperbole, and within this, the appearance of (either long-suffering or passive) female immigrants was more often than not limited to roles as prostitutes, servants or mystic outsiders, as is discussed in Harriet Goldberg’s *Sexual Humour in Misogynist Medieval Exempla* (1983).

In Aldaraca’s *El Ángel Del Hogar: Galdós and the Ideology of Domesticity in Spain* (1991) she traces the journey of the Spanish dilemma around domesticity and the expected role of the female in Spain. There are

sections charting the variations from: Fray Luis de León's 1583 work *La perfecta casada*; the 18th century bourgeois contemplations of gender roles and home being the heart of the rational family unit; the 19th century obsessions of the mutually exclusive public and private spheres and women's prescribed exclusion from public life; and the problems of domesticity exposed in the works of Galdós, such as *La de Bringas* and *Tristana*. Poetry and plays written by Garcia Lorca at the beginning of the 20th century present quite pointed comment about the repressed sexuality of the female in Spain and the unnatural tensions caused by confinement to social expectation, family honour and predominantly stifled home lifestyles. Perhaps the clearest examples of this can be found in *La casa de Bernarda Alba*. Moving through the 20th century, however, and the complex route to power of Franco, the perpetuated pattern of prescribed gender roles continued and, according to *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*: "The Franco regime shared with the Roman Catholic Church a series of assumptions about gender roles and their allegedly 'natural' basis in sexual biology... Work outside the home was at best... as an extension of the woman's domestic role as nurturer and healer. By contrast, the external world of work was regarded as a male sphere." (Morcillo, 2000)

The Early Modern preconceptions of restrictive and confining interior female gender space and the limitations thereof thus appear to recur throughout the 20th century and are still visible in millennial films, such as *Flores de otro mundo*. In the film, Milady fails to conform to the traditional Spanish image of the domesticated female as the "Ángel del hogar" and her punishment takes the form of gender violence and eventual expulsion to the realms of isolation and uncertainty.

The motifs of social, religious and political repression, xenophobia and patriarchal dominance have reverberated down the ages in Spain and, in comparatively recent memory, Spain was essentially isolationist and was politically ostracised by many of its more progressive and liberal Northern European neighbours, as the country spent 36 years under a military and misogynistic dictatorship. At the time, a common saying which somewhat illumines the views of Spain by more democratic and capitalist countries, suggested that: "África empieza en los Pirineos." (DiFrancesco, 2015)

Whilst Francoist rhetoric also propounded the commonality of Spaniard with Moroccan, the instances of this empathy were largely markers of his manipulation of people towards his political purposes. Public attitudes towards outsiders were extremely suspicious and propaganda pointed towards foreign female lasciviousness and the superiority of rigid, hard-working, misogynistic Spanish males. Even the values afforded to the North African immigrant were openly masculine ones. Despite even this isolated purported tolerance on Franco's part,

the imagination of Moroccans, which continued into and beyond the latter period of his dictatorship, and which Flesler explores in *The Return of the Moor*, is that of the invading, violent and malicious other.

ⁱⁱⁱ In the blurred imaginations between national identity-forming history and myth, King Rodrigo (Visigoth King of Hispanic 710-712) allegedly raped Florida La Cava, daughter of Count Julián. His kingdom was thereafter punished for his political aggression by Julián's subsequent allegiance with the North African Moors, leading to the eventual Moorish subjugation of southern Spain and the recurrent representations of sexually-charged immigrant invasions. Most notable to this research is the fact that the lasting Spanish psyche is founded upon memories of suspicion against both the immigrant and female protagonists in the story and not castigation of the domestic violence of the perceived autochthonous male king.

Flesler notes this blurring of boundaries between ingrained and questionable historical memories of Moorish invasions in AD 711 and reports in 2002 of remembered and renewed racism against innocent immigrants in El Egido following the murder of a local girl by a Moroccan, noting that "Moroccan immigrants, in the Spanish collective imaginary, thus become the embodiment of everything there is to fear from their history, the ghosts of a past that has not stopped haunting them, the return of the repressed. (Flesler, 2008, 80)

As the local population rallied violently against the immigrant community as a whole, the incident at El Egido revealed a deep and burgeoning jealousy and mistrust of the North African immigrants and, instead of seeking individual justice for the sexual violence suffered by a Spanish female in one instance, the violent protests became political rejection of the already-repressed outsiders. This exemplifies that the dual marginalisation of both the female and the immigrant persist in the public consciousness of traditional, rural Spain.

Related national news reports in *El País* from the date of the atrocities in El Egido show the worthlessness and intolerance assigned to the immigrant population, as well as the complicit passivity of the government and the bias of recrimination against the foreigner: "El asesinato de Encarnación López y la posterior detención del presunto criminal habían dado paso la víspera a una noche de pánico en la que los inmigrantes fueron objeto de violentas escenas de acoso por parte de numerosos vecinos... Pero no se practicó ni una sola detención, salvo la de un inmigrante marroquí... El alcalde, Juan Enciso (PP), incapaz de serenar los ánimos, pedía en declaraciones a Efe más policía para "controlar a personas que pueden infundir sospechas." "Somos la puerta de África y es

imposible controlar a todas estas personas que entran ilegalmente,” dijo.”

[https://elpais.com/diario/2000/02/07/espana/949878022_850215.html]

^{iv} During the 1990s, the Spanish market took advantage of (largely African male) immigrant populations, and, although there have been fluctuations between upwards and downwards trends in all migration, there were some periods (1990-2007) with exceptionally high net inbound migration. [See Table 1 and Table 2].

^v Over the past four decades, Spain has emerged from Franco’s dictatorship and, as a modern and democratic nation state, Spain comprises 17 distinct regions, where 4 different languages predominate and in Catalonia and the Basque Country and to a lesser extent, Galicia, the fierce regional identity is often foremost in comparison to feelings of a national Spanish identity. Nevertheless, the market presence of authored material in Spain still points towards Castilian predominance and, within this, male-authored works considerably outnumber those written by women.

^{vi} Rodriguez notes that the most commercially successful and popularly-read female authors, such as Etxebarria and Grandes, as well as being native to Spain, feel that they have to use social media and overtly crass marketing techniques to establish parity for the reception of their work with the contemporary output of male authors.

^{vii} Furthermore, most winners of prizes for literature are still middle-aged men who were born in Spain, despite the more recent successes of Najat El Hachmi.

