Reimagining Spain in Times of Crisis: Articulating Nation Through the Latin American and African *Other* in Contemporary Spanish Film (2005-2015)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Liverpool John Moores University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2021

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Abstract

This thesis explores shifts in Spanish cinematic expressions of the racialised (immigrant) *other* and considers the impact of the financial crisis (2008-2012) in these portrayals. It argues that the crisis heightened anxieties over globalisation, identity, and the standing of Spain in the world. It posits that these concerns are expressed in Spanish film with depictions of increased precarity in society, ambivalent portrayals of inclusion of the Latin American and African immigrant in Spanish society, and an articulation of power connected to international intervention and supranational collaboration. These cinematic trends contribute to redefinitions of the nation in terms of significance and Europeanness, where the previous markers of wealth and opportunity lose relevance against notions such as cooperation and conviviality. The financial crisis has incited discourses of solidarity that create points of affinity based on a shared precarious experience.

The thesis engages with theoretical work on Spanish film and social sciences to reveal trends in contemporary Spanish cinema in relation to responses to the financial crisis and globalisation. It interrogates how the selected Spanish films express nation through the portrayals of its community, displays of power and influence, or notions of otherness that are challenged or encouraged through representation. A selection of fourteen films from the period 2005-2015 conforms the case studies, which illuminate changes in the depictions of the (immigrant) *other* and their contribution to notions of nation. While the thesis underscores trends in Spanish fiction film arising from a shift in anxieties derived from the financial crash (2008-2012), the period of study expands to 2005-2015 to better identify the transformations.

This is the first study to illustrate a shift in anxieties from, on the one hand, the control of the border and Spain's readiness to accept a multicultural society to, on the other hand, concerns derived from globalisation, increasing precarity, and Spain's position in the world. The thesis contributes to scholarship on Spanish and European cinema, giving visibility to many films underrepresented in academic work. The thesis manifests that these films project ideas of nation that reassert Spain's Europeanness and its value as a global ally, construct Spain as a place of multicultural co-existence, and present globalisation as the cause of precarity.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own. No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification at any other university or institute of learning. This thesis has been submitted alongside the completed LJMU declaration form.

Glossary

11-M: Short for "11th of March". It refers to the date of the Madrid bombings in Atocha, 11th March 2004.

15-M: Short for "15th of May". It refers to the first massive protests organised in 2011 as a consequence of the political responses and management of the crisis. The demonstrations that started this day in Madrid continued for months and became nationwide. The protests became a movement, also known as "indignados", which ignited debates over austerity measures, precarity, the political parties, the Transition, and unemployment, among others.

Cayuco: small fishing boat similar to a canoe. Often used by immigrants attempting to cross from Mauritania to the Canary Islands.

Convivencia: Period associated with a peaceful and enriching co-existence of Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula during medieval times. There are no exact dates for this period, but it falls within the 8th and 15th centuries.

Costumbrism: Artistic and literary depiction of everyday customs, manners, language, and life. Popularised in Spain and Latin America in the 19th century, it still influences cultural products nowadays.

Cultura de la Transición (CT): Term coined by journalist Guillem Martínez that refers to the behaviours and practices that emerged during the Transition from dictatorship to democracy, such as the notion of consensus, the tacit pact of forgetting, a desire to move forward without conflict, and a political transition agreed and defined by elites.

Guardia Civil: Law-enforcement force founded in 1844. It is military in nature and organisation, responding to both the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Defence. While the Policía (Police) is in charge of urban areas, among other tasks, the Guardia Civil patrols highways, borders, and rural areas.

Hispanidad: Hispanic-ness. Term that emerges in the first decades of the Twentieth century and that is appropriated by the Franco regime to assert particular bonds with Latin America and justify expansion in Africa. It emphasises Spanish ancestry, Catholicism, and Spanish language as the identity markers that bring the potential for a new Empire under Franco. The term evolved after the dictatorship to become an umbrella for Spanish and Latin American countries, eventually losing to other terms such as Ibero-American (iberoamericano).

Hispanotropicalism: Spanish approach to colonialism in Africa that legitimised it. It consolidates ideas of a common historical past with Africa that expands to the period of Convivencia. It brings notions of Hispanidad as an encompassing identity based on Spanish language and Catholicism. It disguises itself under gentle colonialism and the sharing of what it is interpreted as superior culture and technological developments, for the modernisation and improvement of the colonised territories.

ICAA: Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (Institute of Cinematography and Audiovisual Arts). Independent institution ascribed to the Secretary of State for Culture, in charge of developing and implementing film policies to support the film industry.

INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Statistics Institute). Government agency that collects data about the demography, society, and economy of Spain.

Maurofilia: Attraction towards and appreciation of the Moor, their culture, and heritage.

Maurofobia: Fear and rejection of the Moor, their culture, and heritage.

Patera: small fishing boat with a flat bottom. Often used by immigrants attempting to cross from Morocco to mainland Spain.

PP: Spanish conservative party, "Partido Popular" (Popular Party).

PSOE: Spanish labour party, "Partido Socialista Obrero Español" (Spanish Socialist Labour Party)

Reconquista: Reconquest. Period in Medieval Spain when some of the Christian Kingdoms started to coordinate efforts to expel the Arab and Berber communities in the Iberian Peninsula. It reached a peak with the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Monarchs, who united their Kingdoms and eventually led to the expulsion of Arabs and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula.

Vox: Spanish political party founded in 2013. Of far-right ideology, the party was initially of little significance because it did not have any seats in any local, regional or national parliaments. However, it has continued to grow and currently has 52 seats in the national congress.

Disclaimer

All translations are my own.

The stills used as examples in the figures have all been screenshotted by me. They comply with the UK copyright laws on the use of film stills for education purposes and can be included in the repository once the final version of this thesis has been approved.

Small sections from Chapter 3 have recently been published in Suarez, M. F. (2021) "This is not Paradise and the Journey Was not Worth it: Globalisation, Financial Crisis and the Portrayal of the Sub-Saharan Immigrant in Two Spanish Films" in Wallenbrock, B. and Jacob, F. (eds.) *Migrants' Perspectives, Migrants in Perspective: Human Displacement in 21st Century Film*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, pp. 161-185

Small sections from Chapter 5 have recently been published in Suarez, M. F. (2021) "Recovering memory, reasserting Europeanness. Modern Convivencia and Hispanotropicalism in *Palm Trees in the Snow* (2015) and *Neckan* (2015)" in Gergely, G. and Hayward, S. (eds.) *Routledge Companion to European Cinema*. London: Routledge.

The total word count of the body of the thesis, including footnotes, is 81,566.

Acknowledgements

It has been a journey. Exciting and terrifying. Many times, I was lost; many times, I found the way back. This thesis would not have been possible without the unconditional support of my supervisors, Dr Lydia Papadimitriou and Dr Ruth Doughty. I would not be here without their help, motivation, and encouragement. Thank you to the university for the funding provided; without the scholarship for Graduate Teaching Assistants, this PhD would not have been possible. A special mention to the academic support provided by the Doctoral Academy, particularly Dr Victoria Sheppard, and the admin team in the Screen School. The support and help available during the COVID-19 lockdowns have been outstanding and have been critical to the completion of this thesis.

I would like to thank Dr Carmen Herrero, who has been a constant inspiration and has provided great support, both personally and academically. Her kindness and generosity are paramount. Thank you to the Spanish section at Manchester Metropolitan University. It is a true joy to be part of such a friendly, supportive, cooperative, and fun team. The WhatsApp group has brought me many smiles between referencing tasks. Thank you also to Dr Lexi Webster, who has not stopped cheering and keeping me positive. Our SUAW online sessions during lockdown really helped to move this thesis forward. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Sheila Candeland, our subject librarian, whose efficiency and organisation have allowed me to read many monographs shortly after publication. I would also like to acknowledge the support of Prof. Chris Perriam in the early stages of this research, whose detailed feedback and guidance helped shape the direction of research and initial proposal.

Thank you to Carole Myers, with whom I started the PhD journey and who has been an incredible friend and a great academic soundboard. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr Fiona Noble and Dr Francisca Ortiz, who at different stages in this journey listened to my forming ideas and offered insights. Thank you also to Dr Cecily Jones for her proofreading of some sections of this thesis.

I would like to also extend my thanks to Dr Andrew Moor for electing me as PGR representative of BAFTSS (2016-2020). The Executive Committee was full of supportive and friendly scholars that encouraged me to pursue a career in academia. I am

particularly grateful to Dr Sorcha Ní Fhlainn for her mentorship and guidance, and to Dr Sue Harris for her hard work, constant support of PGRs, and welcoming disposition.

