



**Theoretical-practical notes for thinking about intercultural proposals
with vulnerable groups in Spain**

Sofia Saulesleja *

University of Salamanca Espagne, sofiasaulesleja@gmail.com

Received: 02/03/2024

Accepted: 20/03/2024

Published: 31/03/2024

DOI:10.53284/2120-011-001-001

Abstract:

This article aims to provide theoretical and practical notions for working with people in situations of "vulnerability", based in the case of Roma women and Muslim migrants in Spain. Sustaining on anthropology of gender, it presents the state of the situation, the structural conditions on which it is urgent to continue insisting if a real transformation is to be pursued, and some practical proposals for applicability. And it is concluded that people in vulnerable situations are crossed by different inequalities and need to enjoy rights to be "integrated" into a majority society

Keywords: Vulnerability; Inequalities; Integration; Anthropology of Gender.

* Corresponding author



1. Introduction

This article aims to offer clues for thinking about proposals based on the territorial adequacy of the theoretical-methodological framework developed in my doctoral thesis entitled "Other women in Spain: gypsies and Muslim migrants. Analysis of the construction of inequalities from the perspective of gender anthropology".

In other words, it is designed in the first place so that those who work with Roma women and Muslim migrants can incorporate the intercultural anthropological perspective of gender when designing and/or executing or evaluating projects, programs or any other type of action with these groups. And, secondly, so that Roma women and Muslim migrants can count on conceptual support on their path to the expansion of rights.

The research was based on the concern about social inequality, which, although it has consequences for society as a whole, falls more relentlessly on certain groups or people, who are made up of collectives "in a situation of vulnerability".

In Spain, Roma women and migrants from Arab Muslim countries, together with other non-white women from inside and outside Europe, have occupied the space of exteriority/otherness of the normalized virtuous woman, becoming one of the means and instruments for the understanding of Spain itself, that is, the construction of the imaginary of the ideal national Spanish woman.

My research is theoretically based on anthropology and gender studies, mainly. It was carried out using a fundamentally qualitative methodology. The ethnography was carried out with Roma women and Muslim migrants from countries with an Arab Muslim majority, simply because they were the ones I found in Spain. It had fieldwork located in Salamanca, Spain, in different stages, from 2016-17 to 2021.

Although some proposals may seem unapproachable from our research, it is worth remembering which are those structural aspects on which it is necessary to continue to stress and offer resistance. In the meantime, we continue to work on what is smaller and achievable, what is possible to transform from the intervention, or at least try to do so.

This research is crossed by the concern about how to contribute, based on critical reflection, to the improvement of the living conditions of us, the people. Because it is based on the premise that the social world is not "a spectacle to be interpreted" but a set of concrete problems that demand practical solutions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2005). If this new knowledge is also "cornered" (Bullen, 2012, p. 98) in the Academy, the meaning of it is weak. It is easy to criticize the status quo, but not to transform it by bringing the contributions of our science closer to the rest



of the citizenry. Feminist and applied anthropology guides this transformation based on the search for ways to effect this change (Bullen, 2012, p. 100).

In short, these lines are situated at a triple epistemological crossroads of social, feminist and applied anthropology (Bullen, 2012, p. 98). Beyond any vacuous subjectivism or economic rationalism, ethnographic analysis from a feminist perspective shows the inextricable relationships between economic-political structures, experiences, and human agencies (Sarkis, 2018, p. 104). While in the beginnings of anthropology Malinowski gave it the androcentric bias, defining it as "the study of the man who embraces a woman", from anthropology with a gender perspective it is possible to imagine and work to deconstruct the hegemonic stereotypes around women and the practices that they entail. We continue to bet on lives that are not protected under this "Malino-Kwian embrace", ²but safer, fairer and more egalitarian for Roma, Muslim migrants and all women in the world (Saulesleja, 2022).

In this sense, if we focus on analysing what anthropology can contribute to the development of equality policies, projects or programmes, we must start from the way in which our science has positioned itself in society. According to Greenwood, although anthropology was born with an applied concern, it is due to the power structure of the disciplines and the avoidance of confrontation with social power beyond the university that it has now become a field of inaction, of marginalization with respect to social changes and inability to generate new, more productive social connections (Greenwood, 2002 in Buxó Rey, 2002, p. 29).

The anthropological question arises from the encounter between peoples, cultures, epochs (Krotz, 1987, p.286). The locus par excellence of the anthropological question is the praxis of research, whose main component is fieldwork. Mutual wonder is the basis for the recovery of wonder from the original anthropological question (Krotz, 1987, p.300). Astonishment is based on the dialectic between identity and difference, one cannot do without the other, and is explained in the category of otherness. By studying "other" societies, we regain our wonder for ourselves, since it implies a knowledge of our own, before whose horizon only the other can be conceived as other (Krotz, 1987, p.288). In Todorov's words, "we can become aware that we are not a homogeneous substance radically alien to what is not oneself: I is another. But others are also me: subjects like me" (Todorov, 1987, p. 13).

Along these lines, and according to Femenías, appreciating cultural, historical, geographical, class, sex-gender, and ethnic differences and nuances in an attempt to build a more equitable society with the concrete other, implies moving away from uncritical reductionism. Thus, "postulating some universal regulative ideal, far from opposing particular styles, appears as

²Verena Stolcke (1996) thus questions Malinowski's conception of anthropology as "the study of man embracing woman".



a necessary condition that demands effective compliance" (Femenías, 2008, p.38). Likewise, the contradictions that may arise are interesting and enriching since they require us to seek new solutions to integrate elements that seem to be mutually exclusive.