^{viii}

- “Miles de subsaharianas que intentan llegar a España malviven atrapadas en Marruecos
- En el camino quedan atadas a las mafias o tienen que depender de 'falsos maridos'
- Los marroquíes no quieren contratarlas porque no les gusta el color de su piel
- Suelen tardar entre dos y tres años en llegar a su destino y son violadas en el viaje
- Son víctimas de trata y explotación sexual y laboral pero muy pocas lo denuncian
- Richa: 'Si hubiera sabido que iba a vivir esta tortura, jamás hubiera salido de mi país'”

^{ix} In the transition years from Franco dictatorship to the mid-1980s, the xenophobic and restrictive *1978 constitution* and then the highly policed *Aliens Act* of 1985 were adhered to with regards to the lower rates of

inbound migration to Spain. This law was generated at a time when there was no significant immigration to Spain.

In 1985, the first *Ley de Extranjería* took effect, which focused more on controlling numbers of entrants to the country, than on stating rights and access to labour markets [<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/spain-forging-immigration-policy>] (Ortega Pérez, 2003). As this law came into effect, it acted more as a conduit to establishing civic order and delimiting the opportunities of the immigrants than as a provision of political opportunity and social acceptance and there were no inclusions regarding the subsequent rights of female immigrants, either as independent settlers or through family reunification.

There were subsequent amendments in 1996, to include allowing access to civilian, educational and employment rights and then in 1998 three separate parties (*Izquierda Unida*, *Convergencia I Unió*, and *Grupo Mixto*) agreed to pass the *Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Integration*. The details of this agreement are laid out in *Spain: Forging an immigration policy* (Pérez, 2003). The *Partido Popular* then won an elected majority and passed *Law 8/2000* in 2001, which adapted the terms and added the strands of work and residency permits.

On the other hand, according to *Focus Migration*, [<http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Spain-Update-08-200.5420.0.html?&L=1>]: “While the law has remained unchanged, the new regulations on implementation passed at the end of 2004 were significantly more liberal in nature.” Furthermore, the current political guidance, still widely referring to arrivers as “Foreigners” directs prospective new Spanish nationals to a website [<http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/ServiciosAlCiudadano/InformacionParaExtranjeros/Paginas/Inicio.aspx>] which was last updated on 01/01/2013 and which instructs them to “apply for a foreigner identity card.” Here the differentiation between European and “other” immigrant is implicit and we see the recurrent symbolism of the restrictive “papeles” in evidence.

^x According to data from *Focus Migration*: “Spanish citizenship law has been amended several times in recent years (1982, 1990, 1995 and 2002). Unfortunately, all of these reforms have had nothing to do with the immigration issue or the facilitation of immigrant integration in general.” (www.focus-migration.hwwi.de, 2008).

^{xi} However, these representations and their implications also have correlations with philosophies dating from as far back as Aristotle's philosophies on the two sides of man "bios" and "zoê"; a notion which, while at first glance seems surprising, speaks to the enduring tribulations of women and migrants and which will therefore mean that this subject matter requires robust contemplation against a profundity of complex scholarship and opinion.

^{xii} I propose that this theory extends and adapts the psychological theories of Vygotsky concerning "zones of proximal development" (1978, 1) and the tenets of social interaction between two people or parties. Vygotsky theorises that human sociocultural intelligence and learning are generated by social interactions and a communicative exchange within a learning space.

^{xiii} The quasi-personification of both urban and rural space as the jailor, antagonist and tormentor of the immigrant women is seen clearly in both *Beautiful* and *Flores de otro mundo*. Indeed, although neither Barker nor any other commentator picks up on it, the title of *Flores de otro mundo* potentially hints at ambiguity of spatiality and aesthetics. Whereas the indefinite Spanish phrase "otro" in "flores de otro mundo" can suggest 'another,' with the associated imagery of an ethereal and illusory beauty of the women as flowers with desirable otherworldliness, the use of the definite article in English in "flowers from the other world" can also be taken as a translation. This then suggests that there is only one other world; that of 'New World' colonised by Spanish males. This apparently minor linguistic variation therefore confines the women "flores" within a sphere historically dominated by the autochthonous male and simultaneously this causes the word "flores" itself to appropriate inferences of the women immigrants being the fruit or produce of Spanish-owned lands and flowers for their sexual plucking.

^{xiv} In Chapter Five of *The Return of the Moor*, Daniela Flesler discusses "testimonio" as a genre of millennial Spanish immigration literature, written in the style of an "ethnographic performance" (163) to construct immigrants as "subalterns to be interviewed, analyzed, and written about by Spaniards, in an attempt to represent an 'accurate picture' of what their lives are like." Flesler suggests that this "testimonio" is a "less-than-successful effort to 'give voice' to the immigrants by using the testimonial genre." (163). The paradoxical effect of this literary method is to perpetuate the implication that immigrants are, indeed, subaltern and to further limit

their opportunities for voice. All ongoing quotes or references to “testimonio” in this thesis will, thus, be with this interpretation of the term, and should not be confused with other translations, such as ‘testimony,’ ‘witness,’ or ‘narration.’

^{xv} Dino Felluga refers to Kristeva’s abjection as, “human reaction (horror, vomit) to a threatened breakdown in meaning caused by the loss of the distinction between subject and object or between self and other.”

(www.cla.purdue.edu, 2002).

^{xvi} Tragic news reports about economic migrants lost at sea, works with titles such as *Voces del estrecho*, critical studies such as Flesler’s *Return of the Moor* and scenes of ghostly apparitions in *Biutiful* all speak to a repeated spectrality. There is a familiar but uncomfortable feeling to this political and literary status quo, in which the capitalist power-holders of the new Europe, rather than engaging with lessons from their own heterogeneous compilation or from their colonial past, instead repel from it and abandon the female immigrant to the abyss. The female immigrants are converted into either the ghosts witnessed by Uxbal in *Biutiful*, the haunting memories of photographs, the mystical convenor of *Fátima de los naufragios* or the exile with uncertain destiny, as presented by Milady in *Flores de otro mundo*.

^{xvii} This suggestion raises another dilemma within immigrant women’s representation – that the fetishization, subjection and scarring of their *bodies* (see earlier notes on the thought of Mulvey, Kristeva and Scarry) represents one of the fundamental physical interpretations of their conceived valorisations, and yet the disenfranchisement which they face simultaneously disembodies them in a metaphoric sense.

^{xviii} Flesler’s preoccupation with the ghostliness of immigrants and the inherent “melancholia” of their existence and their portrayals leads her to quote Freud’s theory on mourning, in relation to Derrida’s spectres (95) and she quotes from Andrés Sorel’s *Las voces del estrecho*, in which migrant voices declare themselves to be actually dead: “no podemos morir, sólo pensamos.” (Sorel, 2000).

^{xix} National identity is referred to here as the prevailing vision of ‘Spanishness’ and the accepted memory of a common history and ancestry which has forged this imagination of a Spanish identity.

