Peruvian women in Catalonia
A study on the social position of Peruvian female migrants in the labour market

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Abstract

This qualitative research investigates the social positions of Peruvian female migrants in the Catalan labour market in Spain. It questions how social categories interact in order to determine the social positions of individuals, and how the positions can be related to a global world structure. Four unstructured life story interviews with Peruvian women resident in Catalonia were realized in December 2014. The interviews and two previously made studies have then been reviewed by a narrative analysis. The research formed a theoretical framework of intersectionality interpreted by Nina Yuval-Davis, and a globalization and female migration theory by Saskia Sassen. The analysis with the implementation of theories showed that nationality has a particularly strong influence in the intersection of social categories, though one must understand how all the identifications lay imbedded in each other in order to determine the social position of each individual. It was also concluded that an intersection of the identifications of the individuals interacts with global structures in order to determine the social positions of the study participants in the Catalan labour market. The city of Barcelona could through the lives of the four Peruvian females be seen as an economic centre that demands cheap labour by migrants, and where the social positions in the labour market can show a division of core and peripheral countries.

Keywords
Peruvian female migrants, Catalonia, labour market, intersectionality, social position, globalization
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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Migration is certainly not a new phenomenon, instead it is through migration that the many parts of the earth today are populated. Researchers have announced that the first migrants of the world lived around 150,000 years ago (De la Ruega 2014: 35). This was unambiguously a long time before the introduction of nation states and passports. Since the construction of nation states, citizens have been known to either migrate within their own nation, or by way of international migrations. The latter has experienced different trends through time, where the direction of large scale migrations has shifted depending on political and economic situations in the world. The national state of Peru has historically been an immigration country, from the colonial times to the twentieth century when many people came to Peru from e.g. Spain and China (Escrivá 1997: 51). A more recent trend is however the emigration from Peru to other nations, which first became evident in the 1980s because of economic and political instability in the country. Spain has become known as a major receiving country for Peruvian immigrants in Europe. The two countries have had a beneficial relation because of the colonial history, and a requirement for visa was not needed before the European Union pushed for its obligation in 1992 (Ibid: 48).

A relatively new trend for the globalized world is a feminization of migration (Yuval-Davis 2011: 38). An increasing number of women has during the past decades conducted international passages with the aim of finding labour. Peruvian women from working and middle classes are the most prominent groups that have settled down in the Iberian country. Indeed, women have also accounted for the majority of the Peruvians with occupations in Spain (Ibid: 52-54). To possess a Peruvian nationality includes having Spanish as an official language, and in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia one has to face yet another official language. The requirement to learn the Catalan language could be important for Peruvian women in order to integrate in the labour market (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 206). The present research believes that nationality and other social categories that identifies individuals may interact to construct the social positions for Peruvian women in the Catalan labour market.
1.2 Objectives and research questions

The present research studies the social positions of Peruvian female migrants in the Catalan labour market. The aim has been to relate both subjective experiences and world structures to the social positions that individuals possess. The current study makes use of life story interviews with four Peruvian women that live in Catalonia. An objective is to connect their experiences to the social categories they maintain, and try to understand its intersection in relation to their social positions in the labour market. Another objective has also been to place their stories in a structured world system. In this way the study will look into a horizontal perspective, where both the small human and the structures of the world are believed to interact in order to determine her social position in the labour market.

A greater knowledge in this area is desired for the recognition of what consequences are brought by possessing a distinct nationality as a migrant, and how this interact with other identifications of individuals. One may understand how a specific social category in a specific context can subordinate or privilege a person. Since the feminization of globalization and migration is a rather new phenomenon, this study might also assist to understand how women have become prominent characters in the international migration processes. One might recognize how global structures have impacts on the individual. These are the research questions that guide the study in order to be contested in the thesis:

- In which way has the intersection of nationality, class, age and gender interacted to determine the social positions that the four interviewed Peruvian women possess in the Catalan labour market?
- How can the lives of these four Peruvian women be placed in a global world structure?

1.3 Method and material

1.3.1 Introduction

The present investigation will provide a qualitative analysis in order to study the social positions of Peruvian female immigrants in the Catalan labour market. It will review a compilation of material that presents the life experiences and situations of four individuals. The study has utilized material mainly from primary sources to develop conclusions for the research questions. Secondary sources have been consulted to a smaller extent in order to compare with the material developed by the researcher. It can be difficult to generalize across
social settings in qualitative research, especially in this case where merely experiences from four individuals with the same nationality living in the same city have been appreciated. However utilizing both primary and secondary sources will increase the external validity of the study (Bryman 2008: 377). The study has aimed to produce new material that will bring some new insights to the present area of investigation. This material has been produced through interviews with four Peruvian women in Barcelona, where their life stories as migrants were told to the researcher. The interviews will in this study be reviewed by a narrative analysis, and with the implementation of theories about intersectionality and globalization in relation to female migration. The secondary sources consist of previously made studies in the area by Ángeles Escrivá.

1.3.2 A qualitative research

A qualitative investigation has been considered to be the most appropriate method for this social research. In contrast to quantitative research, a qualitative method gives the investigator the opportunity to be close to the research participants and take their point of view in mind (Bryman 2008: 393). In accordance with many feminist studies about women, it is believed that a quantitative structured research would reduce the possibility to hear the voice of Peruvian women themselves. Quantitative investigations tend to establish categories before any realization of the analysis has been done. Thus, there is a risk to objectify persons rather than seeing to the complexity of different individuals (Ibid: 396-397). The present research has categorized Peruvian female migrants in Catalonia as a social group, however it is questioned from the start that the group could be regarded as a homogenized group. Instead it is believed that heterogeneity exists within a social group, and that the experiences as immigrants indeed can be different between persons.

The conclusions of the analysis in the study will be drawn from the interpretation of the researcher. The possibility of describing the actual reality in social research has been highly criticized for half a century, and today it is more or less agreed on that qualitative researchers offer solely an interpretation of reality (Fejes and Thornberg 2009: 16-17). The qualitative research usually begins in a rather open-ended way, wherefore it has been criticized for giving too much space to the subjectivity of the researcher to decide what is significant and important (Ibid: 391). The subjective world including the background and interests of the researcher will of course matter in the realization of the present investigation. The researcher is for example conscious that her own experiences as a former migrant in
Catalonia could influence the process of the study. It is possible though to conduct a more objective work by keeping an awareness in mind during the process, and to appreciate more than one perspective.

### 1.3.3 Narrative analysis

The study has implemented a method where life stories, told in interviews, are analysed and interpreted. The narrative method is usually consulted in order to increase an understanding for people’s lives, and to understand a phenomenon through individual life stories (Kemuma 2000: 45). Even though the memories reproduced in the stories might not be entirely true, that is not of great importance since what the narrative analysis desire to capture are the images that an interviewed person produce of her- or himself and the surroundings. These images tell the world something about who the person is (Fejes and Thornberg 2009: 199). The life stories being told should be viewed as social constructions that let the researcher locate and understand the social world in which they are embedded (Kemuma 2000: 43). The narrative analysis also offers the opportunity to study identities and changes in them by observing the content of life stories and also how it is presented (Fejes and Thornberg 2009: 209). One should be careful not to make far-reaching conclusions regarding the subjective expressions of the interviewed, that is, beyond what is actually said and expressed. Another point to keep in mind during the analysis is to try not to exaggerate the uniqueness of people’s stories. There is a risk to “exoticise” the stories presented by persons of minority groups, when the fact is that all stories of all humans in the world are unique (Ibid: 210-211). A narrative analysis of life stories told by Peruvian female migrants has been considered to be a relevant method for the present research, the content of their stories including how it is expressed may assist to make sense of their social world and position.

### 1.3.4 Material

Qualitative research has often been associated with the utilization of primary sources. The distance that exists between the researcher and the material in secondary sources could increase possible difficulties in understanding the social context in which the material was produced, and making people and the setting anonymous in the previously qualitative developed material (Bryman 2008: 561). The present investigation has therefore appreciated the opportunity to collect material from primary sources. The actual material consists of four
unstructured interviews with Peruvian immigrant women in Catalonia, which took place in the city of Barcelona in between the 16th-18th of December 2014. An unstructured approach usually accompanies life story interviews, where the researcher starts off by asking the participant to tell their story about a specific event. Following up questions are then utilized to stimulate details and impressions (Bryman 2008: 557). Each interview gave more or less 45 minutes recorded material, in addition the encounters gave the researcher an opportunity to chat with the participants yet another 30 minutes without any recording. All the women accepted the researcher’s request to record the interviews.

The researcher had no previous relation with any of the women, and each meeting was set up in a distinct way. The names of the four participants in the study have been made up by the researcher in order to protect their real identities. A friend introduced Elena who is 42 years old and has lived 20 years in Catalonia. Elena in turn delivered another participant, namely Isabel who is 50 years with 8 years spent in the region. Amelia is 33 years old and left Peru for 13 years ago, she had herself contacted the researcher after seeing an advertisement on a public forum. Diana is the fourth and last study participant who was presented by yet another friend of the researcher, she lives in Barcelona since 6 years back and is 34 years old. Details around the encounters can be found in the appendix. Each interview was realized in an unstructured manner. The researcher made sure to keep the same focus in each interview, but mainly gave the participants a great space to speak freely about their life experiences. The researcher occasionally followed up on subjects with further questions. Three of the interviews were made in Spanish and the forth in English. Each recorded material was later on transcribed word by word on a paper, which was found meaningful since a pre-selection could have led to a premature judgement of what is important and what is not (Kemuma 2000: 57).