First, the starting point will be presented. Then there are the instances prior to or simultaneous to the proposals, that is, those structural conditions on which it is urgent to continue insisting if a real transformation is to be pursued. And a posteriori, some practical proposals for the applicability of the theoretical-methodological framework to the case of Spain are offered.

2. Starting point and basic premise: make sure that differences do not become unequal

Although in Spain the horizon of rights in general has broadened, it is still necessary to warn of the complexities involved in achieving these rights for groups that have been historically violated. Likewise, gender-based violence, difficulties in implementing laws and unequal living conditions for individuals according to gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, etc., still persist. In this sense, there are groups, knowledge, and forms of construction of this knowledge, forms of resistance and/or suffering that have been marginalized and need to be considered.

It has become evident that in Spain it is common to relate immigration and the Roma community with socio-economic problems, and that solutions are sought to the marginalisation, poverty and social exclusion that many of these people face on a daily basis. Likewise, the stereotyping of these cultures occurs, including the infantilization and non-recognition of women's agency (Biglia, 2014, p. 35).

Today, the discourses about those who "do not integrate" and those who "do not want to integrate" persist, and the debates between humanitarianism and the dehumanization of people. In the meantime, Roma will continue to be Roma, and migrants will continue to arrive in Spain. In order to survive, a large part of them must demonstrate their vulnerable humanity, as well as the "will" to integrate.

The security sought by women from these vulnerable groups will be achieved through the expansion of rights. And that the expansion of rights is inversely proportional to the increase in securitization. A monolithic vision can be provoked and perpetuated by hegemonic policies, agents, and power structures. It is not a matter of "adding identities" to explain the subordination of women, but of seeing and understanding oppressions, how they are articulated and analyzing how each person and collectively are or are not reproducing that logic. And this also means understanding the places of privilege that people have and considering what happens within hegemonic groups.

The intersection of inequalities that *other women* go through are multifaceted phenomena that require a diversified set of instruments to confront them or at least alleviate them. This entails, first of all, the responsibility of those in positions of power who are civil servants. respect,



protect and fulfil the human rights commitments to which they are deontologically bound under international law (Cortés, 2019). And it includes criminal justice measures, economic measures to ensure inclusion on equal terms, and scientific-cultural measures to raise public awareness and awareness. However, these "visibility and awareness" measures should not be the only or main avenues.

The feeling that the fight against inequalities is too overwhelming can be immobilizing. It is not a question of prioritizing some struggles while neglecting others, but of unraveling the problems one by one, according to their urgency and importance, attending to the rest.

One of the first conditions for the possibility of equality is to focus on the ways in which differences are structured into inequalities, and to work on the deactivation of this process. Equality is a polysemic concept, which implies a type of relationship of reciprocal similarity that is established horizontally between terms that belong to the same level (Santa Cruz, 1992, p.146). The condition of possibility of equality is based on reciprocity and mutual recognition, which implies the responsibility of people in the design of social life.

It is important to remember that inequalities are differences that have become inequalities (Fernández, 2009). The very construction of a difference takes place within mechanisms of power: gender, class, ethnicity, geopolitical, which implies two issues: a difference is not first constituted and then an unjust society makes it unequal. It is not a question of describing differences or inequalities, but of carrying out "the work of elucidation, of the construction of hermeneutical categories that can make visible and enunciate the production-reproduction of the biopolitical devices that configure this difference and inequality in the same movement" (Fernández, 2009, p.26).

It is then that categories of multiplicity and not of difference can be put into action, that conditions of possibility are created, tools are enabled to make visible micropolitics of resistance of unequal groups and the logics of multiplicity are evidenced (Fernández, 2007a).

Along these lines, I believe that it is possible to adhere to Claudia Korol's (2007) proposal to address the dangers of the "feminism of indifference", that is, the feminism that makes biological difference a political representation and becomes an instrument of relegitimation of bourgeois, oppressive power and its policies of oppression. governance that does not consider a set of oppressions such as poverty, invasion of countries, contempt for other peoples and cultures, among others (Korol, 2007, p.21). One clue may be to continue building integrative and holistic feminisms in Angela Davis' terms.

In order for equality not to be fossilized as a merely formal principle, the distribution of public, private and domestic space must be effectively addressed, since "conquering privacy is one of the ways of participating in equitable relations within spaces without borders. Erasing



boundaries in order to democratize spaces is, even today, a task that concerns us all equally" (Murillo, 1996, p. 148).

Women considered "other" par excellence in Spain do not fall within the hegemonic notions of Spanish citizenship. It is not a question of romanticizing the margins, but of acknowledging the conflict that persists there. Citizenship for women is linked to the marks left by the liberal tradition that links citizen to man and owner (Alejandra Ciriza, 2007, p. 294). Promises of citizenship arise in the heat of the ideas of fraternity, liberty and equality (Diana Maffia, 2001). This freedom was about freedom of trade and "equality was only possible for a few: males, adults, whites, landowners, literate" (Ciriza, 2007, p. 296). We see then that there was a universalization of particular interests to certain subjects. Citizenship is expressed in the demand and commitment to make the society in which we live a fairer place, where differences are not necessarily expressed in hierarchies and exclusion (Maffia, 2001, p.30). Sexual and reproductive rights are a significant point in the process of women's citizenship (Ciriza, 2007, p. 312).