^{xx} With reference to exoticism and fetishism in the film *Princesas*, Vega-Durán suggests that, “the images that *Princesas* gives viewers through the gaze of the Spanish women transport us to the nineteenth century and its racial representations of human difference.” (138).

^{xxi} Foucault lists six principles of the theoretical heterotopia, which are as follows:

1. Heterotopias exist, either as sacred, forbidden or deviant places in all societies.
2. Heterotopias each have defined functions within society, whether to house ostracised people or to confine exiled people.
3. Heterotopias are fluid in nature and can ‘juxtapose’ different individual people and spaces, without necessarily allowing confluence.
4. Specific heterotopias are associated with different specific moments in time.
5. Heterotopias are both continuously open to some people and closed to others.
6. Heterotopias act as either imagined reflections of perfect realities or as realities which reflect the imperfections of various other realities.

^{xxii} Studies by the following additional authors also comprise key articles and journals relating to immigration literature in Spain:

Nieto – *The Chinese in Spain* – critical reflections on perceived financial success of Chinese immigrant;

Wong – *The Chinese Who Never Die: Spectral Chinese and Contemporary European Cinema* – observations regarding the liminality and prejudice in representations of Chinese immigrants.

Folkart - *Liminal Fiction at the Edge of the Millennium: The Ends of Spanish Identity* - crucial treatise on feminisation of contested historical space.

Leone – *Narrating Immigration, Gendered Spaces and Transnational Feminism in Lucía Etxebarria’s Cosmofobia (2007)* – Key work which establishes ideas of representative spatiality in immigrant women narratives.

Ballesteros – *Embracing the Other: the Feminization of Spanish Immigration Cinema* – seminal work on the perceived roles of on-screen immigrant women in Spain.

Tienza-Sánchez – *La reescritura de la subjetividad femenina en las obras de Dulce Chacón, Lucía Etxebarria and Najat El Hachmi* – key exploration of women subjectivity in immigration literature.

^{xxiii} The Communist Chinese “Socialist Party Lines” of the period since 2004, despite having been amended to allow for economic growth in Hu Jintao’s “Three Represents,” are described by Jia Hepeng as being “still identical to the traditional socialist dogmas that the CCP claim to hold” concerning wealth-sharing across all in society and “hard work” of the Party and People and the “inevitable conversion” of Capitalists into Communists. (2004, 2-6). This is a societal system and political ideology entirely incongruent with that of Spain’s neoliberal crisis-time strategy, which was, as Moreno-Caballud suggests: “obedience to the ‘experts’ of the Troika (the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission, the European Central Bank), bailouts of financial entities, prioritizing payment of the public debt over social spending and ... public services.” (2015, 1-2). There is, then, scope for a confrontation of both the two contradictory economic systems and two juxtaposing cultures. This, in the first instance, is likely to present obstacles for confluence, both to the arriving immigrants and to the recipient Spanish communities. In turn, I also propose that this status quo is predisposed to prevent the complete societal assimilation of one of the larger Chinese expatriate communities in the European Union and one of the most numerous immigrant groups in Spain itself.

^{xxiv} These figures are, however, on the verge of diminishing in the COVID-19 pandemic, owing both to the lack of opportunity for trading in shops and restaurants and to reaction to the growing anti-Chinese sentiment which is contested in the #NoSoyUnVirus movement.

^{xxv} This idea is extant in the construction sites in *Biutiful* and through dialogue between autochthonous women prisoners in the television prison series *Vis a Vis*.

^{xxvi} It might be generalised that whereas postcolonial male subjectivity of women by imperialists from Britain, France and the Netherlands centres on Asian women, the equivalent lust, which I am labelling as the ‘Spanish postcolonial fetish’ focuses on the women from Latin America, where their own ancestors historically conquered and commodified the land, the people and, most importantly, the women.

^{xxvii} Such as Ángel Villarino-Pérez's *Adónde van los chinos cuando mueren* (2012), Gladys Nieto's *The Chinese in Spain* (2003) and Cindy Wong's critical article, *The Chinese Who Never Die: Spectral Chinese and Contemporary European Cinema* (2012). As an additional observation here, it is interesting to note that these titles themselves point towards two of the previously discussed mythical stereotypes of the Chinese woman immigrant representation: the swarm-like imagery of "las chinas" (eg in *Los besos en el pan*, 43) as a singular, faceless, generic entity and their spectral liminality to Spanish society; and their suspiciously inhuman 'immortality.'

^{xxviii} More subtly and profoundly, DiFrancesco (2015, 32) notes that the two most prominent paternal figures in *Biutiful*, Uxbal and his father, both carry vestiges of an illusory foreign past. Uxbal's name exudes something of an indigenous Central American background and the actor cast as his father is a Spaniard with Moroccan ancestry and a Muslim name (Nasser Saleh Ibrahim). That these two figures are therefore in some way foreign and imbued with transience and a touch of Hispanic magic realism seems important, since they are also chronically out of place in the urban world of Barcelona and destined to die young. Whilst these characters may be male, their foreign links and the tragedy surrounding even them reinforces the theme of the immigrant in crisis. Interestingly, included with the DVD version of *Biutiful* are Director's notes, interviews with cast and crew and trailers and none of these emphasises the importance of the African female to the plot or the outcome nor the decision to cast someone of North African descent as a spectral father figure.

^{xxix} *Tapas* (Cruz and Corbacho, 2005) is a short Spanish film which depicts a tapas bar in Spain and the public versus private experiences and prejudices of the comically-depicted Chinese barman employee and the brash, xenophobic Spanish owner. In line with Begin's suggestion, the males in these postmillennial texts could be seen to be sexually corrupted and to thus occupy such feminised roles and to 'become' females, as their representation sways abruptly from embodiments of stereotypical Chinese gangster antagonists from ultraviolent Kung Fu fighters in films such as the *Fu Manchu* franchise (Sharp, 1965-9), to frustrated homosexuals. I would therefore argue that this precludes both from uttering contributory social comments and from holding central gravitas. In this way, *Tapas*'s Chinese male character is depicted as a two-dimensional and effeminate Bruce Lee lookalike and his girlfriend does not even get the screen time afforded to the Chinese females in *Biutiful*. In Donovan's *Se rien de la crisis*, she discusses parallel theories on Spanish masculinities as having been deconstructed in films such as *Tapas*. In the film it seems clear that the representation of the pathetic Chinese barman, Mao, is an open

slight against the erstwhile Communist Chinese leader. Donovan suggests that he is the “loyal... foil to Lolo,” who she describes as “a caricature of dominant Spanish masculinity and the exaggerated representation of the flaws commonly associated with this masculinity—*machismo*, entitlement, prejudice.” Whereas she suggests this characterisation “can be read as the film’s critique of traditional masculinity’s backwardness,” (2017, 100-101) I contend that an equally important effect of it is to mock the associated oriental masculinity of the ridiculous appearance of the Bruce Lee lookalike, Kung Fu barman, Mao.