Secondary sources consists of material where the researcher probably has not been involved in the collection of data. Utilizing already developed material has the advantage to reduce the time and cost that the researcher spends in the production of her own material. It is also possible to take advantage of material with high quality when consulting secondary sources (Bryman 2008: 296-297). The advantages are found adequate in order to utilize the secondary material as a complementation to the primary sources. Two articles have been consulted authored by Ángeles Escrivá, who is considered to be one of the most prominent scholars on Peruvian females in Barcelona. Secondary sources have also been
utilized to shape the theoretical framework with studies made by Saskia Sassen and Nina Yuval-Davis.

1.4 Definitions of concepts

This section will define the main concepts of the study, with the objective to create an accordance between the researcher and the readers on the significance of central terms. The concepts of globalization, social position, intersectionality and domestic work are below developed and defined.

Globalization. The study has consulted the sociologist Saskia Sassen in order to define what significance globalization has in the text. She explains globalization as a multi-layered process where different circuits constitute each other. A circuit that is believed to have strong influence on the flow of labour and transnational migration is the flow of capital (Sassen 2003: 1988). It is however not a unidirectional relation, the global processes influence each other to make up what is defined as globalization in this essay. Another important impact is the advance of technology, where e.g. the evolution of internet and the flight industry have influenced global processes. The term globalization also includes what Sassen calls a ‘denationalization’, where the formerly clear and significant structures of state-nation has lost some ground. Other actors than exclusively the states, for example NGOs (non-governmental organizations) have increased their roles in international law processes. Immigrant movements that demand citizen rights might be denationalized (Sassen 2003: 22).

Social position. One of the main concepts for the study is social position, and it refers to the position that a worker possess in the labour market. Social positions in the labour market are defined to contain a scale of privilege or subordination (Yuval-Davis 1983: 69). The positions may e.g. shift regarding social conditions and the salary. To possess different degrees of social rights as a worker is especially the reason for why this study refers to the position in the labour market as social. A social position that is placed low in the scale is the domestic service work (Sassen 2002 in De la Ruega 2014: 391).

Intersectionality. The concept is said to be a metaphorical term for the intersection of different roads of social categories that together constructs the social position for people and their identities (Yuval-Davis 2011: 6). It signifies that identifications such as nationality, gender, and race cannot be seen as independent categories, but they are in a relation where they constitute each other. Gender is always raced, classed, and nationalized,
just like race, class and nationality always is gendered. Intersectionality signifies in practice that our identities possess some more and some less privileged parts (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 24-25). The degree of advantage that a social category possess will depend on the matter of time and place. The intersection of social categories bring consequences for the experiences of a person in the social society. To utilize intersectionality as a theoretical approach assists to understand social positions of people and their attitudes towards life (Yuval-Davis 2011: 7). Intersectionality will in this research be utilized to analyse the relation of social categories that the four study participants maintain.

Domestic work. This study defines domestic work as an occupation that occurs in the private household, so to say “behind closed doors” (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 206). It is a space believed to be separate from the public sphere and state regulation. Domestic workers often possess few benefits and a low salary. The occupations are available in households where the family maintain a higher class position and can afford to employ workers to execute their daily chores e.g. to clean, cook and take care of their children. More domestic works are accessible as a greater amount of “women of the house” work in the public sphere and leave the household chords to other people, particularly women since the work is associated with femininity (Ibid: 206-207).

1.5 Limitations

The study has merely realized interviews with four different individuals. A larger amount of interviews would surely have increased the opportunity to detect more similarities and differences between individuals, and to strengthen the conclusions. It is noted that it can be hard to find people that are willing to be interviewed. Joyce Kemuma realized a similar process when she utilized the life stories of Kenyan immigrants in Sweden for her doctoral thesis. She concluded that within the period of one year merely four people were willing to be interviewed (Kemuma 2000: 56).

The selection of subjects and categories for analysis are yet other limitations within the frame of the research. The study treats Peruvian women in the Catalonian labour market, but all the participants are found living in the city of Barcelona and not in any rural area. It is further argued that ethnicity could have been a category to analyse in an intersection with categories, but was has been ignored because of a limited selection and no sufficient material picked up from the interviews. Education could also have occupied a separate
category, but which information instead has been interlinked in the section that focuses on class. The same goes for maternity, which can be seen to matter in the intersection of categories but what has not appreciated a separate subtitle for discussion.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The theories that are consulted and implemented for the analysis of the material in the research are given below. Initially it is the intersectional perspective being interpreted by Nina Yuval-Davis that is presented. Later it is the theory of globalization and female migration that is described and interpreted by the sociologist Saskia Sassen, but with some additional ideas developed by Yuval-Davis. The last section of the chapter will briefly summarize the different theories.

2.2 Intersectionality

The theory of intersectionality was developed as a criticism towards the white middleclass feminism in the United States during the 1980s. It was born inside black feminism where it was believed that the feminism that won legitimacy during that time excluded women of another colour than white, and did not see to the multiple oppressions that women experience (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 24). Intersectionality suggests that a study of the intersection of different social divisions assists to highlight the diversity of people’s experiences. While race is always gendered, gender will always be racialized. This means that one cannot see to social divisions as independent categories. Instead, intersectionality advocates that gender and race will always lay imbedded in each other together with other social divisions. Gender is therefore a differentiated category that is crossed by hierarchies based on e.g. class, nationality, and ethnicity (De los Reyes 2013: 68). The amount of social categories for analysing an intersection is up to the researcher, it could be only two or an infinity (Yuval-Davis 2011: 6).
The following quotation by Kimberlé Crenshaw came out of a meeting on Gender and Racial Discrimination that took place in Zagreb in November 2000. Crenshaw has been known as the person who developed the term ‘intersectionality’, and this study has consulted her interpretation of its significance since the metaphor in the quotation is believed to facilitate an understanding for the term. “Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group... tries to navigate the main crossing in the city... The main highway is ‘racism road’. One cross street can be Colonialism, then patriarchy Street... She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, a many layered blanket of oppression.” (Crenshaw in Yuval-Davis 2007: 196).

The present study has mainly consulted the ideas developed by Nina Yuval-Davis for the implementation of an intersectional approach. A few comments are relevant in connection to the quotation by Crenshaw in order to stay true to the approach of Yuval-Davis. First, it should be said that the crossroads could be linked together not only to oppress but also to privilege a social position. Secondly, one should be careful not to make an additive model of oppression, but instead analyse the differential ways in which the social divisions lay imbedded in each other (Ibid: 205). It is also noted that the name of the main road will shift depending on space and time, that is, the context will matter for the significance of a specific category (Yuval-Davis 2011: 7-8). The degree of subordination or advantage that a social category possess will depend on in which place or decade the person lives. This is believed to be important for the research about Peruvian immigrants, where e.g. the significance of nationality may shift whether a person is in Peru or in Catalonia as a migrant.

2.3 Globalization and female migration

Saskia Sassen is a well-known sociologist who has developed theories around economic globalization in connection to transnational migration and gender. Her work has been consulted for the present research with the objective to widen the perspective on Peruvian female workers in Catalonia. The idea is to understand how macro politics can influence at an individual level, and how the development of a new world system increases inequality between individuals. Previously clear structures of state-nation has blurred out. States are no longer the exclusive subjects in international law, instead there are supranational organizations, minority populations, and ONGs rising as actors in international relations and
laws (Sassen 2003: 67). Capitalism crosses established structures and it works within a larger area than any political entity can manage to control (Sassen 1988: 36). There is a relation between capitalism with its global flow of money, and a changing character of international migration (Robinson 2009: 7). It proposes that the flow of capital goes hand in hand with the flow of cheap labour. Although individuals might see to their migration as a personal decision, one cannot deny the fact that the option to migrate is itself socially constructed in large-scale migrations (Sassen 2003: 131).

Sassen has argued that there exist two major global labour markets that differentiate in between one another. The first one is the global market for the educated elite which is acknowledged and where rights for the workers are regulated through e.g. WTO (World Trade Organization) and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). The other major global labour market is that of domestic workers, which is pretended not to exist and where workers possess few rights (Sassen 2002 in De la Ruega 2014: 391). That it is pretended means to say that in contrast to the global market for the educated elite, the global domestic market lacks institutions that control and guarantees rights to the workers. Yuval-Davis has called this market that of care work and so-called “global chains of care” (Yuval-Davis 2011: 185). Women have traditionally been primary carers in nuclear families, and as their access to the workplace has increased, so has a gap of care been created in the private houses. The development of transportation and communication technologies has assisted to increase the movements of care workers from less developed parts of the world (Ibid). Sassen argues that immigrants tend to do these works since it is not the highest preference for nationals (Sassen 1988: 26). It is called care work since the workers have to care, or at least pretend to. Yuval-Davis further argues that migrant care workers who have left their own children to the care of relatives usually find the caring to be the only bearable part of the job (Yuval-Davis 2011: 186).