The Facebook groups “PhD and Early Career Researcher Parents”, “Full Draft Club”, and “Women in Academia Support Network Group #WIASN” have been invaluable. Dr Tara Brabazon’s vlogs have also been incredibly helpful and a great resource for PGRs across the world.

Outside academia, I must acknowledge the coffee shops for fuelling this PhD, the streaming services for providing entertainment in between, and the console games for allowing me to escape from time to time into alternative worlds (mostly with dragons).

Finally, I am indebted to my family, who have been my lighthouse in the dark. I am incredibly grateful to my husband, Steve; his patience has been infinite in this long journey. Thank you for the emotional support and all the sacrifices made along the way. Thank you also to my children, Victoria and John, for their love, joy, and curiosity. I hope one day you will read this thesis and be proud.

Introduction

This thesis explores depictions of nation in the period 2005-2015 in cinematic narratives of the immigrant and racialised *other* in contemporary Spanish film. In their depiction of *otherness*, these films illuminate the way in which Spain is imagined in relation to this difference. The case studies provide important insights into how these portrayals have evolved during this period, particularly concerning the impact of the financial crisis (2008-2012) and related events, which affect themes, portrayals and narratives during and after this period. The thesis suggests that the changes that these films portray help us understand transformations in notions of nation that emerge in response to the crisis and the events surrounding it.

Much of the scholarship that engages with the portrayals of migrant and diasporic characters in contemporary Spanish film asserts that although many of these films position the immigrant as protagonists, the films either speak more of Spain than of the immigrant *other* (Santaolalla, 2005; Iglesias Santos, 2013; Ballesteros, 2015) or present a Eurocentric lens (Corbalán and Mayock, 2015; Pérez, 2015; Murray, 2018; Trifonova, 2020). Most of these studies focus on how these portrayals construct or challenge notions of *otherness*. Those that approach the way that this *otherness* configures notions of Spain, study the pre-crisis period. The works of Kinder (1993, 1997) and Labanyi (2002) pay attention to how national identity is expressed through film, yet having been published before the period of analysis of this thesis, cannot consider more recent transformations. Zamora (2016) focuses on identity in the context of the historical regions and the tensions that arise from this co-existence of national identities. However, for that reason, he focuses on films that address this internal plurality but not on those engaging with the figure of the immigrant. Raquel Vega-Durán (2016) approaches immigration and identity in Spain, yet her film case studies do not go beyond 2008 and the impact of the crisis in these portrayals is therefore not addressed. Thus, there is not a comprehensive study evaluating the impact of the financial crisis on the narratives and representation of the immigrant *other* and their function in depicting notions of nation. My original contribution to knowledge consists of developments in the cinematic portrayals of the immigrant and racialised *other* that help us understand

transformations in the way that Spain imagines itself. I argue that the financial crisis becomes a transitional moment when ideas of Spain as a successful model of transition to democracy are challenged. The financial crisis and the events that surrounded it saw a shift in anxieties, from those derived from a sudden increase in immigration, evident in the films of the previous period, to anxieties derived from the impact of globalisation and an increase in precarity.

The term "national identity" combines two abstract concepts, that of nation and that of identity. Hall and Du Gay (1996, p4) assert that identities are "partly constructed in fantasy" and arise "from the narrativisation of the self"; that is, they are imagined as stories and performed. Indeed, for Hall and Du Gay (1996, p.4), identities are constantly being produced in a process that concerns itself with "what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves". In the narrativisation of the self to which Hall alludes above, it is precisely the presence of the *other* that allows the *self* to appear. *Otherness* is constructed through difference, but this difference does not simply connote variation. Instead, Hall and Du Gay (1996) note that this difference encompasses tension and power dynamics.

Exploring the filmic representations of the immigrant and racialised *other* allows us to unpack how the nation is articulated through ideas of difference and similarity, and whether these portrayals construct the immigrant in different ways depending on their origin. Representation happens in a *discourse* (Hall, 1992, p.93), that is, within the "way of talking about or representing something" and as part of "the way in which power operates". Therefore, as cinematic discourses, films that engage with the figure of the *other* talk about or represent ideas of *otherness* embedded in power dynamics. Furthermore, this *otherness* is constructed in opposition to ideas of *self* that configure cinematic visions of Spain. In the context of this thesis, *otherness* emerges as ethnic and racial differences articulated through the body, language, customs, and origin of the characters. In particular, the argument engages with the non-European *other* from Latin America and Africa, noting how their *otherness* is further shaped by the colonial and postcolonial histories between these territories and Spain. In exploring filmic portrayals and narratives of the Latin American and African *other*, this thesis provides an understanding of how Spain and *otherness* are articulated in film. Since a discourse "produces knowledge that shapes perceptions and practice" (Hall, 1992, p.93), film

narratives of the *other*, as cinematic discourses, produce ideas of *otherness* that shape (or challenge) stereotypes and that, simultaneously, support particular notions of Spain.

Nation as an imagined community

This thesis is grounded in the concept of nation and the way it is represented in contemporary Spanish film. I draw on Benedict Anderson (1991) to address nation and the national. Thus, this thesis takes as starting point notions of nation as a construct and an *imagined community* that is *limited* and *sovereign*. For Anderson, the nation is an *imagined community* because its members do not require to know each other to experience a sense of communion and comradeship. It is *limited* because it has "finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations" (Anderson, 1991, p.7), and it is *sovereign* because it aspires to freedom and self-determination. However, with the impact of globalisation, aspects of this definition have become outdated. Thus, the notions of the *limited, sovereign* and *imagined community* have been adapted and modified through the thesis, as elaborated upon further below.

Anderson's work has received criticism from different fronts. Anthony Smith (1991) and Paul James (2006) argue that the understanding of nation in terms of *imagined* might be problematic because it can be read as an abstract construction and not real, an argument that Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) make, by equating imagination with invention. For Smith (1991), the risk of understanding nation as something not real can be averted by emphasising the performance of national culture and the engagement with the collective history within the community, whereas for Paul James (2006), the apparent disconnection between the imagined and the real can be resolved through the enactment of the nation in history, politics, or institutions. Chatterjee (1991) questions Anderson's argument of postcolonial nationalisms taking as a model the coloniser's nationalisms. For Chatterjee, this positioning denies postcolonial nations the agency and ability to imagine themselves. Instead, Chatterjee argues that postcolonial nationalisms emerge not through similarity but through difference and opposition. In the context of this thesis, both points are valid, as Spain post-Franco constructs national identity taking

as a model other European countries but also consciously departs and opposes the signifiers of the Francoist regime.

In this thesis, the notion of *imagined community* refers to the collective conceptualisation of a community of belonging, the abstract awareness of common culture, history or lived experience between members and their understanding of these as a characteristic of the community group. The *imagined community* of a nation does not necessarily exist within its limits (e.g., diasporic communities), and not everyone living within the boundaries of the nation might identify with or be included in the associated national *imagined community*. Belonging to this *imagined community* becomes a process of (re)cognition between individuals and the group. This understanding connects with Giddens (1991) and the fluid and continuous construction of one's identity, a point that Sørensen (2004) takes further to explain the construction of collective identities above the limits of the nation, such as "a Western civic identity", or "resistance identities" within the nation, such as regional nationalisms. Solving some of the issues presented with the interpretation of "imagined" as "unreal", but also acknowledging collective and abstract identification with a nation, Sørensen (2004) differentiates between the "community of citizens" and the "community of sentiment". The community of citizens is configured by the relationship between the nation-state and its citizens; for example, through voting rights, tax collection, access to the health services, nationality requirements, etc. The community of sentiment, in contrast, emerges between the citizens through shared culture, language, and history. While the distinction can bring further nuances to the findings, this thesis uses Anderson's (1991) terminology of *imagined community* and considers simultanously both aspects of community, noting the way in which governmental policies create notions of inclusion and exclusion, and also how the relationships within the group challenge and negotiate belonging to the community.

Another area of criticism of Anderson's (1991) work is the linearity assumed in the construction of nations or its emphasis on a political organisation that does not always apply to non-Western communities (Stephens, 2013; Chatterjee, 1991). Smith (1991) questions the connections made in the works of Anderson (1991) and Gellner (1983) between the creation of nations, on the one hand, and modernisation and industrialisation on the other, a point that Chatterjee (1998, p.68) indicates that

"inevitably structure[s] the world according to a pattern that is profoundly colonial". In the context of this thesis, the emphasis on modernisation and political organisation does not become problematic, with post-Francoist Spain building a new national identity precisely on ideas of European modernity and democracy.