^{xxx} Communities of practice represent social opportunities and spaces of interaction which denote shared cultures, intentions or activities, such as religious groups or sports teams. Membership of these communities requires acceptance, shared beliefs or skills and although at the time of initial or gathering, there is a sense of microcosmic belonging or self-defined “heterotopia,” they do not constitute a concrete, universal and ongoing society. Nevertheless, these heterotopias could pave the way for the beginnings of a new existence in an “arrival city” (Saunders, 1) which sporadically receive unprecedented influxes of migrants with little existing infrastructure or community to accommodate them, such as Parla (Madrid), or an already multicultural neighbourhood like Lavapiés (Madrid). That is not to say that the situation in these tangible, concrete locations is necessarily overly advantageous to the immigrant women, however the dichotomy between strained multiculturalism and fluid interculturalism are ideas central to the appreciation of representations of women immigrants.

^{xxxi} This (dys)functional and prosaic existence represents what Rod Rees classifies as a “*Demi-Monde*” in his science-fiction novel of the same title and which he goes on to define as: “a subclass of society whose members ... evince loose morals; a shadow world where the norms of civilized behavior have been abandoned; a ... simulation platformed on ... Cyber-Research’s Total Reality; hell.” (2011, vi). In this respect, the framework of Chinese women as inhuman is again relevant, and their chronic lack of agency could be said to equate to the “hell” of Rees’s definitions. As previously noted, the Chinese women in *Beautiful* are confined in near-derelict buildings, working on modern day chain gangs under the direction of amoral male gangsters and within the dystopian maze of Barcelona’s capitalist underworld and the hopeless, paternalistic profiteering of Uxbal’s guardianship. Repeated shots of the Chinese migrants show them as expressionless and in shadowy light. Their existence seems to be devoid of joy or warmth, except for that provided by working ever harder, huddling in large groups and inhaling toxic fumes from the cheap, broken gas heater. Interestingly, Lovat and Crotty refer to

a notion of “reconstructing convivència,” (2015, 1), which they propose as is the value of reapplying the “principle that applied to medieval Convivència” (2015, 1) between Sephardic Jews and Spanish Christians, in an attempt to make conviviality more functional in Spain. My suggestion to this is, however, that the casting of Chinese women in disempowered and silenced roles in these incomplete spaces, means they are symbolically painted as dysfunctional, disembodied and out of place and that, short of “reconstructing convivència,” it denies opportunity for any functional confluence.

^{xxxii} Contrasting views on cyborg potential are expounded in Harari’s *Sapiens*, in which the switch to bionic support (such as the use of “eyeglasses, pacemakers, orthotics”) is already seen as an existential progression, wherein we knowingly “combine organic and inorganic parts” to make something “so fundamentally another kind of being that we cannot even grasp the philosophical, psychological or political implications” (2015, 453-457). I would argue that if we apply this concept to representations of Chinese women in Spain in which they are frequently seen operating as or alongside machines, a vision of a disassociated, aloof and functionally superior but emotionally void robot is produced. This could easily lead to the sense of distrust and threat discussed in the sociolinguistic points above and in the article *Se rien de la crisis* and to the chronic dehumanisation of the Chinese women becoming a trope, both in the immigration works and in social discourse.

^{xxxiii} In spite of this, even in the more hopeful *La ciudad feliz*, there are two adult Chinese males in the business as well, one of whom is a disengaged and bedridden usurper (el padre), whose presence is felt as an absent but looming hindrance, and the other of whom (el abuelo) is absent from physical episodes of work but who still maintains a patriarchal control over decisions and finances. It is noteworthy that, despite Chinese female diligence, any outward recognition of success or status is retained for the male characters and this is true for characters in other works, such as Liwei in *Beautiful*. The females do not therefore succeed in securing outright economic power, political parity or, as in the case of *Beautiful*, even physical survival. This is a problematic mitigation if one is to successfully argue that Chinese female protagonists in *La ciudad feliz* represent untainted and felicitous interculturalism and embody positions of feminist credibility. I would argue that from purely feminist standpoint, the ambiguity of still having the supposed requirement for a patriarchal “abuelo” figure at the helm of the chicken roasting business in the text, who has coordinated the emigration of three generations of

his family and who retains overall directorship and thus prevents outright empowerment of the females in the book could clearly be seen to limit the success of the Chinese females.

^{xxxiv} Whereas Northern European contemporary women representations of the Chinese population, as mentioned previously, frequently imagined beautified and sexually available women or delicate dolls, whose servitude was thus more in terms of the sexual gratification of European males than in dehumanised hard labour, Spanish representations are consistently desexualised, just as the Chinese males are emasculated. This presents a reversion to the unsexed Spanish colonialist vision of Chinese women, where they might remain as automatons, but are without sexual intrigue and rather put to work as warehouse operatives and unwilling babysitters (*Biutiful*), hairdressers (*La boda* and *Los besos en el pan*) or chicken roasters (*La ciudad feliz* and *Los besos en el pan*). It seems that they are considered not to have even aesthetic or sexual worth for the (elsewhere voracious) autochthonous male appetite.

It is significant that the notion of a bare life being experienced by a metronomic workforce of automatons is a phenomenon which has arisen previously in representations and considerations of Chinese males across Western Europe. For example, during the height of the East India Company's expansions across Asia, Chinese males were looked on as "coolies," (Gandhi, www.npr.org, 2013) and as lower classed slaves for imperial control and coercion. This colonialist stereotype had the effect of emasculating the Chinese males and it could therefore be argued that they were assigned female status.