According to Celia Amorós, "the real political problem is to propose to women, in our complex multicultural societies, common political objectives that go beyond the other identity referents that constitute them (race, class, etc.)" (Amorós, 2007, p. 128). The first step would be to ask ourselves if we are really pursuing equality, or if we prefer inequality, even if we say otherwise (Dubet, 2015). In case it is being pursued, it becomes essential to build the spaces that allow us to say what we have in common (Dubet, 2015).

3. Previous and concurrent instances

3. 1. Generation and dignification of jobs

The prelude to any equality project should be the generation of genuine jobs, the review of the working conditions of domestic workers, caregivers, seasonal workers, etc. We live in an economic system that is sustained by the exploitation of some people for the benefit of others, in which the home and the domestic work carried out by women are the foundations of the system of structuring the private accumulation of capital (Federicci, 2013). The key issue is that we really seek to converge for change on a planetary scale (Pastora Filigrana, 2020).

If Spain needs caregivers, it is essential to recognize them as rights. In addition, women should be able to count on the possibility of access to other jobs beyond those mentioned. Therefore, initiatives to facilitate the recognition of qualifications and the completion of basic studies would be central. As well as the implementation of public and free care and/or educational spaces for children and adolescents are crucial when thinking about the promotion of women. It is necessary to socially assume the costs of care so that it is carried out in dignified conditions, and thus put a stop to the exploitation of women, both as unpaid family carers and as providers of cheap labour.



In this sense, in the words of Angela Davis (2005 [1981]) "campaigns for the creation of more jobs on equal terms with men, accompanied by movements in favour of institutions that provide public and subsidised childcare, contain explosive revolutionary potential" (Davis, (1981) (2005) p.239)". No one can work if there is no job, not even with their offspring on their backs. Societies must be able to move towards a public care system. It is necessary to be alert since it has often been hidden under the category of policies of "conciliation" between productive and family work, that the subject of these policies is a female subject (Esquivel, 2012).

There is also a reciprocal relationship between employment and housing. Having an address where you can receive postal mail, checking job advertisements on the Internet, cleaning and taking care of yourself are all requirements to go out to work. On the other hand, housing favors the creation of formal and informal support networks (Provivienda, 2020b).

However, it is not only through the promotion of economic development that equality between women and men will be guaranteed. Overcoming the economistic view to analyze the conditions of women's subordination implied leaving aside the expectations that extra-domestic work "sufficed" as a vehicle for transformation, an assumption that was shared by various perspectives (Stolcke, 1982). We have seen throughout this work that people may have been born in a context that is not necessarily poor from a socioeconomic perspective, but due to the condition of gender, age, ethnic origin, etc., lead to not having basic rights guaranteed.

3.2. Policies of redistribution and recognition as guarantors of justice

It is necessary to approach the construction of policies, programs and projects that expand the gender justice of recognition, redistribution and representation, which at the same time allow for the construction of community and the hierarchization of situated knowledge.

Both economic and cultural injustice act on the axes of gender and "race" or "ethnicity". Therefore, groups subordinated by their gender and/or their "race" or "ethnicity" need both redistribution and recognition. According to Nancy Fraser, "redistributive policies" and "recognition policies" are mutually complementary and neither alone is sufficient, only if we seek inclusive rights-based approaches can we satisfy the requirements of justice for all (Fraser, 2006, p. 88). On the one hand, the concept of redistribution refers to the redistribution of income or wealth, the reorganization of the division of labor (we can add, care work), the change in the structure of property, the democratization of the procedures by which investment decisions are made, or the transformation of other basic economic structures (Fraser, 1999). 2008).

On the other hand, recognition implies the re-evaluation of unrespected identities, the positive valuation of diversity, or the transformation of the totality of social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (Fraser, 2008).



Respect for diversity cannot continue to preserve an inequitable order that, "like multiculturalism, turns women into living fossils of their uses and customs while their battle-hardened males fight, ally, negotiate, destroy, destroy and change us" (Lagarde & de los Ríos, 2012, p. 129). It is necessary to pursue a diversity that includes, but not only that: a diversity that questions and modifies. According to María Luisa Femenías (2014), there is a risk that "rights will be replaced by identities and we will be trapped in incommensurabilities that are not only ethical, but also political and economic-cultural". This risk of focusing on "identity" rather than rights implies the danger of "losing the universalist frameworks of formal rights." According to the philosopher, it is necessary to "add both perspectives". Remaining anchored only in identity runs the risk of crystallizing that identity and the traits that come with it. "It is very difficult to accept that the other is equal to me and has the same rights. This is also what Nancy Fraser says: I can infinitely subdivide identities (...) Philosophically, it's a challenge to think about; in practice, it is a challenge for action" (Femenías, 2021). The challenge is how to standardize and reconcile the recognition of rights to a group and we contain it in an umbrella that then implies equal rights and recognition for all.

Two examples are the incorporation of the intersectional perspective into government and institutional budgets, and the redistribution of care.

Governmental/institutional budgets with an intersectional perspective. Gender-responsive budgeting is a tool to close inequality gaps, improving the effectiveness of budgeting. Addressing gender helps to improve, is useful and effective. Gender-sensitive budgets are unworkable. However, in order to address the gap within women, it is necessary to incorporate the intersectional perspective.