In accordance with Yuval-Davis, Sassen has argued that many workers in the disadvantaged markets are women and immigrants, whose identities are not always connected to the national community (Ibid: 23). Major suppliers of cheap labour have been countries from Latin America, Asia, and Africa (Sassen 1988: 34). Large cities of the world are evident spatial places in order to show an emerging inequality, they work as economic centres where loads of service jobs demands the flow of cheap labour. Sassen developed the term ‘global cities’ for these spatial places that reflects an international division of core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral countries (Robinson 2009: 9-11).
The fact that women are great actors in the informal labour market has brought on consequences for gender relations. On the one hand, it has opened up opportunities for women who have gained more autonomy. Females from different classes have gained more economic autonomy, and involvement in the society and politics (Sassen 2003: 124-125). There is however an exploitation of women and immigrants in the labour market as they are presented as good offers for the employer, which conditions their salaries and work identities (Ibid: 86). Yuval-Davis writes that migrant care workers in the domestic service often will depend on their employers for the right to stay legally in the country, which is an enslavement in itself (Yuval-Davis 2011: 189). Sassen stresses the need for workers’ rights and for the integration of the immigrant in society, to the level that the typical citizen experience immigrants as a natural part of society (Sassen in De la Ruega 2014: 391).

2.4 Summary

The chapter has aimed to explain the different theories that are consulted in order to analyse the material in the investigation. The theory of intersectionality interpreted by the work of Nina Yuval-Davis was presented first, followed by the theory about globalization and female migration that was developed by ideas of Saskia Sassen with some additional points from Yuval-Davis. The two theories within the framework of the study are believed to complement each other. The theory of intersectionality will give the researcher an opportunity to analyse the intersection of nationality, class, age and gender possessed by individuals in order to connect its relation to the social position in the labour market. The theory by Sassen is believed to widen the perspective and relate the social positions and subjective experiences to a structured world system. The theoretical framework will therefore offer a horizontal perspective on Peruvian women in Catalonia, from the level of the small human to a macro level where global structures might influence the individual lives.

3. Contextual overview

3.1 Introduction
The following chapter aim to give the reader a better knowledge about the context in which the research is placed, to understand stories within wider stories. The first section of this chapter would like to create a greater understanding for the background of the female migration, to explain the main reasons for the emigration of Peruvian women. The neoliberal globalization will be outlaid to begin with since its emergence occurred simultaneously as emigration from Peru increased, and the specific situation that Peru was found in at the same time will also be explained. National borders will in continuation be discussed since it brings consequences upon the undocumented migrant, and the Catalonian nationality in order to understand what society immigrants face at arriving. A brief summarize of the whole chapter will lastly be presented.

3.2 Background

Even though a globalization of the world is not a new phenomenon, its character has changed to the point that a proper name now describes the specific period that developed the world system in which humans today live. This period has been named the neoliberal globalization, and its intensified phase started off in the 1980s. Large investments were issued in constant privatizations and deregulations of markets in order to achieve a global economic integration (Elmhorn 2013: 19). Neoliberal promoters aimed to open national borders to create a world economy. Countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa went through with deregulations that were not voluntarily initiated but pushed by the World Bank and IMF (the International Monetary Fund). Countries in Latin America agreed to go through with neoliberal reform programs in order to receive loans that would pay off the foreign debts (Ibid: 20).

For about one decade it looked like the neoliberal globalization that included the circulation of the capitalistic market and the quick advances in technology would guarantee a steadily growing prosperity for everybody in the world. However, meanwhile the accumulated capital grew and more democracies were developed, a gap of inequality became evident both within and between countries. Financial speculation waves were seen in Latin America. Capitalism became known as a force that could break down the currency of a nation in one day (De la Reguera 2014: 86). The massive privatizations of services made under neoliberal policies where the state and local governments reduces their autonomy have led to a much higher unemployment. The privatizations lead to cutbacks in public welfare services. Women and poor who are already disadvantaged social groups have been struck the hardest by the
policies. Meanwhile, people tend to seek economic prosperity elsewhere when the current place does not offer any opportunities (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 193-195).

Peru is one of the Latin American countries with the worst distribution of wealth, wherefore a high inequality exists within the country (Pavez Soto 2011: 206). Economic and political instability were reflected in the emigration from Peru that became the most evident in the end of the 1980s and the 1990s. Besides violence in regard to political conflicts, the country experienced hard economic crises where the few jobs available offered low salaries in comparison to elsewhere (Ibid: 208). Women were the social group that was struck the hardest by the economic crisis in Peru, where they only occupied 24% of the total formal labour. This has been reflected in the Peruvian emigration which has been mainly female (Escrivá 1997: 52). Emigration and its feminization continued to increase during the decade of 1990s as the economic and political instability kept on. The governance obtained an authoritarian power when Alberto Fujimori ruled the country for almost a decade, when corruption was high and human rights were violated (Pavez Soto 2011: 209). While some of the emigration in 1990s were involuntary and realized by political refugees, the decade was still characterized by women as the protagonists of family migration projects. Spain became a popular receiving country for Peruvian female migrants (Ibid: 210).

3.3 Migration and national borders

It is certainly an unequal fact that a Peruvian person only can travel in 80 countries without any visa, while a Swedish can go to a total amount 173 countries without any visa requirement\(^1\). The international cooperation in the European Union has opened up the borders between the nations that are part of the agreement, which has increased a freedom of movement for people with a European Union passport. This has on the other hand signified a higher strictness of border controls towards nations outside the European Union (De los Reyes 2013: 73). The urge to control borders have led to an increased amount of undocumented migrants. The situation as undocumented could have been brought by an expired legal visa or the border-crossing without a visa to begin with (Escrivá 1997: 44).

In the case of Peruvian women in Catalonia it has been said that the newly arrived are mostly undocumented, something that is experienced as very stressful (Ibid: 54).

Regulation policies such as border controls and the requirement for visa has been developed in Spain all since it became a large immigration country and a part of the European Union. Although Spain has had a national interest in maintaining good relations with Latin American countries because of the common historical ties, the requirement of visa was finally introduced for these countries too (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 90). The need for citizens of Peru to apply for a visa in order to enter the national borders of Spain was introduced in 1992 (Escrivá 1997: 48). It should however be said that an abolition of the visa requirement for Peruvians to enter the borders of various European countries is in process at the moment of writing, which was proposed by the state of Spain. Moreover it is noted that Latin American people have the privilege to request a Spanish citizenship after two years of legal residence in the country, in contrast to ten years for people from other nations (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 97).

The existence of nations creates a dichotomy where the members of the nation are benefitted with citizen rights, and the others without a membership are discriminated by the exclusion of rights (De los Reyes 2013: 71). Immigrants may possess the position as the ‘others’ in this kind of dichotomy where they are excluded from the national solidarity based on a common identity and citizen rights. The frame and content of a prominent national identity is said to be constructed by the hands of the state, however then it is learned by the citizens (De la Reguera 2014: 133). The elevation of a national identity was very prominent during the economic crisis of the nineteenth century, from where national flags and anthems originate. It is not a coincidence that nationalism is on the trend during times of economic crises, for it provides opportunities for the political and economic elite to maintain their privileges (Ibid: 135).

The region of Catalonia becomes a special case to look at because of a long history of independence struggle from the central state of Spain. The fact that the Catalan language was prohibited to speak during the governance of Franco has assisted to the importance of its existence and exertion today. The promotion of the Catalan language and culture can be found in the agenda of all political parties in Catalonia (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 123). The Catalan language is the central idea of a Catalan identity, and it has been said by some to be threatened by immigration (Ibid: 201). Immigration should here be noted as defined not only as people migrating from other countries but also from other parts of Spain.

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At the same time, it is argued that the Catalan identity is constructed by precisely immigration. Metaphors such as an onion has been utilized to describe the formation of what constitutes the Catalan society, meaning that the national identity constructs itself and was constructed based on different layers, that is, immigration (Ibid: 183). It is said that a Spanish speaking Peruvian will always be an immigrant in Madrid, but if the same person puts in an effort to learn the regional language in Catalonia, he or she will be Catalan (Ibid: 205).

3.4 Summary

The chapter has had the aim to describe the context in which the research is found. The characteristics of Peruvian emigration was explained in the first section accompanied with information about the world politics during the peak of the emigration. The second and last section explained the significance of national borders since it brings consequences for the individual migrant who struggles with papers, and briefly described the Catalan nationality which migrants unavoidably will encounter in the region and its labour market.

4. Presentation of Material

4.1 Interviews

4.1.1 Introduction

This section makes a presentation of the interviews with four Peruvian females that have migrated to Catalonia. Elena, Amelia, Diana, and Isabel were given fairly free space to tell the researcher about their lives as migrants and beyond. The content of the life stories have been summarized and are now presented in a narrative text design. The aim has been to capture and reveal the material close to how it was presented for the researcher since any preselecting of parts could have increased the risk of prejudgement. The result is four short life stories of four Peruvian women resident in Catalonia.