^{xxxv} The sea itself, as a key motif for considering the existence and sufferings of the female immigrant is discussed in my next chapters on African and Latin American female immigrants, however, the sea as a giver and taker of life, a medium for arrival and delivery, a tomb, a cleanser and a barrier to outsiders is of crucial significance for understanding the circumstances of Chinese females in Spain and of all immigrants across the immigration opus. Noble considers the real and metaphoric importance of the beach and the sea as being "sites in which the (in)visibility of migrants is at stake" and as symbols of the "tensions between absence and presence." (Noble, 2018, 639). Within the depiction of the Chinese female, the sea's symbol (with the arguable exception of the aforementioned Chinese perceptions of their own travels explored by Beltrán (2003) and discussed in the previous section) as a barrier or boundary between nations is (perhaps hopefully) geographically irrelevant, since Chinese expatriation to Spain is comparatively rarely by sea. Noble recognises this in

consideration of the sea's symbolic and foreshadowing prominence in *Biutiful*. In this film, mention and reminders of the sea appear across various earlier scenes of the film, either in snapshot images of boats or subtle discussions about having fish for dinner, yet the sea itself is not of central visual importance until the grim vision of Chinese corpses floating upon it is presented later on. Noble's suggestion is that the earlier tangentiality of seascapes "emphasizes forms of migration and migratory patterns that do not involve reaching Spain by sea, such as those of the Chinese migrants," (Noble, 2018, 652), and thus we can infer that this is done to draw attention to the Chinese. On the other hand, I would suggest that neither the supposedly increased visibility of Chinese victimhood, nor the concept (explored later in this thesis) that the sea can also cleanse "la suciedad del mal" (*En la orilla* 375) for most characters in the immigration opus studied and renew some form of hope or life in that respect seem inapplicable to the Chinese females. Instead, their features and personalities continue to remain indistinct in the images and the sea fails to either transport them to freedom and rebirth them or remove their pollutant bodies from Spanish society or even physically rinse their clothes or metaphorically purge them from the conscience of Uxbal in *Biutiful*.

^{xxxvi} Most notably those from Africa, as discussed in my next chapter on African women immigrants. In the works studied there are representations of symbolic naturalisations and re-births of semi-established and second generation women immigrants from other cultures in Spain, such as in the self-initiated employment of the Spanish Catalan dictionary by Najat El Hachmi's autobiographical narrator in *El ultim patriarca* to evolve linguistically into a new Spaniard: "The world was opening up before us. I was probably at C in the dictionary when father took us to meet Isabel. *Ca* is a dog. Or *ca*, the letter K. Or *ca* short for house, *a ca l'Albert*, for example, *to Albert's house*, or *a ca la Ciutat*, to the city" (164). Similarly, there are references to arrivals and attempted cultural assimilations in *Flores de otro mundo* which show birthing or arrival stories as the new prospective partners for the male villagers arrive on set. Nevertheless, the Chinese women do not appear with such beginnings, transformations, arrivals or creation stories.

^{xxxvii} These range from Flesler's ideas on the perceived Spanish leitmotif of the *Return of the Moor* (2008); to Chus Gutiérrez's film *Retorno a Hansala* (2008), in which an illegal immigrant's body needs to be returned to the homeland; to the literary return to the 'Golden Age' discussed by Goytisolo in his interviews; to the emotional returns to loved ones in *Poniente* (Gutierrez, 2002).

^{xxxviii} In equally abstract and supernatural terms of reincarnation, rather than haunting, in this instance.

^{xxxix} Within this idea and presented by Derrida as a separate suggestion of and “event, perhaps” was his suggestion that true Democracy had not yet existed and was ‘yet to come.’

^{xi} Two of the informative critical texts studied, *La inmigración china en España* (Nieto, 2003) and *Adónde van los chinos cuando mueren* also opt for front cover images of the kitsch Chinese ‘lucky waving cat,’ perhaps by way of social commentary to this effect.

^{xli} As far back as 2000 years ago the Romans and Carthaginians contested the area around Cartagena as a second port of Carthage in the South and moving forward into Medieval times the Moors from North Africa invaded and ruled much of southern Spain for 800 years from 711 AD. Even across western Africa and the islands, historic links can be clearly traced - the Guanches (the aboriginal inhabitants of the Canary Islands) have genetic links to both North African Berbers and Spaniards and Spanish slave traders infamously sent captives from West Africa to the Americas. In the common culture too, reminders of historic links can be found, as Murcia has a longstanding, annual festival of fancy dress, food and revelry to mark the power struggle between *Moros y Cristianos* in the annual festival of the same name (<https://morosycristianosmurcia.wordpress.com>).

^{xlii} Whilst his extant thought was to promote a common history and modus vivendi of Spaniard and Moroccan, his propagandistic manipulation of people towards his ends was more likely the principal driver, as he sought to show Spain as a progressive, central and strong force within southern Europe and to boost his reserve of troops with the North African support of the native ‘Regulares’ of Spanish owned Ceuta and Melilla. Balfour, in his comments in *The New Arab* (2016), suggests that “The Moroccan troops involved felt they were fighting a *jihād* against atheists and communists. Another motivation was money, and gaining a foothold in the peninsula... To exacerbate the hatred of the Moroccan recruits towards the Republicans, Franco's men emphasised the “brotherhood” between the people of Morocco and the Spanish, while accusing their opponents of being “godless atheists” and “enemies of all civilised people.” (Balfour, 2016). As these exchanges were politically-charged in an arguably deceitful manner, it could be argued that the colonial exploitation had been

continued, with Francoist Spain positioning itself as culturally superior to the African counterparts. Despite this, there are still two Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in northern Africa, which maintain tangible political links to Africa, make up the only land borders between Europe and Africa and in which there is a strong sense of national identity but some sense of a cultural African association, albeit with some contestation. Furthermore, Catalan universities have recently committed to academic and strategic cooperation with Morocco and Mozambique, with influential educationalists from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Universitat de Barcelona working over the past five years to establish academic and commercial links with the help of the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Morocco as part of the *League of European Research Universities* initiative. (www.ub.edu). We can see, therefore, that the exchange between Spain and Africa, predominantly (post)colonialist as it may have been in the last 500 years, is rich and complex. Additionally, and following expected patterns, there can be seen a wide variety of immigrant and mixed-race males and females with first- and second-generation links to nations across the African continent in modern day Spain.

^{xliii} Indeed, the fact that Karrouch and El Hachmi are themselves hybrid immigrant authors and empowered, commercially successful females has informed the conscious way in which I reference both the representations characters in their books and their own representations from commentary in interviews in order to consider the breadth of immigrant woman representations in this chapter.

^{xliv} This particular vulnerability is common to both African and Chinese immigrant women, but, clearly, not to those from Latin America.

^{xlv} Interestingly, these images also hold Judeo-Christian symbolism, since the story of Ruth's unquestioning self-sacrifice for a man is reflected in the actions and devotion of Mimoun's mother and his bride. What perhaps accentuates this further and reinforces the notion of the women giving up any sense of self is the fact that in the book they are both simply called Mother or Grandmother and do not so much as merit a name: interestingly, the women deemed to deserve their own name in the text are all the ones from whom Mimoun can extract his own apparent treasure, anal sex.