Despite its limitations, Anderson's work provides an insightful understanding of how Spanish film supports ideas of nation and functions as a structuring tool for the analysis sections. As products of creativity, fiction films engaging with Spain and the *other* construct particular visions of Spain related to its territory, its society, its organisation, and the relationships between Spain and the places of origin of the *other*, and, thus, imagine the nation. Part of this thesis's argument emphasises how Spain imagines itself within the supra-national European context and the importance of modernity and Europeanness in this construction, for which Anderson's focus on mirroring European politics and nationalisms are relevant.

While I engage with the work of Anderson concerning the core aspects of nation, that is, the nation as an *imagined community* that is also *limited* and *sovereign,* their adaptation and application to the case studies require further clarification. I apply Anderson's (1991) notion of *limited* not only to the physical borders that define a nation-state against other nation-states, but also to the metaphorical borders arising from immigration policies and that produce the idea of illegality. Following Anderson (1991), I use i*magined community* as an abstract construct founded upon ideas of national comradeship and fraternity, but stressing its constant negotiation through the inclusion or exclusion of the *other*. In the context of Spain, I do not approach other internal nationalisms, such as those of the historical regions, although I understand Spain's national identity as one increasingly constructed around this internal pluralism. Part of this *imagined community* is conceptualised in terms of cultural affinity that derives from a shared history, language or customs, which create more points of similarity with the Latin American *other* than with the African *other.* Concerning the *sovereign*, I expand the focus from its original conception. Anderson (1991, p.7) defines it in terms of "freedom" from the "hierarchical dynastic realm", that is, the freedom of political organisation and self-organisation. I shape this idea of *sovereignty* to include notions of power as political influence beyond the nation-state. Bauman (1998) affirms that contemporary nation-states have diminishing control derived from globalisation

and are turning to supra-national configurations to maintain power on the global scene. For Bauman, this has led to an emphasis on security and order, as the areas where the government can enact visible power. Thus, "being seen to be doing something, about fighting crime threatening personal safety" becomes a "realistic option" for governments to enact notions of *sovereignty* and provide some certainty (Bauman, 1998, p.118). The thesis explores *sovereignty* within this wider scope of power and control enacted by the state. Particularly, in relation to the control of threats in the national space and Spain's role in supranational and transnational organisations, such as membership in the European Union, the NATO, or the G-20. Thus, to summarise, Anderson's (1991) use in this thesis is formed by an understanding of the *limited* as physical and abstract boundaries that demarcate the nation and regulate access to it. The notion of *imagined community* emphasises the articulation of the nation in the context of global mobility, migration and citizenship, paying attention to notions of inclusion and exclusion from this *imagined community*. Finally, *sovereignty* relates here to how Spain is portrayed connected to ideas of control, influence and power related to Europe and the global minority or Global North.

Building the nation through the map, the census, and the museum.

These three notions of the *limited,* the *imagined community*, and the *sovereign* correlate to the three institutions of power for nation-building defined in Anderson's work (1991, p.163): the map, the census and the museum. Anderson uses these concepts to discuss how they supported the construction of national identity in postcolonial nations. However, their function as tools for nation-building is also applicable beyond this scope. Indeed, while Anderson (1991) focuses on these postcolonial nations, he also acknowledges that these tools were in the first place used by the colonisers to both validate colonial rule and categorise peoples, events, and territories. Thus, before the postcolonial nations appropriated them to reimagine themselves, these tools helped colonising nations to position the *other* in relation to the perceived *self*. I attend here to the characteristics that apply to this thesis, departing from the case studies analysed by Anderson, whose examples are specific to the postcolonial context.

For Anderson (1991, pp.174-179), the map fixes the territorial boundaries and becomes a validation of territorial claims, also establishing important landmarks, paths, landscapes, cities, or neighbours. The map asserts control of territories, locates different peoples in particular geographical spaces, depicts routes, represents landscapes, or concedes importance to particular places. The census classifies the imagined community in ethnic and racial categories presented as clear and delimited, underscoring the groups who are imagined as part of the nation's population. The categories selected to be included and excluded from the census inform how the nation-state imagines its population and its *others.* The census provides a way to categorise the *other* as imagined by the nation-state, merging racial and ethnic categories in some cases, further differentiating in others, or making certain groups invisible by their absence from the choice list. Finally, the museum grants monuments, artefacts, events, and historical figures notions of prestige and significance presented as part of a national timeline, connecting the past and the present with a linear narrative for the consumption of national and international visitors. These notions of the map, census and museum group the case studies and determine how these concepts contribute to the articulation of national identity in contemporary Spanish films about the non-European *other*.

In this thesis, I connect films of journeys to the concept of the *map*, as they delimit spaces of departure and arrival that create the boundary between Spain and the non-European *other*. I understand the census beyond the classification or listing of the peoples in the nation, exploring how the films on encounters between Spaniards and the other might challenge these categories by constructing or blurring differences between the Spaniard and the *other.* The Spanish national census has been modified throughout the decades to account for more variables, and the proposal for the 2021 census[1] in Spain incorporates, for example, a range of categories such as nationality, sex, place of birth, year of arrival, civil status, qualifications, or employment, among others. This new census proposal relies fundamentally on administrative registers instead of manual data collection, which means that formal registration in official records is crucial for visibility. Thus, the contemporary census is concerned with the total numbers of the population and their origin and the profession, studies, and

[1] https://www.ine.es/censos2021/censos2021_proyecto.pdf

routines of its population. This consideration brings the notion of *cultural capital* into the analysis, which I elaborate on later in this introduction. Finally, I approach the notion of the *museum* along two different lines of enquiry to interrogate how they project a national and supra-national shared history, notions of power, and value in cooperation. The first part of this section explores films representing the Spanish colonial past in Africa under Francoist rule. The second explores films that portray Spain fighting against the global threats of global criminal networks and terrorism.

These three concepts of the map, the census and the museum structure the case studies. Chapter 3 focuses on films that narrativise journeys. Their focus on arrival to a different country connects these films to the notions of the *limited* and the map through portrayals that define the territories and emphasise border crossing, alluding to *sovereignty* via immigration laws. Chapter 4 explores films about friendships and romance between Spaniards and the *other.* Their exploration of *otherness* and its negotiation connect these films to notions of the *imagined community* and the census, where ethnicity and *cultural capital* create points of affinity or difference. Finally, chapter 5 addresses displays of influence, power and significance in relation to ideas of Europeanness and participation in globalisation processes. The display of these notions in connection to both the historical past and the present connects to notions of the museum and a negotiation of *sovereignty* derived from globalisation. By engaging with these concepts, the thesis establishes how these films imagine the nation concerning its borders, territories, and neighbours (maps); its multicultural society, its culture, and its identity (census); and its history, its relationships with other countries, and its projection of power and influence (museum)

Within these three structuring concepts of the map, the census and the museum, notions of precarity derived from globalisation, capitalism and consumption are also approached in relation to how they challenge or support depictions of Spain as a place of modernity and wealth. I refer to the notion of modernity in two interrelated ways. First, modernity as ranging from the "technological progress of cities, to their organization and management" (Ortiz, 2000, p.259), which often constructs Spain and Europe as places of modernity in contrast to the places of origin of the *other*. This modernity is visually portrayed through technological advancements, extensive urban areas, and places of transit. Two, in relation to Bauman's (2007, 2011) *liquid modernity*

and its *society of consumers*, which he associates with the new modernity of globalisation, one that emphasises individual consumption and pleasure. These notions of modernity as technology and consumption are expressed through landscape and place (*limited*), through the ability to participate in a consumption-driven society (*community*), and as the tools and technologies employed by the nation to assert territorial control and participate in cooperative systems for the security of the nation (*sovereignty*). Consumption and technology become markers of modernity in portrayals of Spain, which are often contrasted through their absence or through limitations in the portrayals of the lands of origin of the *other*. In this thesis, I employ the term "global minority" for the group of countries often grouped under "global north", "Western countries", or "development countries"; and the term "global majority" for the group of countries often grouped under "global south", "non-Western countries" or "underdeveloped countries". Using this terminology, the thesis intends to avoid a binary distinction North-South that associates geographical position with shared socio-economic and political characteristics. It also avoids creating hierarchies under ideas of "development" that correspond to industrialisation and participation in global processes. The use of the term "global minority" underscores that wealthier countries account only for 20% of the population and points "to the mismatch between areas of political and economic power which represent a minority of the world's population and those areas with the majority of the world's population which lack resources and influence" (Pashby and Andreotti, 2015).