4.1.2 Elena
Elena is forty-two years old, and will this actual year fulfil twenty years living in Catalonia. She realized the transnational migration because of economic difficulties back in Peru. After a time in unemployment she got the chance to emigrate and search for economic prosperity in Spain. Her friend at the time had an aunt who lived in Barcelona and that could assist to deliver housing and occupation. Elena had some savings left from her father who had passed away and decided to join her friend on the unsecure trip to Europe. She left her two year old daughter in Peru with the expectation to bring her to Spain soon. They had managed to obtain tourist visas for Gothenburg in Sweden, and from there they went down through Europe by train and car. The trip was accompanied with many fears, and along the way they were exposed by police arrestment, having their passports robbed, but managed in the end to cross the Spanish border hiding in a car.

Elena emphasizes that the European image is much beautified in Peru, and that immigrants in Catalonia tend to reveal a false picture of their lives to the relatives back at home. She says that they do this in order to give their family the comfort that everything is all right. Elena highlights repeatedly the difficulties that she has to make it to the end of the month economically, that one needs to work day and night. Arriving in Spain she lived undocumented for about three years, something that had consequences for the work conditions. She worked as a domestic worker without any rights to vacations or social security, one only worked without any rest. According to Elena she was fortunate to work for good families that helped her to obtain a contract so that she could arrange her documents to stay legally in Spain. She was happy to be treated well by the families, because other contacts of her have apparently experienced obvious hierarchies and worse conditions in the domestic works. Not knowing the Catalan language was not found any obstacle, although Elena believes that its importance has increased more lately and that it is crucial for social integration. She merely mentions that she was very hungry in the first period of her stay in Barcelona, because of the comparatively small portions of food that were offered in the house where she was working.

After obtaining the documents to stay legally in Spain she was able to achieve a job in a cleaning company, and also to bring her daughter over from Peru. She was however obliged to work long hours in different jobs in order to this, to the point that her health was in danger and she was found ill for a period. Elena highlights that the outcomes of life depends a lot of which family one comes from in Peru. She compares the lives and opportunities between her and the researcher, and emphasizes that she in contrast has not had the luck to be
able to study and travel because of the family that she comes from. Instead she has dedicated her life to the daughter, and says that she has been able to pay for the studies of her child. Since nine years Elena is still working for the same company where she takes care of elderly. Because of the lower salaries caused by the economic crisis she has to leave the house at seven o’clock in the morning and come back at ten in the night. She is found fortunate to survive economically to the end of the month, and that she once was able to travel to Machu Picchu. Maybe one day she will study, but by that time she will be old. Despite of the stay in Catalonia that has lasted almost half of her life, Elena does not identify herself as Catalan but says that she is used to live there. She says to herself and to the researcher that one needs to adapt in order to survive right.

4.1.3 Amelia

Amelia is thirty-three years old and has now occupied thirteen years of her life in Catalonia. For the interview she has had a request to talk in English since she would like to learn the language better, the researcher agrees and will soon come to know that Amelia has at least the same language level as her. Amelia highlights that practice is the only measure to develop language skills, and says that it was also the way that she came to understand and speak the Catalan language. She tells the anecdote about how a teacher had asked the class at the first day of school if there was anyone that did not understand Catalan. Amelia had never raised her hand, not because of shyness, but because she realized that it was the only way for her to learn the language. She has discovered that people from the region are nicer to her, very nice, when they find out that she has made the effort to learn the Catalan language.

The knowledge also helped her to achieve the work she occupies in a multinational company, where the Catalan language was a requirement. It is a company that lately has wanted to renovate to a younger middle age of the employees. About ninety-nine percent of her work colleges are Spanish. Amelia points out that her position working in an office with a good salary is not normal for the typical Peruvian woman and that people usually react to the fact. Common reactions have been that of surprise, giving congratulations, and commenting that it is actually a respectable and a good job. Meanwhile she mentions that occasionally one steps into persons that believe that she as a Latin American immigrant has robbed the work from a Spanish person. She explains this with the level of education and comments that educated people tend to be more open-minded. She says that there are some works that Catalan people do not like to do, and that Latin American immigrants usually do
them for that reason. Amelia had herself “typical Peruvian jobs” such as domestic and service works during the first years in Barcelona. It was necessary for her to work while she was studying, wherefore she had a crazy schedule at that time without any days of rest. While she was in the University from eight to one o’clock in the afternoon, she later worked from two o’clock in the afternoon until ten o’clock in the night. She describes a fear of what would have happened if she did not have any money, since she migrated alone from Peru as very young.

It was mostly curiosity for other cultures and people that made her move from home. Amelia explains that she comes from a little town, and felt the need to discover something else, a place where she too could share her own knowledge. In relation to this she also mentions that she comes from a macho culture wherefore she wanted to know something else. She says that her family is not so rich, and that they have worked hard in order to give their children an education. Amelia had already fulfilled a career in Peru before she moved to Barcelona. Once in Spain she however reasoned that she was young and could begin a new career, wherefore she started technical studies in which she has also finished a master degree. Amelia explains the beginning in Barcelona as a hard and strong experience, where she as an immigrant was seen as inferior to Spanish people. She believes that the given identity as an immigrant will never disappear, but these days she does not allow anyone to call her by offensive words. She has gained a lot of confidence and independence by the experience of migrating on her own. Even though it has been a struggle she believes that most people can do it. She also highlights that she migrated as very young and that her personality was in a stage of developing at the time. Amelia identifies herself as Catalan today, and explains how it is most evident when she travels to other parts of Spain. She finds it curious that she has difficulties with the Spanish language when traveling to Madrid, because of the mixture of Spanish and Catalan that she possess as a habit. Once in a while she makes speeches about her experiences as an immigrant in the city hall of Barcelona, she supposes that Catalan people like her integration. At her last speech she was asked about the independence struggle for Catalonia, Amelia commented that she comes from a previous colony and that it should be possible for Catalonia to gain independence too.

4.1.4 Diana

Diana is thirty-four years old and has been living in Catalonia since six years back. She has a job in the domestic service where she has been working for the same family for five years
now, taking care of the elderly. It is in the hands of this family whether or not Diana will receive her documentation to stay legally in Spain for the near future. She has told them to arrange the papers, and believes that it soon will be done since she trust them. She is looking forward for the problem of the documentation to be solved, so that she can enjoy the advantages of vacations and social security. For the moment she is working all holidays, and the only advantage given by the job is the monthly salary. Diana likes her job even though she sometimes experience that the family keep her longer hours for the same salary. They have occasionally reminded her that Spain is in an economic crisis and that jobs can be hard to find. Diana does however believe that one will find employment with a little patience, there are jobs available, but it is often necessary to have good contacts and recommendations. She believes that Spanish people are very mistrusting, and without any good recommendation it is impossible to obtain any job.

It was the mother of Diana who first migrated to Catalonia to work in the domestic service, and then one year later she brought over her daughter. Diana had an economic debt at the time and saw the migration from Peru as the only solution to the problem. She left her job that she explain included her own negotiation. Her three own children stayed at the house of her father in Lima, and have today turned nineteen, fifteen, and seven years. Diana does not like the idea of raising her own children in Catalonia. She explain that it is not everyone that can obtain an education in Spain, and that many young people are hanging around in the streets surrounded by drugs and groups of slackers. It is not an ambient that she would like for her children, wherefore they are in better hands in Peru. Diana herself did not continue to study after the accomplishment of the basic classes in elementary school. She was however able to run her own business before the migration to Spain. Even though she managed to pay off her economic debt within two years in Catalonia, she still believes that Peru offers better opportunities for the possibility to purchase a proper house. Diana has experienced the adaption to Catalonia and its culture as a bit difficult. She explains that she does understand the Catalunian language but says repeatedly that she does not like it at all. Further she believes that life in Spain is too much about money, without money one is abandoned. Each month is dedicated to pay the apartment, there is no forgiveness.

4.1.5 Isabel

Isabel is fifty years old and has spent eight years of her life in Barcelona. Before she managed to get a contract in Catalonia she had already applied for several years to go but repeatedly
been neglected. Back in Peru she had two different jobs that she liked, one in the administration of a clinic and another one in marketing. With an education in nursery, she had studied first one career that her parents paid for, and after that realized yet another professionalization while working in Peru. As soon as her vacations arrived Isabel usually packed her bags and went out traveling. She had travelled to Europe three times already and had liked it very much. By the time that she was accepted a contract to immigrate to Spain, the parents of Isabel had been found in illness for some time. The costs from the hospital had been immense and in the end the family had an economic debt. Although she feared the death of her father and wanted to take care of him in Peru, her sister supported her to go to Barcelona in order to work. In Spain Isabel would pay off the debt and has further been able to improve the life quality of her parents with e.g. good medicines.