^{xlvi} Furthermore, the veil barrier itself also acts as an embodiment of Freud's id/ego/super-ego debate. (Freud, 1927). Freud proposed that the human psyche has multiple aspects rather than one (id, ego, super-ego) each developing at different stages of life. The "id" (the Latin word for 'it/ thing') represents the instinctive or animalistic desires; the "super-ego" (Latin for 'more than I') champions the morally acceptable and conscientious path through life; and the "ego" (the Latin word for 'I') is the rational part of the psyche which decides which option to take in terms of actions and behaviour. I suggest that we could thus interpret that the hijab wearer must accept the quandary of being these three different personas. Firstly, by having to consider ramifications of wearing or not wearing the veil, they represent the 'super-ego,' as traditional Islamic religious conservatism on the one hand and Spanish mainstream opinion on the other proscribes what they should wear. Secondly, if they simply choose to wear the veil because they personally want to, they represent the 'id.' Thirdly, where they consider how they might be received by the world outside and then choose the best moral, acceptable and personal path to follow in order to present themselves from behind the mask and its metaphoric border space in the way they politically or fashionably want to, they represent the 'ego.'

^{xlvii} Bakhtin suggests that in the creation of a literary space, "spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history." (Bakhtin, 1981, 84). Within Spanish immigration literature, the constantly revisited memory of the border-crossing trauma, the ensuing guilt associated with the 'heresy' of having occupied a foreigner's land, the noted ongoing obstacles to achieving economic autonomy and the contention with the restrictions of past and present patriarchal societies present the experiences of African women within a restrictive 'aesthetic chronotope' of time and space, which thwarts assimilation and prevents confluence.

^{xlviii} Where King Rodrigo's transgression was the rape of Julián's daughter, his nemesis was for his reign to be sexually penalised, as the Count sought vengeance by allying himself with the North African Moors, setting in motion the impending Moorish subjugation of southern Spain.

^{xlix} This effect is reminiscent of José Muñoz's assertion about the supposedly reaffirming "disidentifications" of minority (specifically homosexual) groups. He notes that disidentification, such as that attempted in these

reversals of sexual power positions, “is *not always* an adequate strategy of resistance or survival for all minority subjects. At times, resistance needs to be pronounced and direct; on other occasions, queers of color and other minority subjects need to follow a conformist path if they hope to survive a hostile public sphere.” (Muñoz, 1999, 5).

¹ As concerns the correlation between these literary portrayals and the society they represent, El Khadaoui, a Moroccan author in Spain, remarks on Moroccan paternalism and insinuates its ongoing effects on the actions of Moroccan women in *Límites y fronteras* when he discusses: “Una verdad más cruel, la falta de libertad y la sumisión de las mujeres. A veces, todo Marruecos pasa a ser eso para mí. Un mundo de tradicionalismos que coartan la libertad” (El Khadaoui, 2009, 79). El Kadaoui hints at the fact that any women who appear to temporarily resist the “hombres que son los guardianes del tradicionalismo” are all too soon silenced by their own vulnerability and complicity: “dónde están [estas] mujeres... unas se han olvidado de ellas, otras están de boda y otras están demasiado solas.” (79). This would suggest to me a literary and societal situation wherein the African women characters and the actual immigrant population they represent simply ‘follow on’ and are hopelessly and chronically destined to fit into their xenophobically proscriptive ascribed roles as unvoiced, undervalued and paternalistically subjugated others. Within this interpretation of the African women representation in postmillennial Spanish literature and films, neither the variances shown between the publications of native Spanish and hybridized African-Spanish authors nor the tendency for the latter’s books to involve character transformations, emergent feminism and conscious cultural assimilation would hold any hope of actual African women empowerment or cipher for egalitarian progress. In opposition to El Kadaoui’s inference, however, I would argue that with the latter contributions of Karrouch and El Hachmi a mini revolution has arrived, making El Kadaoui’s implications on the agency of Moroccan women slightly anachronistic.

ⁱⁱ A collective, which mirrors *Las voces del estrecho* (described pejoratively by Flesler as a “polyphony of [now out-dated] voices.” This is also true in the case of *Punta Marroquí* in *Por la vía de tarifa* (García Benito, 2000). In this piece faded photographs and the invented memories of people pictured in them engender a future for Gaby which will see her, alongside a Spanish women journalist, reveal the brutality of the Spanish police towards immigrant women and therefore inspires hope for future acknowledgement of the plight of African immigrants and subsequent amelioration of circumstances.

^{lii} The fact that El Hachmi does feature amongst the list of top selling Catalan authors and that Karrouch has been awarded regional literature prizes in *Catalonia*, rather than contradicting this point, actually strengthens the point that those from minority backgrounds still do not compete and succeed equally in the *mainstream* of Spain.

^{liii} Just as Piaget's (1936) *Cognitive Development Theory* suggests that continuous neurological and physical development is required in order to develop learning capacity, El Hachmi and Karrouch are affirming that continuous sociocultural, education and linguistic application are required in order for African women immigrants to achieve intercultural integration. The relevance of Piaget's theory to these concepts is that Cognitive Development Theory underpins modern understanding of the natural and cerebral progression and adaptation of new learners through education and into free-thinking and capable adults, whereas these African born women are also showing education as a conduit to success, empowerment and acceptance.

^{liv} Virginia Woolf, in 1929, published an essay, comprised of elements from talks she had done at the University of Cambridge, in which she discussed the lack of a specifically women authorial history and the quasi-feminist need to establish new literary territory from which to put forward the women voice. I aver that this correlates with the African women situation, in which their own voice and testimony has required actual immigrant African-Spanish women writers to publish and achieve some success, in order to establish their own platform from which to have their voice heard and their experiences and contributions appreciated and valorised.

^{lv} In *The Strange Death of Europe*, Murray takes a similar Eurocentric right-wing stance and refers to a perception of an immigration-led 20th and 21st century European "multiculturalism" as something which led to a "fracturing of identities" rather than a unification of purpose and belonging.

^{lvi} In films such as *Poniente* (2002) and *Biutiful* (2011), in *Flores de otro mundo* (2013) (From here onwards referred to as *Flores*) and *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* (1997) (From here onwards referred to as *Cosas*).

^{lvii} The concept of an urban flaneur is proposed as a (typically male) character reterritorialising their socioeconomic surroundings by presenting countercultural and anti-establishment practises to avoid conforming

to standard expectations of work, behaviour and legality. Generally, there is an association with both laziness and amorality as the “flaneur/euse” finds ways of making money or taking advantage of others.

^{lviii} The prevailing Latin American ‘global’ stereotype encompasses concepts of lawlessness, decadence and the exotic. Recurrent images of billionaire “clanes de la droga” (*En la orilla* 40) such as those of Pablo Escobar and El. Chapo, guerrilla militias, despot dictators and flamboyant footballers account for the majority of the stereotyped Latin American masculinity. On the other hand, Latin American females are more readily associated with images of scantily clad beach beauties, of provocative dancers “como lujosas en grandes carteles” (36), of impoverished indigenous mothers, dressed in ragged traditional costume and shyly being filmed nursing numerous children on documentary television programmes, or of prostitutes in the employ of drug barons. This sentiment is evident both in *Flores*, where Milady’s determination to take on a male role in a public house is met with disgust and violent retribution and *Princesas*, where Zulema’s desperation for immigration documentation and vulnerability as a prostitute are used by her would-be patron as levers with which to manipulate and sexually abuse her, with the dishonest promise that she will be recompensed with ‘permission to work’ papers and the ability to legally and safely earn a living for herself and her family in Dominica.