Redistribution of care. Invisible work is reinforced when the deficit of the State, which should fulfill these tasks, increases (Tarducci, 2013). When we practice care, we are making gender, kinship and loving thinking (Mariluz Esteban, 2011, 2017), and vice versa. The essentiality of care appears in a celebratory way in words, but without correspondence in terms of rights and remuneration (Gago, 2021). Mariluz Esteban warns that there is a hypertrophy with the concept of care (Mariluz Esteban, 2017), and we run the risk of using this concept for the whole concept and emptying it of content or sentimentalizing it. The importance of mutual support, reciprocity and self-care needs to be recognized.

Going back to Jelin, "the family cannot be 'democratic' as long as the provision of and access to the collective services necessary for the daily tasks of domesticity is not democratized" (Jelin, 2010, p. 74). This theme is common to all feminisms, it gives power and generates fusions to these discussions, unlike other issues that separate, fission. What we can begin to do is ask ourselves what it is that we would like our families to do. When we have distinguished our desires



from what we actually have, we can begin to analyze the social factors that can contribute to or hinder the realization of the kind of human bonds we need (Collier, Rosaldo, & Yanagisako, 1997, p. 8).

3.3. Intersectional, intersectoral and multi-scale approach

Intersectional analysis makes it possible to have contextualized readings of power. Forms of oppression can only be understood within a structural context, because the way ethnicity, social class, and gender are experienced depend on their intersections with each other and with other hierarchies of inequality. This would enrich theoretical reflection on types and practices of power (exercised by institutions and policymakers) and their link with multiple and simultaneous forms of discrimination (García-Peter, Sabina; Villavicencio-Miranda, Luis (2016). This makes more visible the relationship between structures of inequality and the social privileges resulting from them, while providing insight into the position of certain individuals within minority groups.

This point is based on the transversality of the intersectional gender perspective. By intersectional gender mainstreaming, we mean the strategy to ensure that gender issues constitute an integral dimension in the process of designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies in all spheres, and thus ensure that inequality between men and women is not reproduced or perpetuated (UN Economic Council, 1997). Without a gender perspective in the programmes, hierarchical differentiation between the sexes and, by extension, in other types of identity divisions is perpetuated. But it is no longer only necessary to pay attention to the hierarchical differentiation between the sexes, but it must be done in an intersectional way.

It is important to clarify that when we talk about gender, we do not necessarily mean the same thing. The use of the term *genre* was quickly expanded and adopted by various audiences, as its meaning was linked to the position occupied by the user or to the desire to occupy a particular position by using it. Today, officials, candidates, and governors talk about gender, understanding that it is a word that opened doors and gave them frequent access to bags of money to finance actions that promote gender equality (Palomar Vereá, 2016, p. 44). "Achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls" (UN, 2016) is Sustainable Development Goal No. 5. This means that the European Social Fund, when allocating money to initiatives, for example, co-finances programmes with the Women's Institute. In this sense, today there are initiatives framed in programs that have their limiting bureaucratic demands since they emphasize numerical results rather than processes, and that funds are currently available to work with women.

The question arises as to whether it is possible to achieve decent living conditions for the entire population within the framework of the hegemonic model of development, or whether, rather, the model is based on inequality and reproduces it. While certain social groups see how their privileged position in the market is maintained or improved, for those who do not benefit



from the accumulation process, life becomes increasingly difficult because their position in the market is increasingly precarious (Pérez Orozco, 2014, p. 101). According to Pérez Orozco, unpaid work does not tend to disappear with development but rather to change its components, intensity and conditions (Pérez Orozco, 2014, p. 157).

It is important to reflect on the conceptual lack of the term empowerment, that is, to recognize that although it is currently on the lips of various and even opposing political spaces, for example, it does not necessarily guarantee that we are talking about the same thing. The approach to the meaning of "empowerment" requires us to refer on the one hand to the notion of power, and on the other to inquire "whether the effects of cultural, ideological and material domination within society that leads to an unequal distribution of power, and more importantly, to the legitimation of the processes through which power is distributed, are not being minimized" (Bentancor Harretche, 2011, p. 3). In other words, it is necessary to be cautious with this concept, since it is being appropriated by various hegemonic spaces that do not precisely aim at the distribution of power, and could be covering up, naturalizing and legitimizing injustices towards the oppressed (Freire, 1970), attributing to them the responsibility of being the "engine of change". It is necessary to address the issue from an intersectional perspective, since not only telling women that they are the engine of change will improve their lives.

In the mission of building an egalitarian project, it is essential to involve men. This implies working for men to deconstruct their hegemonic masculinities and build new masculinities that—in line with the objectives of feminism—allow us to move towards true equality (Ana De Miguel, 2017). It is necessary to consider how to work with men in the face of their hostility and scarce funding, in a framework in which processes are little attended to and immediate results are demanded. This hostility is not cultural "of the gypsies" or of "migrants", but of men in general.

It is necessary to take into account gender, socio-economic position, family and contact networks, age and generation, nationality, languages, their relationship with religious practice, different legal and employment situations, the degree of previous literacy or lack thereof, levels of schooling and even the academic and pedagogical models of origin. as well as the different plans for the future of women.

Likewise, it should be intersectoral, that is, coordinating institutions representing more than one social sector and multi-scale, that is, at the global, regional, national, local, daily and bodily levels, since inequalities are processes that circulate reaching more than one space and place. In addition to the implementation of joint policies, this should be formulated, monitored, evaluated and financed jointly and on the basis of a common social objective.