Isabel thought that it would be easy for her to obtain an occupation within her area of career in Spain, which has not been the case. She says that this depends on how one sees you, other immigrants may have had better luck of encountering sensible and nice people in the labour market. In Peru there is an image of Europe as a place where discrimination does not occur. Isabel describes it as false and speaks instead of a dualism where you as an immigrant can be a thief or anything, that Latin Americans are known as people from the Third World. She works in a cleaning company since six years back and says that her current boss can be discriminative. The sense is that immigrants are ignored and has to work harder to prove their position, while Spanish people has demonstrated that they do not like to work at all. Another sense is that the women in the company do the work of the men as well, because some of the occupations such as cleaning bathrooms are seen as more feminine. The economic crisis has increased a competitiveness between the workers. Isabel also believes that the company has encouraged the employed to work harder since cameras have been installed and because they have wanted to hire people in order to evaluate their work. She does not however consider to apply for a new work, she is after all socially secured and believe that other places would not employ a person of her age.

Isabel dedicated her days working in the domestic service at the beginning of her stay in Catalonia. She mentions that her age of forty-two by the time of migration made it feel slightly more difficult, and that once she was employed the age made her seem more mature and responsible. The terms in the domestic service did not include any contract to begin with, and she explains that the employers gave her false hopes that they would make her a contract and in the end gave it to another person. This happened yet in the house of another
family. When she at a third domestic work actually accomplished to obtain a contract, it so happened that the employer could act as a dictator since he had paid for their social security. Isabel describes it as if he was their owner since he had set up cameras and the workers were not allowed to eat during the days in the house. She had left the work after three months, and soon after that found her current job. Isabel further explains that the Catalan language can be utilized in a discriminative manner. People can talk in Catalan during meetings so that not everybody will understand, and it can bring the sentiment that they are talking about you behind the back. Isabel describes herself as a person that adapts very easily to new situations, and she loves the encounter of new cultures. She has now taken courses in Catalan, and also fulfilled yet another career in pharmacy. Isabel likes to study and takes at the moment yet another course in hope to be able to work with children in the future. Another dream of hers is that her parents will be able to visit her one day in Barcelona.

4.2 Previous research in the area

This part presents already developed material within the area of study, with a focus on conclusions that have been drawn. Ángeles Escrivá might be called the most prominent scholar on Peruvian women in Barcelona, her name dominates the results in search engines in the University libraries of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Barcelona. The first article that this study has consulted aims to describe the characteristics of Peruvian female migration to Catalonia (Escrivá 1997), while the second one treats Peruvian women in the domestic service in Barcelona (Escrivá 2000). Although female migration is described as often temporal and autonomic, it does not signify that the migration is not conditioned by family members depending on the woman in economic terms (Ibid: 328). Women may be encouraged to emigrate by masculine characters of the family, who are responsible for the decisions in the family because of a hierarchy of age and sex (Ibid: 331).

Even though Peruvian women in Catalonia often occupy work positions with less qualifications than what they are educated for, the salary is still much better in the less desired works in Barcelona than it would have been in their profession back in Peru (Ibid: 337). Peruvian migrants have mostly been dedicated to work in the domestic service in Spain and as carers for elderly (Escrivá 1997: 54). Even though the idea usually is to work in the domestic temporally, so it often happens that it becomes a permanent job. The Peruvian
women in the domestic service may need to compete with other migrant women from e.g. Philippines and Ecuador to keep and improve their positions in the work (Ibid: 340).

The position in the labour market is experienced as traumatising for women who had an objective to upgrade their individual or familiar status. These women may try to study while working in the domestic service in order to facilitate the access for a more desired work. Women interviewed in the study of Escrivá had expressed that the domestic job would assist them to obtain legal papers and that they would try to work in another area once the documents were regularized (Escrivá 2000: 338). There are however very few Peruvian women that later will make a full change and work in a more valued sector (Ibid: 340). Others who migrated principally in order for the economic survival of the family will not be as traumatised in the position as a domestic worker, although they might change to a service work outside the domestics once their family has been able to arrive in Barcelona (Ibid: 338).

4.3 Summary

The chapter has presented the material of the research. The production of primary sources was revealed to begin with, where the life stories being told to the researcher by Elena, Amelia, Diana and Isabel were presented in a narrative text design. The last part presented previous made research in the area made by Ángeles Escrivá. The material will in the next and last chapter of the research be analysed through the theoretical framework of the study.

5. Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The following section has the objective to analyse the material developed in the previous chapter within the theoretical framework of the research. First of all it will review the content of the interviews and the previously developed studies, and analyse it through the theoretical approach developed by Saskia Sassen. In this way the researcher will insert life stories into a wider picture and see how the material can be related to the theory of globalization and female migration.
The next step is to focus on the social categories of each individual, and analyse how the research participants might have connected these to their subjective experiences during the interviews. It will review the intersection between the social categories of nationality, class, age, and gender in order to understand how these interact to determine the social positions of the Peruvian women in the labour market. Here one might also discover if any social category could have a greater influence than others for the position of individuals in the specific context of the study. The last part of the chapter aims to summarize the completed analysis in order to develop and make conclusions for the research questions.

5.2 The position of the females in a world system

The sociologist Saskia Sassen suggests that the individual lives of female migrants should be seen in the wider perspective of a structured world system. The personal decision to migrate is a socially constructed option in large-scale migrations (Sassen 2003: 131). Latin America is a great supplier of cheap labour that is drawn by the flow of capital and the demand of service workers in developed regions (Sassen 1988: 34). Sassen stresses for a gender perspective and believes that women are prominent characters in this development where an informal labour market of domestic work is mainly occupied by females (Robinson 2009: 23). This section will make an attempt to analyse how the material from the interviews and the previously made studies by Ángeles Escrivá can be placed in connection to the described world system in which capitalism goes hand in hand with the presence of large-scale female migration.

Escrivá concluded in her research that Peruvian migrants in Barcelona mostly have been dedicated to work in the domestic service and as carers for elderly (Escrivá 1997: 54). All the four individuals that were interviewed for the actual study have at some point during their stay in Catalonia worked in the domestic service. Escrivá further argued that the idea usually is to work in the domestic service temporarily but that it becomes a permanent job since it is continuously prolonged (Escrivá 2000: 327). This seems to be the case for the moment for Diana in the present research who expressed that she will continue to work in the domestics until her legal papers have been arranged, and where she now works since five years back.

Elena, Diana and Isabel revealed that they lacked contracts in the domestic service and were therefore not offered any social security or vacations. The interviews also revealed that both Elena and Diana did not possess any documents to stay legally in Spain
while they worked as domestic servants. Diana said that “because with legal immigration documents you have more advantages, because they will give you insurance and holidays. In this work I haven’t any of these things at the moment, only my salary. I have no right to vacation, I have no paid time off, I work all festivities, I haven’t got any insurance either. With legal papers I can have these possibilities”\(^3\). This suggests that they were exploited in their lives as workers because of the absence of work contract and their situation as undocumented. Sassen has argued that a global labour market is that of domestic and care workers in which workers possess few rights (Sassen 2002 in De la Ruega 2014: 391). She stresses that women and immigrants are exploited in the labour market when they are presented as good offers for the employer, which will condition their salaries and work identities (Sassen 2003: 86). The fact that Elena revealed that she worked to the point that her health was in danger fortifies this idea. “I practically worked all day long and on weekends. Once you’ve done this for a long time and when you can’t rest, it’ll wear you down and affect your health for sure. I was ill during a period of time”\(^4\).

Elena expressed herself to be lucky and happy to have worked in a family that treated her well during the years as a domestic worker. She said that other friends of her have experienced worse social conditions with bad treatment from the employers. The expression of happiness made by Elena makes one think that social conditions for domestic workers in Catalonia are more often precarious than actually good. Isabel spoke about a repeated discrimination that she had experienced at different works. She expressed for example that “The boss was very mean, you could say very much the master and we were owned by him. Mean, mean, yes a bit like a dictator. We weren’t allowed to eat, they had set up cameras...we constantly felt like victims”\(^5\). It is here noted that while a job contract would give her social security and vacations, other precarious conditions became transparent in turn. Her employer

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\(^3\) “Porque con papeles tienes más ventajas, porque te dan seguridad y vacaciones, en este trabajo del momento no tengo nada de esas cosas, solo tengo mi sueldo. Yo no tengo derecho a vacaciones, yo no tengo fiesta, yo trabajo las fiestas, seguridad no tengo con ellas tampoco. Con tener los documentos, puedo tener estas oportunidades.” (Interview with Diana, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)

\(^4\) “Trabajaba prácticamente todos los días y el fin de la semana. Entonces, claro haciendo eso por mucho tiempo y claro en un momento que no descansas y la salud, pues, se nota. Estuve mal un tiempo.” (Interview with Elena, Barcelona 2014-12-16. Researcher’s translation.)

\(^5\) “el señor era muy sucio, como muy dueño de nosotras... malita, malita, sí un poco parecido a un dictador, no podíamos comer, tenían cámaras... nos sentíamos victimadas todo el tiempo.” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
had considered himself as the owner of the workers since he actually had paid for their social security.