The terms Europe, Europeanness and European Union might often appear to be used almost synonymously. This apparent slippage is present not only in the film narratives but also in much of the cited scholarship, and it responds to the amalgamation of these signifiers during the Transition, when Spain saw EU membership as a decisive confirmation of its Europeanness. Indeed, despite being part of Europe, Spain had been orientalised by other European countries during the 19th century, which saw it as culturally closer to Africa than to Europe (Said 2002, Martin-Márquez, 2008). This perception of Spain as different from other European countries was embraced and reinforced during Franco's rule, when European influences and values were perceived as threatening to Spanish national identity. After the dictatorship, Spain set to reassert its Europeanness, for which EU membership became an official validation of Spain's

transformation. Thus, the construction of a visible and recognisable European identity becomes part of the construction of Spanish national identity post-Franco. Discussing nested identities in Spain, Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001, p.761) indicate that there is a "positive relationship between regional and national identities and European identity" derived from a positive depiction of European integration that made "being European a distinctive dimension of Spain's national identity". For the authors, "being European" implied "to be open to foreign influence, to be modern, and to be democratic" (Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001, p.767). These became signifiers of Europeanness and European belonging that were ratified with EU membership.

The thesis also engages with notions of a Spanish national identity, yet it consciously departs from discussions around internal nationalisms[2] and the emerging cinema of the historical regions[3], such as that of Catalunya, the Basque Country, or Galicia. The issue of a national identity is complicated in Spain due to internal nationalisms in the regions, particularly in historical regions with distinctive cultures and languages, such as those mentioned above. Balfour and Quiroga (2007) analyse in detail the construction of Spanish national identity after Franco, noting that signifiers and symbols were purged towards a new national identity that, however, was also questioned as "national". Indeed, the authors indicate by the 2000s Spain was presenting itself as a "nation of nations", a post-national state, or even a "state of nations" if in the peripheral nationalisms of the historical regions (Balfour and Quiroga 2007, p.2). As a consequence, they continue, definitions of nation and national identity are complex in Spain. In the same way that Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001) identify nested identities that encompass regional, national and European identities; Balfour and Quiroga (2007, p. 197) point at the existence of dual patriotisms across the country, with particular strength in the Basque Country and Catalunya, although not exclusive to these regions. This thesis does not explore these other nationalisms or the tensions derived from this co-existence. Instead, it focuses on the way in which Spain is represented in these films and how this representation constructs particular projections of Spain in response to the *other*. While contemporary Spain acknowledges and celebrates the diversity and plurality of its regions, the selected films do not emphasise these internal differences,

[2] See Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón (2002) or Mar-Molinero and Smith (2020).
[3] For Catalan cinema, see D'Lugo (1991) and Epps (2012); for Basque cinema, see Davies (2009) and Stone and Rodríguez (2015); for Galician cinema, see Gómez Viñas (2014).

which become blurred. Indeed, other vernacular languages and traditions are often absent from the narratives, which do not include, for example, Euskera or Castúo, as vernacular languages of the spaces of Bilbao and Extremadura. Similarly, traditions and customs appearing in most of the films are not exclusive to the depicted regions and can be found across the Iberian Peninsula, such as the giant paper mâché heads used in festivities or the street chasing where participants run away from a pretend bull. Notwithstanding this, it is important to note that notions of Spain are complicated by internal nationalisms. Although there are important filmmaking traditions in these historical regions, this thesis is not approaching these other cinemas.

Research Questions.

This thesis interrogates how the selected filmic narratives (2005-2015) construct particular notions supported by the portrayal of the *other,* and enquiries the impact of the financial crisis (2008-2012) and surrounding events on these portrayals and narratives. Based on close analysis of the films examined, I argue that the films that engage with the figure of the Latin American and African *other* indicate transformations in how Spain is imagined. The discussion provides an understanding of how the portrayal of borders, communities, history, and power contributes to reinforcing notions of Europeanness and supranational influence of Spain, noting how this Europeanness has been shaped since the crisis. In this thesis, the term pre-crisis refers to the period before the financial crisis (2008-2012) was officially announced, that is, up to the end of 2007. Nevertheless, it notes that although the crisis was not announced until 2008, precarity had already increased in 2007 as part of the early stages that would incite the financial crash and thus is reflected in some 2008 films that had been produced a year earlier.

The thesis analyses fourteen Spanish fiction films (2005-2015), the selection of which I explain in the next section. Firstly, it explores the portrayals of the *other* and their narratives in relation to how they construct notions of Spain that derive from its interaction and relationship with the *other.* It approaches how the films imagine particular dimensions of nation related to Europeanness, global political significance, modernity, multiculturalism, and globalisation. Secondly, it seeks to establish the way

that these depictions were impacted by the financial crisis (2008-2012) and other recent events, which are further elaborated in Chapter 1, such as the debates originated by the Law of Historical Memory (2007), the austerity protests of the 15-M (2011), the interrogation of the 1975-1981 Transition that these protests fuelled, or the ongoing cases of political corruption of the last decade.

Thus, the thesis approaches the following main questions across the chapters:

1. How is Spain imagined in contemporary Spanish fiction film in relation to its racialised *others* and Europe?
2. How have the portrayals of nation been impacted by the realities of a financial crisis that contradicted previously established notions of Spain as an emerging economic power and a land of opportunity?
3. How are the notions of the *limited, sovereign,* and *imagined community* being shaped in film in the context of globalisation across the 2005-2015 period, and what do they convey about Spain?

By answering these questions, the thesis reveals that contemporary Spanish fiction film after the start of the crisis is articulating different signifiers or modifying the established ones in connection to the notions of the *limited, imagined, sovereign community*. These changes reshape notions of national identity that emerged from the Spanish Transition to democracy (1975-1982), which at the time attached anchored Europeanness to EU membership. The case studies identify an evolution from narratives that explore Europeanness in connection to border controls, policies, modernity, and multiculturalism; to narratives that emphasise the impact of globalisation with more fluid mobility, global crime, increased vulnerability, and conviviality as a way to minimise the impact of global threats and precarity. As the discussion reveals, these narrative shifts are influenced by the financial crisis and the political context in which it has evolved, such as the debates derived from the recuperation of historical memory, the interrogation of the successes of the Transition fuelled by the citizens' movement that the austerity measures incited, and an increased sense of dependence after the European financial rescue. In response to this overlap of events, the films made after the start of the crisis show trends that reimagine Spain's Europeanness beyond EU membership, articulating a more global narrative of shared historical past, supranational cooperation, and presenting precarity as a temporary condition of

globalisation that can be lessened through unity, fraternity and conviviality. The filmic narratives and portrayals of the racialised *other* offer opportunities to study how Spain is configured in relation to this *other*. That is, where the *other* is constructed as such, a *self* must emerge in contrast. Thus, these films conjure the dynamics of Spain's relationship with this *other*, the possibilities of their inclusion in the imagined community, and projections of Spain as imagined through a fictionalised *other*.

Selection of Case Studies.

The thesis engages with expressions of Spain as articulated in filmic narratives with the *other* or their homelands at its centre, using the start of the financial crisis as a key turning point. The case studies comprise a selection of fourteen fiction films where the figure of this *other* is prominent in the narrative, as either the main character or main antagonist.

I chose the period 2005-2015 responding to different considerations. Expanding the 2008-2012 period of the crisis allows for better identifying the evolution of these narratives and accounting for delays in production and distribution that might position films outside this period. 2005 is also the year when Santaolalla (2005) and Castiello (2005) published the most comprehensive academic monographs on the figure of the *other* in Spanish film, becoming foundational studies for what has become to be known as "immigration cinema" in Spain, a term that I elaborate upon further in Chapter 2 relating to post-1990s films with characteristics of social cinema, ethical aims, and a focus on immigrant characters. Covering a decade from 2005, the range expands to three years on either side of the financial crisis, providing in this manner a broader focus on the evolution within the case studies included.

I concentrate on the Latin American and African racialised *other,* as these are the largest groups of non-European immigration in Spain and those with more filmic presence in contemporary Spanish film, points that are elaborated further in Chapters 1 and 2. Most of the fiction films included in this thesis can be categorised as "immigration cinema" because they focus on narratives of immigration to Spain and aim to prompt the audiences to challenge prejudice and sympathise with the experiences of the immigrant

in Spain. This is the case of *Princesas/Princesses* (León de Aranoa, 2005), *14 kilómetros/14 Kilometres* (Olivares, 2007), *Querida Bamako/Dear Bamako* (Oké, 2007), *Un novio para Yasmina/A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (Cardona, 2008), *Retorno a Hansala/Return to Hansala* (Gutiérrez, 2008), *Amador* (León de Aranoa, 2010), *Evelyn* (de Ocampo, 2012), *Diamantes negros/Black Diamonds* (Alcantud, 2014), and *El Rayo/Hassan's Way* (Araújo and de Nova, 2013). I include in this category *Alacrán enamorado/Scorpion in Love* (Zannou, 2013), although the *other* is consciously not characterised as an immigrant but a racialised Spanish *other* because of the colour of their skin.