3. 4. Attend to the margins, not out of benevolence or charity but because they contribute to society



Pastora Filigrana (2020) calls on us to set aside ideological superiority and bet on dialogue between equals (Filigrana, 2020, p. 147). That is, to decenter the gaze and run the risk of looking at the margins. If we look at the margins from the superiority of "they need to free themselves from religion/their culture in order to emancipate themselves", it is difficult to build the sum of multitudes necessary for transformation.

Attending to the variety of discomforts, which have a common core, and engaging in dialogue by recognizing differentiated positions is the only way to articulate a collective response and overcome fragmentation. On the one hand, there is the malaise of capitalism that will always be there, but on the other, in the words of Silvia Bleichmar (2002, p. 191-193), there is the "leftover malaise", the one that is beyond the necessities and essential renunciations that all social life imposes and leaves each subject stripped of a transcendent project that makes it possible to envisage ways of reducing the prevailing malaise. In this sense, a horizon of change that tries to repair these discomforts is a proposal where the sustainability of all lives is possible (Filigrana, 2020, p. 147).

Cooperation in the face of individualism appears as a possible way to achieve it, and on the margins there is a whole university of lives that have cooperated and cooperate for survival (Filigrana, 2020, p. 147). The challenge lies in betting on "a demanding and difficult type of cooperation, which tries to bring together people with different or even conflicting interests, who do not like each other, who are unequal or who simply do not understand each other" (Sennet, 2012, p.19). Not from an idealized sentimentalist perspective (Esteban, 2017), but from mutual support, cooperation, and the pursuit of justice. In the bid for a world where many worlds fit, there will be conflict and power struggles, because they are inherent to our humanity.

That is to say, the forms of organizations that syndicate the vital already exist on the margins, resisting a collapse that has always been there (Filigrana, 2020, p.149) since when nothing sustains, only the common can save (Filigrana, 2020, p.147). In the words of Filigrana, "putting the general good above individual interests has been the way to survive the persecution and plundering of many human groups" (Filigrana, 2020, p.149). We see that it is not necessary for the majority society to "teach how to live". Nor is it "that they are integrated into our model, but that we create a world where other ways of organizing fit" (Filigrana, 2020).

Therefore, if we want to implement interculturality, the first thing to do is to detect and analyze the processes of interculturality that are already operating in daily life, and based on them and not only on our assumptions, try to promote and specify intercultural objectives (Menéndez, 2016, p. 110). This implies the recognition of Roma and Muslim people as part of the "we". Inclusive policies must pay special attention not to reproduce the "us" themselves, but to strengthen the social bond. The installation of fear or the inferiority of otherness is an obstacle to



thinking about "being" and makes us only want to "be someone", rather than being in certain places, together with others, living together and building a life in common.

According to Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, the term "coexistence" underlies the concepts of difference and equality. On the one hand, living together means the existence of distinct, separate and identifiable subjects who are sharing the same space at the same time. Although this existence may imply conflict, the word "living together" is often associated with harmonious, tolerant and peaceful co-being (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2017). On the other hand, "living together" also assumes equality as the egalitarian right between these distinct and separable subjects to share space. It is based on the recognition of mutual respect for the other person with whom you are living. To paraphrase Anna Mirga, "coexistence" within it implies a difference, the existence of otherness, and the need to create bridges between these neighboring but different worlds in order to "coexist" (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2017).

The aversion to inequality rests on the capacity for empathy of the most advantaged people with respect to those who have less and on feelings of moral obligation towards them (Kessler, 2020, p. 14). In order to periodically renew the aversion to inequality, informal contacts between people of different socio-economic and gender status, place or social group of origin, ability, age, in the public sphere are necessary: transport, squares, schools and hospitals, football stadiums, bars, mass shows, the streets. Both residential segregation and segmentation in services reduce these spaces and weaken the structural basis that sustains the capacity for empathy and feelings of moral obligation. This, in turn, affects levels of intolerance to inequality and naturalizes a more unequal society (Kessler, 2020, p. 14).

Ana De Miguel (2017) invites us to ask ourselves "what unites us? What is it that separates us, and what moves us forward?" From feminism it is possible to be aware of the various categories that cross human beings (such as ethnicity, social class, religion) and focus on what "unites us decisively" in order to "configure an identifiable political subject" (De Miguel, 2017, p. 297). In the words of Mariluz Esteban, we agree not to sentimentalize feminism and to nourish causes with values such as justice, rather than love.

4. Proposal. Thinking and acting from a territorial perspective

One of the main aspects is to move away from paternalistic positions that seek to import solutions to problems not recognized as such by the agents themselves. Social research is considered to be a set of multidisciplinary practices developed through a collaboration between a professional researcher and the "owners of the problem" in a local organization, a community, oriented to a structure of intellectual and ethical commitments. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account how the interests of agents are transformed into practices that activate the production of structures or social reality (Greenwood 2000, in Buxó Rey 2010, p. 32).



A set of theoretical-practical notes will then be displayed as a recommendation for those who work with these groups.

4.1. Facilitating real participation

In this section, we will delve into the warning not to romanticize inequality or to consider people "good savages." But neither is it about confusing autonomy with abandonment, or independence with helplessness and loneliness. It is necessary to open spaces and processes for citizen participation in equality, both specific and transversal. These processes have to take into account particular idiosyncrasies and legal, social, etc. conditions. It can be useful to invest efforts in thinking about how society is organized so that people can build their own processes of participation, on top of those that already exist or new ones.