^{lix} Instances of and reasons for the pity, victimhood and hyper-sexualisation of the colonised or immigrant woman in the perception of the autochthonous audience have previously been explored by Robin DiAngelo in *White Fragility* (2018) and Martina Cvajner in *Soviet Signoras* (2019). DiAngelo proposes that postcolonial white women cope with their ancestral guilt by patronisingly appropriating the pain of the erstwhile subjugated females from third world countries. With almost opposing sentiment, however, Cvajner’s focus is on the excessively sexual and commercial self-affirmation displayed by the immigrant females themselves, as they compete to purchase and model gaudy, exuberant, revealing or risqué clothes and make-up. Her assertion is that the immigrant women themselves attempt to counter the perceived vulnerability of their status by occupying the role of the sexual dominatrix or the aggressive consumer. In line with both of their unique ideas, however, I suggest that the notion of Spanish readers and audiences being guided towards pitying the victimhood of these female immigrant characters by the centralist will and technique of the ‘non-Latin-American-women’ authors and directors is reminiscent of what DiAngelo proposes as “white women’s tears” (162). The suggestion therein is that the postcolonial and neoliberal white entitlement to culturally appropriating the experience and suffering

of the colonised (and therefore their history, their identity and their empowerment) for themselves is further indication of ongoing colonialism and disempowerment.

^{lx} The suggestion that Eve was to blame for Adam's consumption of the forbidden fruit presented by Satan in the guise of a snake in the Garden of Eden, and the subsequent belief that all human sin is derivative of this first one and that women are therefore untrustworthy temptresses.

^{lxi} It is of note in the works studied that any existential agency, contextual purpose and human stability associated with immigrant women in books, films and history tends to stem from them being imagined as real people (usually mothers or love interests), with real personalities, within real families. I also note that this is largely denied to the Latin American women in these works. Ballesteros argues that, to become established or to be 'whole' as a new arrival in Europe, someone must have forged "horizontal solidarities of civil society (such as other sorts of 'family' / affective ties, civil associations, political parties, and trade unions)" (150). Having left family behind to seek a more prosperous existence in Spain, one might expect to see more evidence of these other types of functional 'families' affording Latin American women context and solidarity. Nonetheless, family of all types is, in the Spanish opus, either absent, incommunicable or presented as something more of a hindrance or even a threat to them. In *Flores* and *Biutiful* the women are hopelessly out of place within their new or estranged families; in *Princesas* and *La Boda* there is a physical and communicational barrier between their transatlantic families and themselves; in *Cosas*, *Flores* and the works of Rosa Montero I establish that family members - Aunts in particular, but also the controlling and judgemental Uxbal in *Biutiful* and the absent and unsupportive husband in telephone box calls in *Princesas* – occupy the role of the subjugating and patronising man, and act both as hindrances to their individual freedoms and as obstacles to their success.

^{lxii} In *Princesas*, reminders of Kristeva's projected abjection and horror are evident in the graphic scenes of drug addiction, illness and, in particular, in the sexual torture of the female immigrant Zulema. Here we see how the plight of the liminal female makes her vulnerable to suffering these horrors, however, short of giving long-lasting retribution to Spanish male perpetrators or focusing on the damage done to Zulema, the film soon cuts to her with a fully healed face and then back to the fetishistic male gaze of erotically-clad and visually available women in the vulnerable exterior locations of masculine gender space. There is, however, a clear pointer towards

an underlying struggle between the intention of presenting the females as real people with real social problems to resolve and not as sex objects and the temptation to indulge male fantasy with point-of-view cinematography and sexual females on display. Nevertheless, the relevance of Kristeva's thought seems clear and her affirmation that rejection of such horrors is inevitable perhaps explains the director's or viewer's expected need for a limit to the extent of the portrayal of these abuses.

^{lxiii} It seems that Rakaseder does not assume that the existence of Latin American female immigrants is always representative of mere pitiful "zoê," and instead the opposing theoretic being of "bios" (see earlier definitions) is imagined as she discusses the inferred stereotypes observed in films such as *Flores de otro mundo* which cast female immigrants as "mujeres que se aprovechan del estereotipo de carácter caribeño... para superar situaciones de crisis." (157). In these instances, the females could be said to display some sense of "bios" through the female camaraderie and solidarity which they exemplify, however the suggestion that they choose to manipulate prejudice, preconception and the sexually predatory urges of the male to suit their own ends extends this projected political agency further.

^{lxiv} This is discussed across several volumes of *The Journal of European Area Studies* where it is noted that, "foreign penetration [in the labour market]... continues to create blockages to domestic development" and that "'strength' and 'marginality' characterise most forces beyond the state, from the family to the third sector," where the "informal, feminised labour market has evolved [which] ... reinforces the clandestine character of this work," (McVeigh (87), Andreotti et al. (45), and Lutz (47-49)). I suggest that, by circumventing parochial conventions and state laws with their engagement in personal relationships and often undocumented employment as carers, cleaners, prostitutes and illegal workers, Latin American females in Spain assume a degree of autonomy and success for themselves, whilst obstructing the neoliberal power of the socio-economic machine. This is noted by one of the sisters in *Cosas*, when she states that, as compared to the paucity of honest opportunity in Spain, she had previously been more economically successful: "ganaba mucho trabajando en el taller ilegal."

^{lxv} Eleanor Janega suggests that a European obsession with hygiene and the responses to it which led to the classist and colonialist belief of superiority stems from the "Bourgeois enthusiasm for regular bathing [which]

may have taken root in the late 18th century.” However, she hints that the classist and colonialist belief that cleanliness constituted an upper-middle class European is a more deep-rooted conceit which had emerged even earlier, when 16th and 17th century European imperialists saw hygiene “as a form of conspicuous consumption – something that many of the poor could not afford.” (<https://www.historytoday.com/reviews/cost-cleanliness>, 07/07/2020).

^{lxvi} This is the case in Cvajner’s biographical exploration of Eastern European women in Italy, *Soviet Signoras*, (paralleled earlier), where the immigrants’ wearing of revealing attire such as visible thongs and gaudy make-up is described as a conscious attempt at forging self-identity and security through hyper-femininity.