Most of the films listed above are also considered "festival films" because of their aims, small budgets, and limited distribution in cinema. Elsaesser (2005) indicates that the typical festival film is made with modest budgets and mostly unknown or amateur actors, and they often compete on novelty and art-cinema aspirations. Films created with the intention to be distributed in festivals might also risk engaging in self-exoticism, that is, "representing yourself to the Other, as you imagine the Other imagines you" (Elsaesser, 2019, p. 13). The narratives in these films, thus, might be influenced by the perceived expectations of the festival-film audiences, including not only those for whom attending a festival is "an established cultural practice" (de Valck 2007, p.105), but also journalists, distributors, sales agents, and jury members (de Valck 2007, p.32). As Elsaesser (2019, p.28) also notes, films aimed at the festival circuit tend to portray particular visions of the nation that answer to specific expectations of the film festival audiences:

> there is a tendency of films within the festival circuit – whether from Asia, Africa or Europe – to respond and to comply, by gestures that amount to a kind of 'self- exoticizing' or 'auto- orientalism': that is, a tendency to present to the world (of the festivals) a picture of the self, a narrative of one's nation or community that reproduces or anticipates what one believes the other expects to see.

Tamara L. Falicov (2010, p. 7) indicates in this regard that the European funding system in some cases requests filmmakers "to change their scripts and ideas to curry favor with international funders" and quotes Olivier Barlet (2000) and his assertion that "patronage of artistic creation in the countries of the global South is still terribly marked

by neocolonialist attitudes in which artists are required to show authenticity". Barlet's study, continues Falicov (2000), evidenced examples such as requesting locations that were less green or the inclusion of round huts in order to evoke stereotypical Africanness, which for Falicov (2010, p.7) raises the question of whether "the rich aim to commission the exotic on their terms, or to acquire a public relations tool for governmental ministries of external (or foreign) affairs from which a lot of this international development funding emanates". For Marijke de Valck (2017, p.397), this situation connects to what Miriam Ross (2011) denominates "poverty porn". In particular, the impact of Western tastes in the allocation of festival funding and the pressure for filmmakers to "produce authentic imaginery and narratives" and "exploit their 'exoticism' for Western audiences". In this way, the use of stereotypical tropes around a nation or an ethnicity is put at the service of an assumed readability for audiences of the global minority.

Not all films included here are festival films, however. The immigration films *Princesses* (2005), *Amador* (2010) and *Scorpion in Love* (2013) had commercial aspirations, stand closer to the hegemonic national cinema, and obtained significantly more funding in Spanish film grants. The case studies include also more commercially orientated films that are not part of immigration cinema, such as *No habrá paz para los malvados/No Rest for the Wicked* (Urbizu, 2011), *El Niño*/*The Kid* (Monzón, 2014), or *Palmeras en la nieve/Palm Trees in the Snow* (González Molina, 2015). The inclusion of these films brings points of comparison with immigration films. This juxtaposition informs conclusions regarding the extent to which the transformations noted in this thesis are restricted to some types of films or are more widespread. The thesis includes, thus, both immigration cinema films and non-immigration-cinema films that have the figure of the (immigrant) *other* as an essential part of the narrative.

One element that connects all the films selected, whether immigration cinema or not, is belonging to hegemonic national cinema through funding. I turn to the idea of *cinema of citizens* (Stone, 2018, p.270) as one that "is perceived as having national affiliations and responsibilities". For Stone (2018, p.269), this cinema of citizens

> will be one of similarly close links between government and filmmakers that are established and maintained (directly and indirectly) by funding, educational strategies, investment in related

> infrastructure, policies, quotas, incentives such as tax-breaks, sponsored training and official campaigns that support and exploit the soft power of homegrown films at festivals and awards ceremonies.

All the films in the case studies can be considered *cinema of citizens.* They have received state funding and grants (Figure 1), and the majority have either received awards in some of the most prestigious Spanish competitions or participated in national film festivals with international projection, such as the Goya awards, the International Festival in Valladolid, or the International San Sebastian Film Festival (Figure 2). Those that have not been validated in national competitions, such as *Neckan* (Tapia, 2014), have been showcased at international festivals abroad or have been part of exhibitions of national culture with the support of the Instituto Cervantes, the official institution for the promotion of Spanish language and culture abroad. Despite not being rewarded by the Spanish hegemonic film cultures, like other films in the case studies, *Neckan* provides an excellent point of comparison with *Palm Trees in the Snow* (2015). Both narratives are set in former Spanish colonies in Africa and follow a premise of self-discovery and identity that offer insights for the discussion of memory structuring part of Chapter 5. The films *No Rest for the Wicked* (2011), *The Kid* (2014), and *Palm Trees in the Snow* obtained substantial film subsidies and several Goya nominations, which represents, in the words of Triana-Toribio (2016, p.5), "the mouthpiece for the hegemonic film culture". While not centred on the lived experience of the *other*, all these four films have narratives where the *other* is the main character or the main antagonist, and they all address either recent history or national anxieties of threats in the Spanish space.

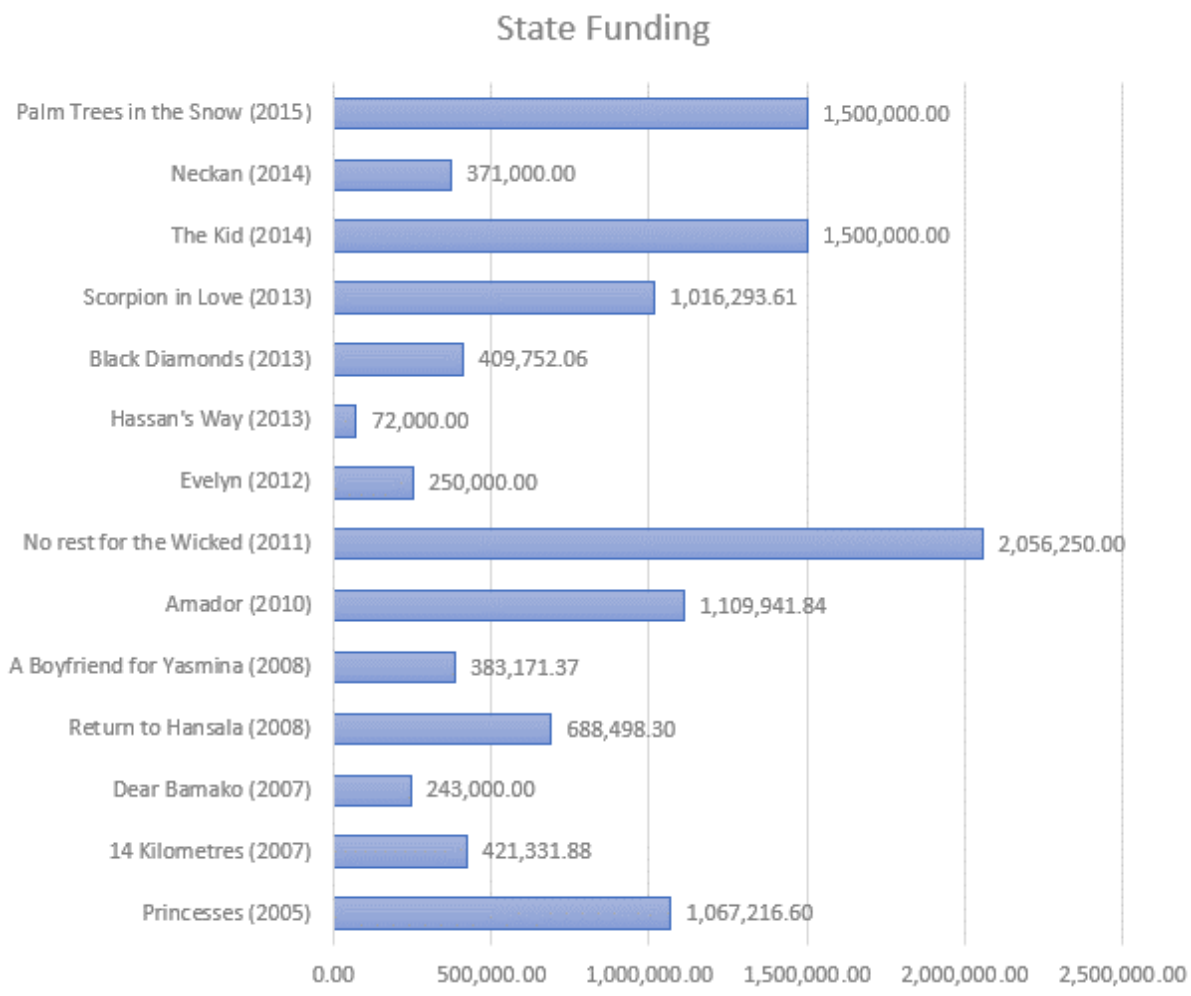

Figure 1. Total received in state funding and grants. Compiled by the author based on data from ICAA, 2021 (Instituto de Ciencias y Artes Audiovisuales).