The inclusion of people in the process of constructing proposals for participation implies moving from thinking 'for them' to 'with them'. These processes require a change in the approach used, which often treats them as recipients of the process rather than as protagonists of it. Adults have practices of survival, of mutual support and need to understand what they want to do and how they want to do it and, in any case, to remove obstacles from their path (Juliano, 2010 in Álvarez et.al, 2010, p.22).

Initiatives to promote social participation and mutual knowledge and fight against racism and sexism should recognize the customs of these women as tools of empowerment and agency for them. Ethnocentric drifts that interpret the baggage of these women as homogeneous, inferior or retrograde must be avoided. Along these lines, it is necessary to promote programmes with a gender perspective that include men. For this to be possible, it is necessary to coordinate efforts since, as we have said many times, the same person goes through the same course without anyone carrying out the process.

Most of the social participation in which subjects "spend their lives is carried out to face the consequences imposed on their daily lives by actors and institutions outside their locality" (Menéndez, 2006, p.14). In other words, social participation is understood as a process of acquiring power in the sense of access to and control over the resources necessary to protect livelihoods, placing the focus on local knowledge and power and intervention in decision-making (Menéndez, 2006). To this definition, Menéndez adds the centrality of theoretically reflecting on practices and facts, not only on discourses and representations of social participation (2006, p. 17).

To give a very specific example, and in relation to food: it is common to hear numerous complaints in mainstream society about "how badly Roma people eat". But it is also necessary to look at the costs of healthy eating, as well as what food circulates from spaces that work through



donations, for example. Those foods that satisfy hunger in the short term and are more economical are not always the healthiest. Migrants accept them so as not to say no, and for fear that aid will be taken away from them. But then they select what to eat and what not to eat and give away the foods they don't eat.

This is where the idea comes from, so that people can decide what and where to buy, as well as knowing the properties of food. In the case of Muslim migrant women, the programs should allow them to buy halal food and other foods that allow them to cook themselves, since they need to know what ingredients are used to prepare the meals.

4.2. Review of institutional architectures

One of the key points to achieve the objective of expanding the State's institutional action on equality, based on integrated, mainstreamed, active and regulatory gender policies, is the review of institutional architectures that generate the conditions to promote processes that lead to gender equality. The other points are the planning and management of programme development on the basis of equality and social justice; and the creation of pacts and alliances that involve diverse actors and commitments with a common goal. The revision of institutional architectures, in addition to the mainstreaming of the intersectional gender perspective, should aim at political parity and parity democracy.

The recipients of these programs need to be able to take up decision-making positions over their lives. We understand parity as a definitive measure that reformulates the conception of political power, redefining it as a space that must be shared equally between men and women (ECLAC, 2011). It is the broadest expression of universality, and means that equal merit must have equal results (Valcárcel, 2010). Parity democracy is understood as a proposal to reverse the inequality in access to decision-making processes between men and women through real transformations that go beyond the formal recognition of rights that – in practice – cannot be exercised by women on equal terms with men.

Therefore, the incorporation of migrants and Roma to work in the entities would be a clear demonstration that their ability to work is trusted.

4.3. Education & Training

An education that aims at citizenship should be particularly attentive to the importance of trust in education. It is in a political, democratic perspective that trust acquires its importance. Democracy consists of "building trust" (which has a meaning that "having confidence does not give") to



citizens so that they can be judges and actors in the decisions that concern them (Cornu, 1999, p. 20).

The process of humanization in the face of coloniality and racial and global dehumanizing neoliberalism involves pedagogical imperatives (Walsh, 2013). The education system is a central piece in any attempt at transformation, as well as teacher training and the training provided in the entities to workers and "users". Educational centres are spaces for communication, cultural exchange, training and the development of both personal and collective intellectual and social processes. A key step in discouraging segregation is to avoid the implementation of measures that stigmatise Roma and Muslim groups. Likewise, strengthen learning processes through experience and practice in everyday contexts. Consider the "Learning Community" and value the contributions (Macías Aranda, 2017) that individuals and social groups can make.

With regard to education for sex-affective health, it is necessary to update legislation, incorporate sex education into government programs, but also implement the training of professionals and technicians not only in sexual health content, but also in gender and intercultural perspective. Based on intersectionality, it is possible to make visible the voices and experiences of these margins and to design ways to act and think about emancipatory processes of greater justice and equality. This implies challenging pedagogies, revising logics, insistences and omissions, challenging categories and imagination, rethinking the pedagogical dimension of politics.

Feminist pedagogies stress forms of knowledge construction and politics precisely because there are forms of construction that have been left on the sidelines: rationality has been privileged over experiences (Scott, 2001). These pedagogies can contribute to overcoming the normativizing and normalizing tone, and channel the purposes to increase the power to act (Estupiñán, 2011, p.93).

Feminist pedagogies, interwoven with policies of economic redistribution in Nancy Fraser's terms, promote more egalitarian relations while producing fairer conditions for the production of knowledge, "including experience as a valid source, the exercise of one's own voice, the discussion of authority and sources of authorization, the centrality of position rather than the essentialization of power relations; in short, a counterpoint to traditional pedagogical practices, which were considered as an expression of masculine and patriarchal values" (Morgade; 2011, p. 35). In short, feminist pedagogies are and will be part of the construction of more just and egalitarian societies.