^{lxvii} Laura Mulvey describes this phenomenon as an episode where “the power to subject another person to the will sadistically or to the gaze voyeuristically is turned onto the woman as the object of both.” She extends this theory to suggest that the gaze can indicate “true perversion,” where it is “barely concealed under a shallow mask of ideological correctness – the man is on the right side of the law, the woman on the wrong.” (10). There is a clear reiteration of this concept wherein Zulema (*Princesas*) plays the role of the doubly illegal undocumented foreign worker and prostitute and is presented in voyeuristic fashion for audiences to judge her visually, whilst considering the implications of her plight ideologically.

^{lxviii} David Morley considers the relative restrictions to both communication and mobility as key dimensions of the inequality experienced by those most disempowered and removed from true geographical and cultural centrality in society. He suggests that imagined deservedness is the reserve of only those who can prove historical cultural belonging.

^{lxix} From the safety of her ‘orderly’ salon and from a perspective which is described by Kunz as “compartida por la autora, la narradora-focalizadora y la mayoría del público lector” (111).

^{lxx} In line with Derrida’s *Specters of Marx* (1994) theory about Capitalist European culture and politics being “haunted” by unavoidable ghostly memories of Communism, the three sisters in *Cosas* also represent these ghosts, since they are embodiments of Communism positioned in near-anachronistic circumstances in a

Capitalist country and constantly refer back to their Cuban origins. In this way, they do not allow themselves or others to forget or avoid the lingering vestiges of Communist thought in the film.

^{lxxi} Furthermore, it is of note that when she thus seems to have assumed the role of the non-Spanish women and to display temporary signs of their previously discussed instability, male predators' abuse takes place as they force themselves upon Caye and beat Zulema. This is a chastening indication that perhaps the utopian ideal of a "Third Space" where Latin American women can hope for parity with the Spanish males is unrealistic, despite images of the beginnings of more promising relations, comparative optimism and transatlantic solidarity between the women leads themselves, as noted by Carty (2009, 134) and discussed earlier.

^{lxxii} The orthodox and archaic biblical presumption that women's fickleness and the sins of the world originate from and are to be blamed upon the temptation of Adam by Eve to eat the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden.

^{lxxiii} Through the character flaw of their own conceived mental failings.

^{lxxiv} Ironically, this conflicts with 19th and 20th century Latin American literary determination to 'iron out' history and focus on the present, as exemplified by the Mexican Poet, Octavio Paz's obsession with a "withdrawal from history" and 'belonging to his time' in order to best represent his country of origin.

^{lxxv} Wilkerson asserts that, in absolute mirroring of the Indian caste system of social hierarchy and discrimination, race and gender biases in modern day Western societies go beyond racist prejudices and into valorisation of individuals' deservedness. She proposes that these inequalities continue to leave immovably delineated limitations to the levels of emancipation from abuse, access to achievement and social accord for which minorities and disempowered groups can ever hope.

^{lxxvi} Castro (www.IMDiversity.com) discusses the pan-cultural phenomenon of Latin American female "complexes about their skin colour" and appearance and suggests that this "colorism ... continues to exist within Latino communities," quoting Professor Iris Lopez's reference to a "color classification system which includes categories such as blanco, negro, trigueño, indio, jabao, moreno, mulata, etc." I would argue that such

complexity and ingrained imagery surrounding the colourist stereotypes and what Sabsay refers to as “interpellation” (2018, 2) or categorising of Latin American women who have migrated away from South America might stem from the colonialist repetition of such casting.

^{lxxvii} Despite the move towards wider migration and technological advancement of epistolary formats, I argue that these works can still be associated with the melancholia of 18th and 19th century Brazilian and Latin American literature, such as *Dom Casmurro* by Machado de Assis, and the great Spanish and Latin American literary crossover works dating from the 19th and 20th centuries of Unamuno, Borges and Maria Luisa Bombal’s *La última niebla* (1935).

^{lxxviii} Bollaín references the contrast of aesthetics between the rural isolation of Santa Eulalia and the vision of the exotic newcomers in her rhetorical question: “¿Cómo se busca la vida la gente para salir de la soledad?” during a *Cine y literatura* interview.

^{lxxix} Performativity is Judith Butler’s suggested feminist extension to the ideas of body language, emergent largely in her work *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (1993). She posits that the elements of performance which take place as women communicate with males can challenge established cultural assumptions about the roles and abilities of people of different genders and begin to offer alternative approaches to associated power imbalances.

^{lxxx} Milady’s walking cannot be described as a pastime, but it does represent an element of resistant and eudaimonic self-determinacy amid the overall abjection and failure of her immigration story.

^{lxxxi} Much as the socially-excluded and abused ‘Golden Age’ women characters were themselves chastised and as women characters in other pre- and postmillennial women-authored generation of fiction were frequently revealed as rebels, misfits or ‘sent’ on voyages of self-discovery. (See *Malena es un nombre de tango* (Grandes, 1994) and *Beatriz y los cuerpos celestes* (Etxebarría, 2009)).

^{lxxxii} This is discussed across several volumes of *The Journal of European Area Studies* where it is noted that, “foreign penetration [in the labour market]... continues to create blockages to domestic development” and that “‘strength’ and ‘marginality’ characterise most forces beyond the state, from the family to the third sector,” where the “informal, feminised labour market has evolved [which] ... reinforces the clandestine character of this work,” (McVeigh (87), Andreotti et al. (45), and Lutz (47-49)). I suggest that, by circumventing parochial conventions and state laws with their engagement in personal relationships and often undocumented employment as carers, cleaners, prostitutes and illegal workers, Latin American females in Spain assume a degree of autonomy and success for themselves, whilst obstructing the neoliberal power of the socio-economic machine.

^{lxxxiii} Chronologically, these have included: regional civil unrest in 2017 in Catalonia, where the controversial independence referendum fomented both separatism and patriotism, incurred repression and led to the arrests of political independence leaders; the peak of the European Migrant Crisis and the polarising of opinion about refugee rights in Western European press reports; the 2017 Islamist terror attack in Barcelona; the 2017 viral spread of the #MeToo ‘feminist’ movement following the allegations against Hollywood Producer, Harvey Weinstein; the controversial 2018 ‘sexual abuse’ verdict from the ‘La Manada’ gang rape court case in Spain; the 2019 initial entry into the Spanish parliament of the far-right, anti-immigration Vox Party; the alleged start of the COVID-19 global pandemic in 2019 in Wuhan, China and the raft of ensuing accusatory racially-charged discourse and worldwide travel and immigration restrictions caused by it; the international attention captured by the 2020 killing of George Floyd in the USA and the associated increase in popularity of the anti-racist #BlackLivesMatter movement. My reason for including this list is to show the number of current and age-defining events to which these areas of research relate.