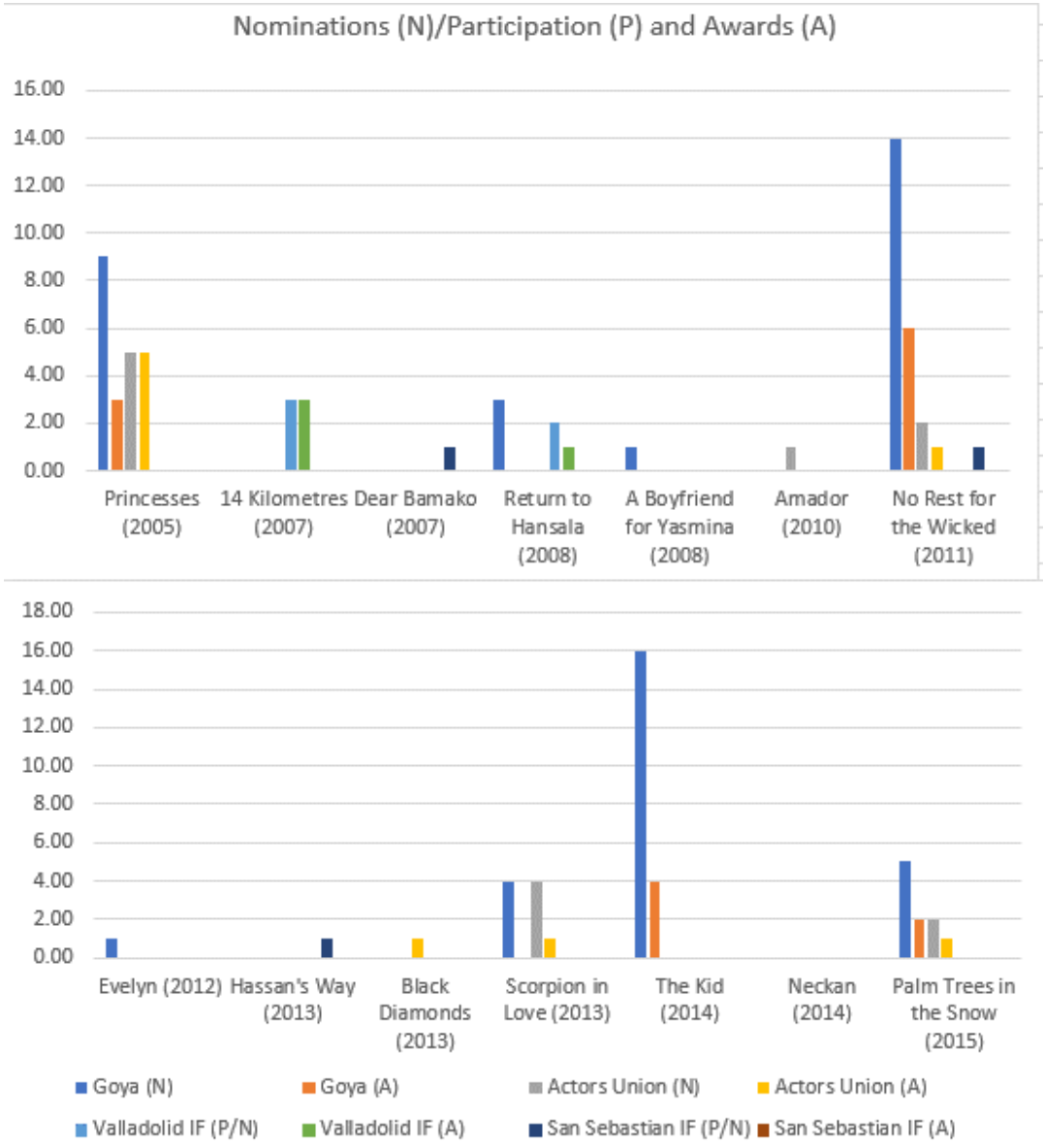

Figure 2. Participation/Nominations and Wins in Film Festivals and National Awards. Compiled by author from the website of the Goya Awards, IMDb and Filmin.

Most of these films have been produced and directed by non-migrant Spanish filmmakers, although I include two films by Spanish directors of African ancestry: Omer Oké, who co-directed *Dear Bamako,* and Santiago Zannou, who directed *Scorpion in Love*. Oké produces *Dear Bamako* after leaving his post as Director of Immigration for the Basque government, which he held between 2001 and 2006 and where he shaped a new immigration plan. The film connects with the aims of this post, presenting to the native Spanish audiences a more plural range of voices and stories of African immigration, and presenting to the undocumented immigrant some of the support available on arrival and the difficulties relating to potential integration. These are

objectives that guide the immigration initiatives that Oké endorsed during his post. Indeed, in a 2005 interview (Aierbi, 2005), Oké indicates that Spain needs to sensitise society through the education system and the media, not only to "bring real facts to the public opinion" [4] but also "so the immigrant can see that the Administration is not an enemy". Although *Dear Bamako* also connects with the opposing category to *cinema of citizens,* that is, *cinema of sentiment*, by giving "voice to regional, ethnic and otherwise marginalised groups seeking a higher degree of autonomy" (Stone, 2018, pp.270-271), I suggest that it is more firmly positioned within the *cinema of citizens* because of its direct links with the objectives of the government, its pedagogical aims towards the national audiences, and the hegemonic support of state funding and international exhibition through the Instituto Cervantes. This hegemonic support also applies to Zannou's film, *Scorpion in Love*, a film based on the homonymous novel by Carlos Bardem. This discussion supports the argument on the changes in the articulation of nation, considered to have been outdated representations of Spain just six years after the novel's publication, and the different anxieties that the film explores.

The racialised *other* in these films is usually an African or Latin American immigrant travelling to or living in Spain. However, in the films with narratives located in the former Spanish colonies in Africa, this *other* is not on the move, and it is the Spaniard who travels to the African space. Similarly, in some films, the *other* is not categorised as an immigrant in the narrative, but as a racialised Spanish *other*, such as in the abovementioned *Scorpion in Love*. For this reason, I use the term immigrant only when their characterisation links the characters with an experience of migration to Spain, using the term *other* to refer to characters whose African or Latin American ancestry is marked in the films through culture, customs or their body, but where their status does not directly correspond to this migrant condition, either because it is undefined or because it does not apply.

I organise the analysis and discussion of these films according to the central premise of the narrative, whether it is a migrant journey, whether it displays relationships between Spaniards and the (immigrant) *other*, or whether it positions Spain as a country of influence and power through their relationship with the *other* and the threats

[4] All translations are my own.

associated to this *other.* As previously mentioned, the case studies are structured in three chapters inspired by the notions of the map, the census and the museum derived from the work of Anderson (1991). They are grouped concerning whether they portray a journey to or from Spain (map), depict relationships between Spaniards and the *other* (census), or evoke history and power (museum). The first group of case studies, on journeys, include the films *14 Kilometres* (2007), *Dear Bamako* (2007), *Evelyn* (2012), *Hassan's Way* (2013), and *Black Diamonds* (2013). The second group of films include *Princesses* (2005), *Return to Hansala* (2008), *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (2008), *Amador* (2010), and *Scorpion in Love* (2013). Here, I discuss how they construct ideas of inclusion and exclusion from the imagined community. The third group of films comprise *Palm Trees in the Snow* (2015), *Neckan* (2014), *No Rest for the Wicked* (2011), and *The Kid* (2014). The structuring notion of the museum is expressed through the depictions and narratives engaging with the historical past, the projections of power of the nation, and the way that they articulate a position of Spain in the global order through networks of influence and ideas of belonging.

I excluded from the case studies films made for TV release, such as *El camino de Víctor/Víctor's Way* (Pérez de Guzmán, 2005) and *Masala* (2006), which approach immigration and childhood. There are many other fiction films that could provide further examples to support the argument, such as *Agua con Sal/Salted Water* (Pérez Rosado, 2005), *Malas temporadas/Hard Times* (Martín Cuenca, 2005), *El truco del Manco/The One-Handed Trick* (Zannou, 2008), *Naufragio/Wreckage* (Aguilera, 2010), *El dios de madera/The Wooden God* (Molina Foix, 2010), *La venta del paraíso/The Sale of Paradise* (Ruiz Barrachina, 2012), *A escondidas/Hidden Away* (2014) or *Truman* (Gay, 2015). The decisions to exclude them from the primary case studies were varied but mostly connected to their availability and the range of examples they provided connected to the argument. Where they complement the discussion, specific examples have been included.