Sassen has argued that the labour market for domestic service where the workers often lack social rights is pretended not to exist by authorities (Sassen 2002 in De la Ruega 2014: 391). The theory is strengthened by the fact that Diana has been kept waiting during five years by her employer for a legal contract, and that Isabel could be given false expectations regarding a contract from her employer. Isabel said that “…In a possible future they would give me my legal papers, but in the end, that is to be able to work legally right, instead they signed a contract with a Philippine woman. They told me that, yes, I would get one, but finally they didn’t give me any contract but instead someone they had brought from the Philippines got it”\(^6\). Isabel later explained that this had happened at yet another domestic work. Escrivá concluded in her research that Peruvian women may need to compete with other migrant women from e.g. Philippines to keep or improve their positions in the domestic work (Escrivá 2000: 340). The developed material can be analysed with the idea of Yuval-Davis who writes that migrant domestic workers often will depend on their employers for the right to stay legally in the country, which is an enslavement in itself (Yuval-Davis 2011: 189).

Amelia revealed during the interview that she occasionally makes speeches about her own experiences as a migrant. She is eager to participate in society, and was the only one in the study group that took the initiative herself to join in. She said that “when I have an objective, I feel that I have to work in order to get this objective, in this case I feel confident, because after I was alone here when I was younger, the rest of the objectives are possible, there is nothing impossible, all is possible”\(^7\). Her quotation shows confidence and independence. This can be connected to the idea of Sassen that the developed world system has made women gain more autonomy, and with a greater participation in the society (Sassen 2003: 76). Escrivá also found in her studies that women who migrated often possessed a desire to increase their personal autonomy (Escrivá 2000: 332). It can on the other hand be questioned by the life story of Diana who used to run her own business in Peru and now

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\(^6\) “…en algún futuro me iban a dar los papeles, pero a los finales, o sea para trabajar con ellos legalmente no, ellos estaban por otro lugar haciendo un contrato con una señora de Filipinos, entonces me decían que sí que sí que sí, y entonces al final a mí no iban a hacer el contrato, sino a una que habían traído de pilipina” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)

\(^7\) Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.
occupies the position as a domestic worker where she depends on her employer for the right
to stay legally in Spain.

Sassen has further argued that the development has made women more
responsible for the economy (Sassen 2003: 76). For instance, Isabel took responsibility for the
economy of her family when she decided to move to Catalonia in order to pay off their
economic debt, and continues to send money to Peru for the improvement of the family’s life
condition. She stated that “I managed to pay my depts and from then and onwards I’m here
because, I can stand it because it gives my parents a better quality of life. I’m the one paying
for good medication, I send them money so that they will live better lives” 9. Escrivá argued in
her research that an autonomic migration might still be conditioned by family members
depending on the woman in economic terms (Escrivá 2000: 328). Many of the women that
have migrated from Peru were the main supporters of their families, either by being single
mothers or daughters in a single parent family (Escrivá 1997: 52). The life stories told to the
researcher do on the other hand not suggest that the women were pushed by other family
members to emigrate which Escrivá concluded in her research (Escrivá 2000: 331). Instead it
seems evident from the interviews that the four study participants pushed themselves in order
to conduct the emigration.

Elena and Diana are the only mothers of the study group and are believed to be
presented as the head of the economy. It is however never revealed if this should be because
of the absence of father characters since they were never spoken of in the life stories. The
only given information is that the children of Diana stay at the house of her own father, and
that she herself has a boyfriend in Barcelona that originates from Bolivia. She said during the
interview that “I wouldn’t want to have a child here in Spain. There are many reasons, like
I’m explaining to you now, this environment isn’t suitable for my child. They’re fine over
there, I tell them... They’re in Lima, they are with my father.” 10. Her quotation seems to be a
contradiction to the material developed by Escrivá, where there seems to exist a desire to
bring the family to Catalonia in many cases (Escrivá 2000: 337). What might be stated is that
the four women interviewed for this study occupy the position as international and

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9 Interview with Diana, Barcelona 2014-12-17.
9 “logré pagar las deudas, y de allí adelante, mayormente estoy aquí, me aguanto porque es la calidad de vida de mis papas, por buenas medicinas, soy yo que lo cubro, mando para que ellos puedan tener mejor calidad de vida.” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
10 “Para tener un hijo aquí en España no me gusta. Hay muchas cosas, como te lo explico, el ambiente para un hijo mío no me gusta, están bien allá les digo... Están en Lima, ellos están con mi padre.” (Interview with Diana, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
Amelia expressed that people usually react to the fact that she works in an office, meaning that it is not normal for the typical Peruvian woman. She further said that she had “typical Peruvian jobs” the first years of her stay in Catalonia, and described these as domestic and service work. She explained that “it is typical because when you know someone from Latin America normally they are here in order to clean, in order to take care of the old people, ok, when you know people with a different, for example now I work in an office, it is not normal, people normally say “ah, it is true?”, they find it strange”\textsuperscript{11}. Escrivá found in her study that very few Peruvian women will make a full change from their position as a domestic worker and move to sectors more valued (Escrivá 2000: 340). Amelia’s position in the labour market is therefore either a contradiction or an exception. Amelia further mentioned that “There are jobs now that Catalan people don’t want to make, then who makes these jobs, South American people, yes”\textsuperscript{12}. Her statement can be caught up by the idea of Sassen that immigrants usually conduct the works that are not the highest preference for nationals (Sassen 1988: 26).

### 5.3 Social divisions

This section will see to the social categories of the four study participants and utilize the theoretical approach of Nina Yuval-Davis in order to analyse the relation between identifications. The following quotation by Yuval-Davis has been consulted for motivating the selection of categories.

> “…in relation to specific people there are some social divisions that are more important than others in constructing specific positions. At the same time, there are some social divisions, such as gender, stage in the life cycle, ethnicity, and class, that tend to shape most people’s lives in most social locations, while other social divisions such as those relating to membership in particular castes or status as indigenous or refugee people tend to affect fewer people globally” (Yuval-Davis 2006: 203).

\textsuperscript{11} Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
In accordance with the quotation the research has selected three social categories that were argued to tend to shape most people’s lives in most social locations, precisely class, age and gender. The researcher has found it interesting to study these social categories in relation to yet another one that is believed to be important in this specific situation, to possess a Peruvian nationality.

5.3.1 Nationality

To possess a Peruvian nationality was found in the interviews to cause difficulties for the women to enter into Spain, and to further obtain documents in order to stay legally in the country. Isabel’s applications were neglected for various years, and Elena had to make her way through Europe since she was denied a tourist visa to Spain. The difficulties with papers is also a crucial factor for why the women have worked in the domestic service without any social rights. Amelia referred to works in the domestic service as “typical Peruvian jobs”, which encourage one to argue that to possess the social category of a Peruvian nationality increases the odds to work in the domestic service.

Amelia was on the other hand lucky to migrate during a time when access to enter into Spain as a Peruvian was easier and she nowadays possess two citizenships. The advantages or disadvantages of a Peruvian passport might therefore shift from time to time depending on political decisions. However once a person from Peru has stayed with legal documents in Spain for two years, this person can apply for a Spanish citizenship (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 97).

With or without documents, both Isabel and Amelia mentioned that they had experienced discrimination in Catalonia because of their nationality. Isabel spoke about how the image of Europe as a non-discriminative place has diminished during her time in Catalonia, she said that “Us, they call us people from the Third world, like Thirdworlders”\(^\text{13}\). In her work she felt discriminated because of the absence of a Catalan nationality and that she has to work harder to prove her position. The fact that Amelia works in an office had brought reactions such as congratulations expressed in a surprised way, but also dissatisfaction from a few Catalans because of her identity as an immigrant. Although the latter reaction is the most evident discriminative, it must also be said that to express congratulations in a surprised way.

\(^{13}\) “Nosotros, nos llaman de tercer mundo no, como tercermundistas.” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
aims to say that the person does not naturally belong in the position. Amelia also said that she possess an identity as an immigrant that will never disappear. She explained that “it was so hard when you came here, for me the strongest was being an immigrant, “you are an immigrant”, it is so annoying, so hard. In my country I am Amelia. When you come here, for me, for South American people, here it is like... eh... inferior people”14.

In this research it is also believed to be important to take the context into account and to discover other identities that may contribute to the situation of people with a Peruvian nationality (Yuval-Davis 2006: 204). One such factor could be the presence of the Catalan nationality. It should here be noted that the Spanish nationality would have been relevant as well, but what has been ignored because of the process of national formation in Catalonia that goes hand in hand with the growing saliency of separatist struggle (Yuval-Davis 2011: 86). The investigation has therefore appreciated the information that the participants have revealed regarding their encounter as Peruvians with the Catalan nationality.

The Catalan language is a central idea of the Catalan nationality, which stays in contrast to the Spanish language that Peruvians possess (Kleiner-Liebau 2009: 201). The encounter of the Catalan language was commented in all four interviews to different degrees. Elena commented that one only needed to know the Spanish language in order to obtain an employment in the domestic service during the beginning of her stay in Catalonia, but further said that the Catalan language has become more important recently. Her statement can be connected to the idea that a national identity tend to be more prominent in times of economic crisis (De la Ruega 2014: 135).

Isabel explained that she has learned the Catalan language, but remember how she before felt that people from the region could use it in a manner to discriminate the ones that did not understand the language. She commented that “there are a lot of Catalan people and during meetings and stuff they will speak to you in Catalan so that you don’t understand. They use it so that you can’t listen, they talk about you in any way they like”15. This usage paves the way for a clear division between the people who manage the language skills and those who do not, a dualism between nationals and the others (De los Reyes 2013: 71).