Although knowledge does not ensure that discrimination is avoided in matters related to collective imaginations, perceptions and prejudices of the majority community, implementing specific awareness and training programs can contribute to combating latent racism, classism and sexism that is reproduced uncritically. In other words, racism, classism, and sexism are more than



a moral sentiment. It is not only through education and awareness-raising that people will be convinced that they must stop discriminating.

In this sense, it is invited to invest efforts in carrying out actions among the gypsy, Muslim migrant and majority populations. Both in terms of incorporating the history of the Roma people and the Arab Muslim community into the curricula, as well as in the realization of courses jointly, aiming to establish relations between culturally and "ethnically" diverse groups. This commitment to interculturality is understood as the ability to translate and negotiate from one's own positions between complex expressions and concatenations of cultural and pedagogical praxis that respond to underlying logics (Dietz 2009 in Dietz 2011, p. 15). This approach is based on the plural, contextual and hybrid character of cultural, ethnic, class, gender, etc. identities articulated by each individual and each collectivity, therefore, the analysis is intercultural, relational, transversal and intersectional, emphasizing the interaction between heterogeneous identity dimensions (Dietz 2009, in Dietz 2011, p. 21).

Along these lines, actions could be thought of with university students, taking into account the large number of young people (not only from Castilla y León, but also from Extremadura and other Autonomous Communities living in Salamanca) who could act as multiplying agents of a more inclusive perspective. In this way, it would contribute to the university-society link in relation to the co-construction of knowledge, for example, by integrating it into the curricula of the careers as compulsory and curricular academic content (Trinchero & Petz, 2013). The question then remains about how to encourage participation, especially of young students, in activities of social commitment, in this case linked to interculturality.

One proposal is that teaching careers in general (and other careers) can carry out the Service-Learning experience in entities such as the Migrants' Association, the Gypsy Foundation or the self-managed Popular Library, for example. Service-Learning is an educational proposal that combines curricular learning of students with service to the community based on real needs of the environment. This would provide teachers in training with civic engagement, critical thinking, and values of social transformation.

On the other hand, language teaching is a barrier and requires adapted solutions. The development of language teaching material appropriate to people's needs, written in a letter that is used in society (not the linked letter), is key. Simple and inexpensive details such as making alphabets with the words that people know and use: "halal", "euro", "lamb", etc., contribute to building the meaning of attending class. This should be combined with shopping, using restrooms, and getting around the city, for example. Specific training for those who teach the language is also essential.

Finally, based on the fact that what is not named is being given an exceptional character (Lledó, 1992), the need to communicate through a language that does not hierarchize, exclude or



value one party more than another is recognized as a principle. That is, a language that makes women visible and that contributes to showing social reality as it is, made up of women and men.

Language reflects and constructs our conception of the world and reality, its power and capacity for influence are transcendental. Sexist language has contributed for centuries to establishing unjust relations between the sexes, perpetuating and naturalizing sexism and androcentrism (Bengoechea, 1999).

In inclusive communication, in addition to taking care of the forms and content of what is communicated, it is necessary to prioritize oral communication, try to translate the brochures that are delivered, use clear and simple language and convene diverse activities.

5. By way of closing

Taking into account what has been said so far, the organization of the conquest of new rights will depend on the social struggle that the population is capable of implementing, on the capacity to organize, to establish alliances and broad agendas. For this, it is essential that those who think and participate in the development of policies, projects and programs are the people who tread, know and live in the territory. And that "giving a voice" to people "in vulnerable situations" transcends the immortalization of a meeting in a photo. It could help to move away from the center to the preponderance of immediate "results" and recovering processes in a comprehensive and coordinated manner.

Perhaps it is up to those of us who have access to spaces of power to exercise vigilance and be alert to spaces or policies that, instead of promoting slogans, exclude. It is urgent to invest efforts in thinking about how these groups can stop having to defend, justify, verify their existence, and start attending to the contributions they have for societies.

It is also necessary to discuss the government sectors, with the corresponding activity from wherever everyone can, about the generation and dignification of jobs, the framework of policies for the recognition, redistribution and representation of the sectors that have their rights violated.

Meanwhile, in entities and other educational spaces, it is possible to start by reviewing institutional architectures and thinking about training and education in general that are not segregated, where people share; develop language teaching manuals eradicating linked letters; improve the communication of activities, aids and actions by instant messaging in audio format and in different languages; provide space to meet to do things that they like, motivate and are interested in, not only to take classes, but also to propose spaces for the care of offspring; Work on sex-affective health education from a gender and intercultural perspective.