Further concepts of analysis

The film analysis in the case studies draws on theory in film studies and social sciences. The main conceptual framework structuring the case studies corresponds to the notions

of the *limited, imagined* and *sovereign community*, as introduced at the start of this chapter. While I attempt to explore these concepts individually, their interconnection makes some of these aspects overlap. I engage with notions of place to discuss connotations of inclusion and exclusion derived from its portrayal. Through the depictions of Spanish and non-Spanish landscapes, these films create or challenge differences between the "here" and "there", particularly in relation to ideas of modernity as well as of inclusion and exclusion within the Spanish space, whether at the macro-level of the larger *imagined community* or at the micro-level of the family unit and the close-group networks.

When discussing notions of inclusion and exclusion through place, Augé's (1995) work helps illuminate how the films associate certain places with the Spaniard or the *other* and how inclusion is symbolically portrayed by entering the places of one another. The notions of *non-place* and *anthropological place* emphasise the mobility of the *other* and create or disrupt notions of inclusion in Spanish society. Augé (1995, p.34) defines *non-places* as the "installations needed for the accelerated circulation of passengers and goods". These places, Augé (1995) continues, are transient, places where the individuals do not create identity nor socialise; they are places of transit, places that are "contractual", where the relationship between either the individuals or the individual and the space are often guided via signs and directions. These include, for example, airports, roads, supermarkets, resorts, hospitals, motels, refugee camps, immigration centres, border-control gates, trains, cars, or shopping centres. The use of *non-places* in these films underscores the mobility of the individuals, notions of settlement and integration, and their ability to participate in the *society of consumers*. The opposite, *anthropological places*, Augé (1995, p.94) notes, create "the organically social" and is connected to a collective of identities, such as the family home. It also integrates earlier meanings, in that it is connected to history (whether individual or collective) and has attachments to that particular social collective. These are places often associated with society, nation, or culture (Augé, 1995, p.116), such as churches, libraries, gathering squares, theatres, commemorative monuments, schools, or parks. The use of *anthropological places* in these films often relates to notions of inclusion and participation in the *imagined* Spanish *community*. However, these are not entirely

opposing categories; as the individuals negotiate the space, they might transform a *non-place* into an *anthropological place* and vice versa.

Augé (1995) suggests that *non-places* are a product of globalisation and supermodernity, a concept closely related to Bauman's (2011) notion of *liquid modernity*, where the individual seeks new pleasures through consumption. For Bauman (2011), since the end of the Cold War and the expansion of capitalism, modern society has been driven not by the production and trade of the goods needed in the nation but by emphasising individualism. Bauman (2007, 2011) indicates that this new modernity leaves behind a *heavy modernity* (based on community and production) and reaches a *liquid modernity* (based on individualism and consumption). Connecting directly with Baudrillard's (1970) notions of *consumer society,* Bauman claims that this *liquid modernity* has transformed societies from a *society of producers* to a *society of consumers* (Bauman, 2007, pp.79-80), that is, from a society driven to cover the basic living needs, to a society driven by individual pleasure and consumption. The portrayal of Spain as a *society of consumers* contributes to reasserting ideas of wealth and modernity (*liquid modernity*) that anchor Spain to Europe and the global minority, yet this portrayal becomes contested once the crisis starts to emerge. The ability of the characters to participate in this *society of consumers* creates notions of inclusion that are also emphasised through *non-places* of consumption, such as retail shops, beauty salons, or shopping centres. Those who cannot engage in this consumption are characterised as *flawed consumers*, that is, "people lacking the money that would allow them the stretch the capacity of the consumer market" (Bauman, 2005, p.39). By approaching the idea of the *flawed consumer*, the analysis establishes how this category constructs notions of marginality and precarity in the *imagined community*. As the crisis slowly starts to impact life in Spanish society, the struggles of the *flawed consumer* start to affect the regular Spaniard. I contend that, in this context, some of the films of the crisis and its aftermath emphasise a shared precarity derived from globalisation, while other films of the period underscore the precarity of the marginalised *other* with narratives of exploitation where they become figuratively the object of consumption in a system driven by greed.

Concerning the *imagined community*, the portrayals of consumption not only configure Spain as a nation participating in the *liquid modernity*, but they also become an activity that creates bonds in society. Through shared consumption experiences, the films express points of connection between the Spaniards and the *other*, and promote ideas of good citizenship associated with a will to decrease the precarity of the *flawed consumer*.

Another way in which consumption creates connections in the cinematic *imagined community* between the Spaniard and the *other* is through *cultural capital,* which also becomes a valuable category to establish how ethnicity and affinity are articulated. According to Bourdieu (1996), *cultural capital* is expressed in three different ways: as *embodied* (accents, dialects, traditions, and knowledge passed through generations), as *objectified* (housing in a particular area, brands, car model, etc.), and as *institutionalised* (language certificates, degrees, documentation, etc.). The case studies show anxieties over the compatibility of the *cultural capital* of the *other*, particularly in relation to European ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity. In this context, the films offer notions of *conviviality* to resolve these anxieties. Drawing on the notion of Spanish Convivencia, that is, the Spanish medieval period when the Catholic, Jewish and Muslim population lived in apparent harmony, the work of Paul Gilroy (2004, 2006) revisits this idea under the term *conviviality*, which is concerned with the strategies that multicultural communities use for a peaceful co-existence. For Gilroy (2004, p.xi), *conviviality* refers to "the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of urban life" (2004, p.xi). In convivial communities, "racial, linguistic and religious differences are not obstructive" (Rzepnikowska, 2018, p.852). Instead, the divisions present in convivial communities are exemplified by Gilroy (2005, p.438) as "taste, lifestyle, leisure preferences, cleaning, gardening and childcare", that is, activities that separate the community in regard to class instead of their cultural differences. Conflict and difference are overcome in these multicultural spaces through "creative and intuitive capacity among ordinary people, who manage those tensions" (Gilroy, 2006, p.6).

Finally, in connection with ideas of *sovereignty*, the notion of *symbolic capital* brings insights into how notions of power and influence are expressed in these films. When a certain kind of capital (whether economic, cultural or social) is a characteristic of the

hegemonic group or "recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p.17), it can then be transformed into *symbolic capital*, which supports ideas of prestige, significance, or status; connecting with my use of Anderson's (1991) *sovereignty*. Ideas of *symbolic capital* are expressed in the films with regard to Europeanness, which is articulated in terms of belonging to the European geographical space, EU membership, and the European values of freedom, equality, and fraternity that Elsaesser (2005, 2019) puts at the heart of European cinema. In a context where European membership was equated to democracy, economic development, tolerance towards difference, and equal standing in the EU, the financial crisis fuelled the interrogation of these apparent successes. The financial crash exposed the weakness of Spain's economy, and an increase in national unemployment amplified the anxieties towards the immigrant *other.* Additionally, the conditions and negotiations of the European financial rescue demonstrated a secondary position of Spain in the EU. In this context, Spanish film responds to a diminished symbolic capital of Spain derived from the crisis and other surrounding events to reshape the signifiers of Europeanness and reimagine Spain. Thus, the thesis explores how the shattering of Spain as a land of opportunity impacts the portrayals of the border, the motivations of the *other* to travel to Spain, or concerns over undocumented immigration. Furthermore, an increased precarity within the *imagined community* creates points of similarity and contact articulated through the *flawed consumer* and *conviviality*. This *conviviality* is interconnected with the European values of equality and fraternity, which are also expressed as *symbolic capital* and power in the form of supranational collaboration between European nations. The narratives of the past further assert this supranational European collaboration by positioning them in a period before the EU was created, affirming links between Spain and core EU countries that precede European membership and, thus, delinking Spain's Europeanness from its EU membership and anchoring further into the past.

Structure

Chapter 1 of this thesis provides a historical background of Spain concerning notions of nation-building, underscoring the events deriving from or surrounding the financial crash (2008-2012). The chapter provides the historical background and contributes to the argument that the crisis has brought a re-articulation of nation still taking place,

where contemporary Spanish film helps us understand how notions of national identity are being reshaped.

In Chapter 2, I position the research within theoretical work on the cinematic portrayals of migration and the specific Spanish film context. I explore the differences in narratives and portrayals of the Latin American and African *other* in contemporary Spanish film before the start of the crisis in order to set the background for the case studies. This chapter underscores the research gap and highlights how even though scholarship on films engaging with the *other* continue to be published, most of this work focuses on narratives pre-2008, which leaves unexplored the impact of the crisis. The chapter also suggests that current trends in the portrayals of the *other* show increasing interest in the African *other* and narratives taking place in the African continent. I propose that these trends support notions of collaboration and global influence that articulate ideas of *symbolic capital* and *sovereignty* post-crisis.