14 Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.
15 “hay mucha gente que es catalana y te dicen, estamos en una reunión o algo y te empiezan a hablar en catalán para que tu no entiendas. Lo usan para que tu no escuches, hablan de ti como quieran no.” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
Amelia said that she made an effort to learn how to communicate in Catalan, and she commented that “when foreign people learn the local language, here the people is friendlier, nice with you, very nice, because for them that foreign people learn the language, they appreciate this effort”\(^{16}\). It was also crucial to obtain the employment in the multinational company where Amelia works. It appears as if the Catalan language plays an important role for the fact that Amelia identifies herself as Catalan, since she explains that the identification is most evident in other parts of Spain because of her Catalan and Spanish daily language mixture.

5.3.2 Class

Elena highlighted in her story that she has not had the same possibilities as the researcher in life because of the family that she comes from. She further commented that “in Peru it all depends on the family. If your family has a good economic situation then they can pay for your studies and travels. If not, then you’ll stay put and won’t leave the country”\(^{17}\). It is clear that Elena here emphasizes a class difference, and that she believes that the outcomes of life would have been another if she was born in a different family or place. It is also evident that she has struggled in order to change this for the next generations when Elena reveals that her life has been dedicated to open doors for her daughter.

Isabel explained that she occupied a good position in the Peruvian labour market. She had studied two careers with partly economic assistance from her parents, and travelled a lot outside of Peru when she was at vacation from the University and later her work. She stated that “In my second study programme I worked while I studied, so my parents didn’t need to pay then. It was a good period of time when I earned good money and could enjoy myself during my studies. I saved money and I used to travel”\(^{18}\). Isabel believed that she would easily find a good occupation in the Catalanian labour market. One can argue that she had this idea because of her education, which she was able to achieve because of her class position.

\(^{16}\) Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.

\(^{17}\) “en Perú depende de la familia, si tu familia está bien económicamente pues puede pagar estudios, viajes. Y si no, te quedas allí y no sales.” (Interview with Elena, Barcelona 2014-12-16. Researcher’s translation.)

\(^{18}\) “en la segunda profesionalización, yo trabajaba y estudiaba, entonces no pagaban mis padres. Fue un tiempo bueno cuando se ganaba bien y pude divertirme durante los estudios, ahorra y me iba de viaje.” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
Diana revealed that she never continued to study after having accomplished the basic classes in high school, “I only took courses on a basic level and I didn’t continue my studies”\(^{19}\). This might be explained with the fact that she had her first child by the age of fourteen. Diana has three children that live at the house of her own father in Lima. Both Diana and her mother have migrated to Catalonia and works in the domestic service. She was after two years able to pay of an economic debt that she possessed when arriving to Catalonia. One may consider the possibility for Diana to have continued to study in Peru if she would have had roots in upper classes.

Amelia mentioned during the interview that she does not come from a rich family, and that her parents had to work hard in order to pay for the studies at University for their children. It is believed that Amelia highlights this in a way to say that her class has no connection to the fortunes of her life. Still in comparison to the opportunities of Elena and Diana, the family of Amelia has actually made it possible for her to fulfil an education in Peru. She was also the only research participant that did not migrate because of economic difficulties, “my city is small, ok, but I needed to discover other cultures, other people, I feel I have to know other cultures, other countries”\(^{20}\). Both Diana and Elena became mothers in an early age when they had not developed any economical career, while Amelia does not have any kids. The expenses of taking care of relatives might therefore explain their absence of University education.

### 5.3.3 Age

While Isabel in her story explained that she at the moment experienced discrimination at her current work, she mentioned that she did not consider looking for another job because of her age. “Because look at me, at what I am. 50 years old - where would they employ me?”\(^{21}\). It is certain that Isabel sees her age as a great obstacle in this situation. She could have highlighted the fact that she is very qualified since she has continued to study different careers, but the issue of her stage in the lifecycle does yet seem to conquer other arguments.

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\(^{19}\) “solo saqué las clases básicas solo y no seguí estudiando.” (Interview with Diana, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)

\(^{20}\) Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.

\(^{21}\) “porque mira lo que tengo, con 50 años en donde me van a acoger?” (Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)
Amelia was the only one of the four interviewed that had an occupation in an office. She mentioned during the discussion that the company earlier had a higher middle age of the employed, and that they had made a renovation of the staff by employing younger workers. Amelia herself had barely thirty years by the time that she got the job, and one might consider to argue that her age suited the objective of the company and was in favor for her.

Amelia also mentioned that “I came here younger, I didn’t have a real personality or an established personality”\(^22\). She explained the translation as a strong experience, and one might consider her quotation to signify that it has formed her personality to a higher degree because of her low age by the time of migrating. She explains later how her personality is filled with independence and confidence. It should also be argued that her young age gave her more energy to keep up a hectic schedule at the beginning of her stay in Catalonia, and that she for that reason could manage to fulfil yet another career since she simultaneously earned money in different jobs.

\(^{22}\) Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.
5.3.4 Gender

To be a women in the Catalonian labour market was rarely discussed during the interviews. Isabel mentioned it in relation to her present work that she possess at a cleaning company. She said that “because we as women have demonstrated that we do the work for the men as well, the men are little bit more, less domestic... In this job you have to clean everything, work in the bathroom, feminine criteria.” She suggests that the women have to work more for the fact that they are women. This type of job can moreover be categorized under what Yuval-Davis calls care work, in this case to care for the cleaning, and is most often occupied by precisely women (Yuval-Davis 2011: 185). Three of the interviewed possess a so-called care work at the present and one may consider that their identification as women have influenced this fact. The exception is Amelia that works in an office at a multinational company, she on the other hand has worked in the domestic service in an earlier stage.

Elena is believed to have had full responsibility for her daughter that she brought to Catalonia three years after she had arrived herself, there is nothing that opposes this idea in her story. Gender may play a part where the woman as a mother is bounded to the child from the birth (Ibid: 182). The other mother of the research participants is Diana and here it was never revealed if there exists any father and if he in this case should be included in the lives of the children in any way. It might however be noted that Diana gave birth to her first child when she was fourteen years old and still in school. To be pregnant during the years in school is believed to interrupt the studies, wherefore the fact that she is a woman can be seen as a reason for why she only accomplished the basic classes.

5.3.5 Intersection of social categories

The social category of nationality has been found to be of special importance for the social position that Peruvian women possess in the Catalan labour market. Without a Spanish nationality it is necessary to obtain documents in order to stay legally in the country. If a Peruvian woman does not possess the papers she will work without any rights to social

\[\text{Gender does in this study refer to the social construction of femininity and masculinity, which is believed to be a dichotomous relationship (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 60).}\]

\[\text{“porque las mujeres hemos demostrado que hacemos el trabajo de los hombres, los hombres son un poquito más, menos doméstico...hay que limpiar lo todo, estar en el baño, criterios femeninos.”} \]

\[\text{(Interview with Isabel, Barcelona 2014-12-17. Researcher’s translation.)}\]

\[\text{Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.}\]
security or vacation, and these conditions have been found connected to domestic service works in all cases. To develop characteristics of a Catalan nationality was found to facilitate the access to works outside the domestic service, where the Catalan language had been a requirement even though Spanish is the other official language of the region.\textsuperscript{26}.

The fact that Amelia migrated at a young age and that her personality was not fully developed might have contributed to her advanced Catalan identification. Her age might therefore be seen as an advantage for her social integration, and for her position in the labour market. At her young age she had energy to work during the time at University, where she also was given a lot of occasions to practice the Catalan language. It might also be said that her young age in connection to the strong experience of migrating alone has made her confident, which has facilitated ignorance for discrimination and an increased purposefulness in the labour market. It also came to her favor that the company where she works aimed at decrease the middle age of the staff. Yet another advantage that Amelia possess in this case is the fact that she does not have any economic responsibility for children or ill parents. The advantages by these social categories conquered out the subordination that has been found to exist by possessing the categories of a Peruvian nationality and to be a woman. The subordination brought by a Peruvian nationality is still believed to be strong, and in this case the researcher would like to argue that Amelia has developed a Catalan nationality which is a clear advantage. The reason for this statement is majorly that she has a Spanish citizenship, speaks Catalan and has studied at a University in Spain. A combination of her age, education, absence of children and level of integration has constructed Amelia’s social position in the Catalan labour market.

Elena discussed how her class position has been an obstacle for any opportunity to study and travel like the researcher. She mentions that she has dedicated her life to the daughter instead and that she herself maybe one day will be able to study, but that she will be old by that time. One may note here that the social category of class intersects with that of age and gender in order to determine Elena’s social position. Her additive comment about how she will be old when she studies refers to how a student should be young, and is said in a negative sense. One may consider that she experiences that her studies by that time will not assist to her social position in the labour market. Further it is believed that Elena has full economic responsibility of her daughter, and that this has been an obstacle for herself to study

\textsuperscript{26} Interview with Amelia, Barcelona 2014-12-18.
in an earlier stage. The researcher would like to argue that the social category of gender plays a part in this. Women carry babies until they are born, they are attached to them literally, while men on the other hand have to take responsibility themselves to be involved by the birth. The absence of legal immigrant documents might be the crucial reason for why Elena started to work in the domestic service, which was brought by the fact that she possess a Peruvian nationality and not a Spanish. Her story has however shown that an intersection of maternity, gender and class has been a great obstacle for Elena to change social position in the labour market.