Bibliographic references

- *Álvarez, M. Bruna; Barrera, Elisenda; Bernal, Aina; Eisele, Bàrbara. Fotografia: Barrera, Elisenda. Directora: Montserrat Clua i Fainé. (2010) "¿Y si las cosas fueran de otra manera?" La mirada compromesa de Dolores Juliano - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Perifèria Número 12, junio 2010 www.periferia.name revista de recerca i investigació en antropologia*
- Bentancor Harretche, María Virginia (2011). Empoderamiento: ¿una alternativa emancipatoria? *Revista Margen* N.º 61
- Bengoechea, Mercedes (1999). Nombra en femenino y en masculino: Sugerencias para un uso no sexista del lenguaje en los medios de comunicación. En Garrido Medina, Joaquín (ed.). *La lengua y los medios de comunicación*, tomo I, 267-81. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- Bourdieu, Pierre y Wacquant, Loïc (2005). *Una invitación a la sociología reflexiva* -1a ed. - Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina.
- Bullen, Margaret. (2012). Antropología feminista, Antropología aplicada. *Revista de Antropología Experimental* N.º 12. Monográfico: Antropología en España: Nuevos Caminos Profesionales. Texto 6: 91-102. Universidad de Jaén (España)
- Buxó Rey, María Jesús (2002). Indiferencia, observación y colaboración: formas de aplicar Antropología. VI Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Antropología Aplicada. Simposio: El sentido práctico de la antropología.
- CEPAL (2011) Informe anual 2011. Observatorio de Igualdad de Género. El salto de la autonomía de los márgenes al centro. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL.
- Cornu, Laurence (1999). *La confianza en las relaciones pedagógicas Construyendo un saber sobre el interior de la escuela*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Novedades Educativas.
- De Miguel, Ana (2017). Neoliberalismo sexual. El mito de la libre elección. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Dietz, Gunther (2011). Hacia una etnografía doblemente reflexiva: una propuesta desde la antropología de la interculturalidad. AIBR. *Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana* 6(1): 9-32.
- Esquivel, Valeria (ed) (2012); Espino, A.; Pérez Frago, L.; Rodríguez Enríquez, C.; Salvador, S.; Váscquez, A. *La economía feminista desde América Latina. Una hoja de ruta sobre los debates actuales en la región*. ONU Mujeres.
- Esteban, Mari Luz (2006). El estudio de la salud y el género: las ventajas de un enfoque antropológico y feminista. *Salud Colectiva*, vol. 2, núm. 1, enero-abril, pp. 9-20 Universidad Nacional de Lanús Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Estupiñán Serrano, Mary Luz (2011) De La Pedagogía Cívico-Sexual al Gobierno de los Cuerpos. En: *Revista Nomadías*. Número 14, 79 – 97
- Femenías, María Luisa (2008) Identidades esencializadas/violencias activadas. ISEGORÍA, N.º 38, enero-junio. p 22. Disponible en: https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.528/ev.528.pdf
- Filigrana, Pastora (2020). *El Pueblo Gitano contra el sistema-mundo. Reflexiones desde una militancia feminista y antirracista*. Ciudad de México, Akal.



- Fraser, Nancy (2008). La justicia social en la era de la política de identidad: redistribución, reconocimiento y participación. *Revista de Trabajo*. Año 4. Número 6.
- Krotz, Esteban (1987). Utopía, asombro, alteridad: consideraciones metateóricas acerca de la investigación antropológica. En: *Estudios sociológicos*, vol. 5, núm. 14: 283-301.
- Lledó, Eulalia (1992). *El sexismo y el androcentrismo en la lengua: análisis y propuestas de cambio*. Barcelona: ICE de la UAB [Cuadernos para la Coeducación 3]
- Macías Aranda, Fernando (2017). De la verja al aula (5.3) y Del mercadillo y la chatarra a la universidad (Cap 6). En *Contribuciones del Pueblo Gitano para luchar contra la pobreza y el antigitanismo a través de su participación en actuaciones educativas de éxito*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Barcelona. Pp 167-228.
- Menéndez, Eduardo (2006). Las múltiples trayectorias de la participación social. En: E. Menéndez y H. Spinelli (coords.), *Participación social ¿para qué?* Buenos Aires: Lugar Editorial.
- Mirga-Kruszelnicka Anna (2017). Entre la Otredad y la Des-igualdad. Amará #6. Invierno de 2017 «Nuestra» Amará. Asociación Cultural Amará. Sevilla.
- Morgade, Graciela (Coord.). (2011). *Toda educación es sexual*. Buenos Aires: La Crujía Ediciones.
- Tarducci, Mónica (2013). Adopción y parentesco desde la antropología feminista. *Revista de Estudios de Género. La ventana*, IV (37), 106-145. Disponible en: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=884/88428978006>
- Trincherro Hugo y Petz, Ivana (2013). "El academicismo interpelado". En Lischetti, M (Comp.) *Universidades Latinoamericanas. Compromiso, Praxis e Innovación Social*. Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UBA
- Sarkis, Diana (2018). Muertas a trabajar. Consideraciones feministas sobre la crisis (de la reproducción social) en Vélez Málaga. *Revista Andaluza de Antropología*, 14: 89-107
- Saulesleja, Sofía (2022). Otras mujeres en España: gitanas y migrantes musulmanas. Análisis de la construcción de desigualdades desde la antropología de género. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad de Salamanca.
- Scott, Joan (2001). Experiencia. En: *La ventana*, N.º 13, México pp. 42-73
- Valcárcel, Amelia (2010) ¿A qué llamamos paridad? En Conde, Rosa; Martínez, Isabel y Valcárcel, Amelia (eds.) *Iberoamérica en la hora de la igualdad*. Fundación Carolina, Documento de trabajo N° 50.
- Sennet, Richard (2012). *Juntos, rituales, placeres y política de la cooperación*. Ed. Anagrama . Barcelona. España.
- Todorov, Tzvetan (1998). La conquista de América. El problema del otro, Madrid, Siglo XXI.
- Walsh, Catherine (editora) (2013). *Pedagogías decoloniales. Prácticas insurgentes de resistir, (re) existir y(re) vivir*. Tomo I. Serie Pensamiento Decolonial. Quito: Abya Yala