Isabel originates from a class position in Peru that gave her possibilities to achieve a good education, and she was able to travel outside Latin America during her studies at University. In Peru she maintained what was described as good works, and believes that she has occupied less qualified positions in the Catalan labour market. One can therefore argue that class but also education can play a fading part in the intersection of social categories for a Peruvian woman in the Catalan labour market, it has neither been an advantage nor a subordination. Besides the economic dedication to her parents, it might be said that Isabel and Amelia possess many similarities. Just like Amelia, Isabel is single without children and has also occasionally continued to study in Catalonia, careers but also the Catalan language. Both have accomplished studies at Universities in Peru and come from a similar class position. Isabel said that she adapts herself extremely easy and showed confidence during the interview. However, one difference is that Amelia was twenty years old when she migrated while Isabel had forty-four years. Age and nationality does therefore seem to have great influence in the intersection of social categories for an immigrant, and have been crucial for the social position that Isabel occupy in the Catalan labour market.

Diana is another Peruvian woman who works in the domestic service. The absence of papers to stay legally in Spain has influenced majorly her social position in the Catalan labour market. One may therefore note that nationality also here has had a strong influence in the intersection of social categories. The relation to other categories must however be recognized to better understand the social position that Diana possess in the labour market. It is believed that maternity and her class position have been obstacles for the possibility to make an academic career. Gender has in an intersection with these other categories further facilitated her entrance in the domestic service.
5.4 Discussion

Nationality and gender have together been found to have great influence on the social position as a domestic worker, a labour market in which all four research participants have occupied positions. This can be connected to the first part of the analysis that implemented the theory of Saskia Sassen. She argued that workers in the domestic labour market tend to be immigrants and women (Sassen 1988: 23). A notation that strengthens this argument is that Escrivá in her study stated that Peruvian women have been dedicated to work in the domestic labour market in Catalonia (Escrivá 1997: 54). The category of nationality has indeed included a degree of subordination because of the specific context, where the women possesses a distinct nationality from that of Catalan and Spanish. As Yuval-Davis stressed in the presentation of intersectionality, the name of the main road (of subordination) will shift depending on space and time (Yuval-Davis 2011: 7-8).

In an analysis of the social position of the interviewed Peruvian women it must be acknowledged how both nationality and gender interact in the intersection between social categories, but also with other categories. Yuval-Davis stresses that researchers should be careful not to make an additive model of oppression, but instead analyse the differential ways in which the social divisions lay imbedded in each other (Yuval-Davis 2007: 205). For instance, in this study age is found to be nationalized, gendered, and classed. One may note that the way in which age lay imbedded with the other categories has had great influence for the social position of Peruvian women. This is made evident in a comparison between Amelia and Isabel who share a lot of similarities but not that of age. The ways other categories lay imbedded in the intersection can further be noted in a comparison between Amelia and Diana. In this case they share the same age, instead it is the way that class and maternity lay imbedded with the category of age that has had importance for their diverse social positions in the Catalan labour market.

The first part of the analysis showed occasionally that study participants have been found in works that included precarious conditions, and that the four women worked in the domestic labour market at the beginning of their stay in Barcelona. Three of the participants conducted the emigration in search for economic prosperity. In connection to the theoretical approach of Sassen, the city of Barcelona can in this case be seen as a so-called “global city” that works as an economic centre to which cheap labour is demanded from e.g. Latin America. According to the analysis the city shows an international division of core and peripheral countries (Robinson 2009: 9-11). Sassen stresses that globalization includes a
‘denationalization’ where other actors than exclusively the states, such as NGOs, have increased their roles in international law processes (Sassen 2003: 22). It can be stated that what more should be denationalized in the globalization processes is the national citizenship.

The second part of the analysis showed that the intersection of social categories has been a reason for why the women have possessed social positions in the domestic service. The first part of the analysis aimed to show how global structures also has been a reason for why the women have possessed the social positions. Both analysis has consequently shown reasons for why the women have worked in the domestic market. The researcher would therefore like to take an intersectional analysis to yet another dimension, and suggest that the way global structures lay imbedded in an intersection with the identifications of the Peruvian women has determined the social positions that they have possessed in the domestic labour market. An objective of the research has been to look into a horizontal perspective, which has now been completed.

### 5.5 Conclusions

The study initiated with a presentation of two research questions that shall now be contested in order to conclude this paper. They were as following:

**In which way has the intersection of nationality, class, age and gender interacted to determine the social positions that the four interviewed Peruvian women possess in the Catalan labour market?**

All the four research participants have at some point during their stay in Catalonia occupied positions in the domestic labour market. The strong intersection of nationality and gender must be seen to have crucial influence on the social position in the domestic service. It has shown to be jobs that often include precarious conditions such as the lack of social security and vacations. The women have occupied these positions to a great part because of their situation as undocumented, a consequence for possessing a distinct nationality, and since the jobs are characterized as feminine.

An intersection of all identifications of the informants must however be accounted to understand why three of them still possess the position as care workers while one has left the labour market in total and instead occupies a social position in a multinational company with a good payment. Age is argued to have a strong influence in relation to the rest
of the social categories studied. To migrate as younger versus older transformed the experiences of two individuals who otherwise possessed many similarities. A young age influenced the category of nationality and the degree of subordination that the category possesses within the context diminished because of a greater reception of the Catalan nationality. Once again, the researcher would like to highlight that one must see to the intersection of all categories to understand why only one person has left the social position as a care worker. Namely because another comparison in the discussion showed that a young age did not necessarily mean that it is easier to upgrade a social position in the labour market.

It has been shown that one person occupied a higher social position in the Peruvian labour market than she has had in the Catalan labour market. Prominent categories in the intersection has in this case been found to be nationality and age, while the category of class is believed to have eclipsed. Her subjective experience of the stage in the life cycle has further discouraged her to seek a higher social position.

Maternity has asserted itself as yet another factor that influences the intersection of social categories that determine the social positions in the Catalan labour market. One woman had full responsibility for her child and was therefore obligated to work more. Her social class and fulltime job discouraged her to study at the University. It is believed that the other mother missed out on school because of her pregnancy. Maternity has not occupied a separate category in the study but was further related to the category of gender and therefore gender’s influence in the intersection of social categories.

In conclusion it must once again be said that the social positions of the interviewed Peruvian women have been determined by the way the social categories of nationality, class, age and gender lay imbedded in each other. It was further concluded in the discussion that this intersects with global structures in order to construct the social positions of the individuals in the Catalan labour market.

**How can the lives of the four Peruvian women be placed in a global world structure?**

The social position of the four Peruvian women in the Catalan labour market can further be related to global world structures. The economic situation in Peru was the main motive for three of the participants to leave the country for better prosperity in Catalonia. In one case it was an economic debt to the hospital which one can relate to the privatizations of social care made during the neoliberal globalization. Another reason was unemployment in Peru. Still the
four study participants worked in the domestic labour market at the beginning of their stay in Catalonia. Barcelona can be seen as an economic centre that demands cheap labour from Latin America in this case.

The subordination of nationality in the intersection of social categories can further be related to the easiness for the employers to keep the global world structure in circulation. The reason seems to be that the subordination of nationality increases as the national borders are strengthened as a cause of globalization, which results in a higher number of undocumented migrants. The absence of papers to stay legally in Spain obligated the interviewed individuals to take jobs where no documentation was needed. This in turn made the social conditions invisible and gave an opportunity for employers to continue the circulation. The workers were kept promised a contract without any insurance, while they kept working and could soon pay off their economic depts. A structural division of core and peripheral countries is in this way shown both between continents and within region of Catalonia.
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### Articles


Appendix: List of interviews

Elena, 42 years

Elena migrated alone to Barcelona in 1994, and brought her daughter from Peru three years later. No post-secondary school studies.

Interview details: 16th of December 2014, in a public café. The researcher contacted the participant through a friend. Recorded material around 50 minutes. In Spanish.

Amelia, 33 years


Interview details: 18th of December 2014, in a public café. The participant contacted the researcher after seeing an advertisement in a public forum on Facebook. Recorded material around 1 hour. In English.

Diana, 34 years

Diana migrated alone to Barcelona in 2008, though her mother had arrived one year earlier to Tarragona in Catalonia. The three children of Diana lives with her own father in Lima. No post-secondary school studies.

Interview details: 17th of December 2014, in her house. The researcher contacted the participant through a friend. Recorded material around 35 minutes. In Spanish.

Isabel, 50 years

Isabel migrated alone to Barcelona in 2006. Academic studies in Peru and Spain.

Interview details: 17th of December 2014, in a public café. The researcher contacted the participant through the informant Elena. Recorded material around 45 minutes. In Spanish.