The remaining three chapters explore and discuss the fourteen films used as case studies for close analysis. Chapter 3 reflects on the map and how these films delineate boundaries and national spaces, construct ideas of nation and modernity through depictions of place, and take the audiences through the steps of the journey with the use of on-screen maps and signs. This chapter explores cinematic representations of journeys to and from Spain, identifying how the *symbolic capital* of Spain is initially emphasised through the *pull factor* of Spain, the hardship of the journey, and the role of guardian of Fortress Europe's Southern border. The case studies illuminate how this *pull factor* diminishes with the crisis, at the same time that vulnerability increases, particularly of the marginalised and exploited *other* in a *society of consumers*.

Chapter 4 recalls the notion of the census by constructing ideas of otherness and emphasising co-existence in the same Spanish space. The films in this chapter engage with encounters between the Spaniard and the *other*, particularly in reference to friendships and romance. The chapter highlights how ideas of the *imagined community* are connected to *cultural capital* and consumption, initially associating precarity with marginalisation and expanding later this precarity to the *flawed consumer.* I suggest that through this *flawed consumer,* the films after the start of the crisis echo ideas of support and *conviviality* that derive from the official discourses of unity and individual responsibility that emerged during the financial crash.

Finally, Chapter 5 echoes the notion of the museum by projecting particular visions of the past and underscoring the *symbolic capital* of the present. The films in this chapter approach articulations of *sovereignty* through *symbolic power* in films of the crisis and its aftermath, which are presented within a revision of the colonial historical past in Africa and a contemporary performance of supranational collaboration and power against global threats.

Overall, this thesis posits that filmic narratives of the *other* construct notions of Spain connected to Europeanness and that these portrayals experienced a shift after the start of the financial crisis. These changes offer different responses to national anxieties connected to the *other*, border control, multiculturalism, globalisation, and global crime in the context of the financial crisis. The study of these films brings a new understanding of how Spain is articulating notions of national identity through depictions of the *other* and in response to the events deriving from the financial crisis.

Chapter 1. Shaping the Nation. Historical context.

"Don't tell your father you have seen me" ("No le digas a tu padre que me has visto"), says Santos Trinidad (José Coronado) in *No habrá paz para los malvados/No Rest for the Wicked* (Urbizu, 2011). Once a decorated officer, Santos Trinidad is now a shadow of who he was. Alone, corrupt, and tormented; Santos Trinidad refuses to be seen like this. After shooting the Colombian staff in a nightclub, he steals the CCTV recording and hunts down the last witness. In the darkness of his unkempt apartment, his wedding ring and a family photo inform the viewer that life was not always like this. From glory to embarrassment, the character of Santos Trinidad reflects a Spain that, once celebrated for the apparent achievements of the Transition, is now facing an internal crisis fuelled by the financial crash (2008-2012), corruption cases, and the interrogation of the historical past. Just as in the film, this Spain must give way to a new and different future. In a plot that reimagines the Madrid bombings of 2004, Santos Trinidad manages to stop the terrorists just in time and changes the outcome, sacrificing himself in the process. And it is in this way that Spain is trying to resolve its contradictions, its figurative fall from grace, by reimagining the past and asserting its own value in a globalised world.

This chapter addresses the historical events that shape national identity in Spain, particularly in regard to claims of its territory, expressions of identity, and assertion of influence and power. It establishes connections between these events and how the *limited, sovereign* and *imagined community* is expressed through or affected by them. The chapter emphasises that notions of Spain are intertwined with Europeanness after the Transition and particularly during the twentieth century. In contrast, in the new millennium, this identity widens to incorporate a global identity that, although anchored in Europe, also looks beyond it. The chapter underscores the importance of border control at the turn of the millennium; the way that claims of territory are expressed in terms of historical sovereignties; the pervasive notions of Hispanidad, Convivencia and Hispanotropicalism in some of the relations between Spain and the homelands of the immigrants; and how the events surrounding the financial crisis are impacting expressions of power and influence in the world. This chapter aims to establish the historical, social, and political foundations in which the films in the case studies have

been produced and consumed. The following sections approach these historical events and the elements associated with them to connect them with the articulation of nation in terms of the *limited*, *sovereign* and *imagined community*, as these are the concepts that lead the analysis of the films.

The *limited.* Securing the Border.

One of the aspects related to the notion of the *limited* in Anderson (1991) is that it identifies the extension of the nation-state, its borders, its dominion. Since the Schengen agreement (1995) established the free movement of people across European countries, anxieties over increasing immigration became part of the political agenda (Agrela, 2002; Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer, 2008). The borders attracted anxieties over their porosity, and any immigration policies that attempted to complement the law were reactive or addressed only entry and deportation (López-Sala, 2009). The first approach for reducing illegal entry in Spain was to reinforce the borders through the SIVE (Integrated System of External Surveillance), a security system with real-time monitoring of the Mediterranean, Moroccan and Canary Islands' coasts. The initial budget assigned to this system was 236 million (López-Sala, 2009), a figure that highlights its importance in Spanish immigration policy. The SIVE uses a series of radar sensors, long-distance cameras and infrared technology, which complement the fortification of Spanish borders with Morocco through walls and wired fences along the perimeter. Any ship approaching the Spanish coast can be quickly spotted and the information immediately reaches a control centre for potential interception (Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer, 2008, pp.72-73). Any undocumented immigrants intercepted in this way were sent to immigration centres for potential deportation. On land, new fences were built around the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa. Several organisations heavily criticised the original fences for the dangers of their razor wires. Consequently, new fences were installed that prevented approach in great numbers through a series of radar sensors and detection systems. It was not until very recently (2019) that the last razor wire around the cities of Ceuta and Melilla was dismantled.

The system proved effective to deter crossing in the Mediterranean Sea, and even though the number of illegal crossings kept increasing, the statistics show a sudden change between percentages entering through the Canary Islands vs the Gibraltar Strait, from 75% - 25% in 1999 to around 30% - 70 % almost ten years later (López-Sala, 2009). This system worked in combination with other collaborative projects: one, the Atlantis Project with Morocco, Mauritania, Senegal and Cape Verde; and two, the Seahorse Network between Spain, Portugal, Cape Verde, Mauritania, Morocco, Senegal, Gambia and Guinea Bissau, which complements the surveillance with immediate direct communication and the data sharing between the participant countries. The combination of the Spanish SIVE alongside the collaborative Seahorse and the European FRONTEX programs decreased illegal entry across the southern coast and established several repatriation agreements (Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer, 2008, p.76). This investment in border control signalled anxieties over the illegal entry from Africa and the porosity of the Southern border. In reinforcing the Spanish and European borders, Spain asserted its role as guardian of Fortress Europe and a national territoriality that was understood as both Spanish and European.

The securitisation of the border was portrayed in the media as a reaction against the sudden increase of irregular immigration, often under connotations of invasion. This trope of invasion has been often associated in contemporary times with the Sub-Saharan African due to the constant repetition in the media of illegal entry on the African-Spain border. Whilst the SIVE soon dissuaded entry across the Mediterranean Sea, the flows simply shifted towards the Canary Islands and indirectly caused the 2006 “cayucos” crisis, referring to the small fishing boats reaching the islands in great numbers. In that year, nearly 40,000 undocumented immigrants arrived on the islands in this manner, with 1,628 arriving in one single weekend (Seoane Pérez, 2017, p.269). Week after week, the news media brought attention to the arrival of the small fishing boats and the increment in numbers. FRONTEX stepped in to help Spain deal with the sudden numbers through a series of agreements for deportations or surveillance at the point of origin. The measure had the intended result, and the following year the immigration arriving in “cayucos” had dropped to 12,478 in 2007, with 2,246 in 2009 and just under 200 in 2010 (Rodríguez, 2017). What this period cemented in the news media was the image of the African as an invader and the image of the Spaniard as a

saviour. With the news reporting on the rescue of these boats or the assistance provided at the Spanish coasts, the image of the Spaniard in these news reports was often that of an NGO volunteer or professional of the health and rescue services, working incessantly at the overwhelmed coasts of Spain. This image of a good Samaritan has been continuously repeated in the news media, constructing an image of the good Spaniard designed to contest perceptions of racism in Spain. The trope of the rescuer has allowed Spain to counterbalance reports of xenophobia, and, throughout the years, this image has become prevalent in different narratives of rescue and survival, more notably during the crisis of the cayucos in 2006 but also the refugee crisis of 2015. The problematisation of the African-Spanish border has encouraged narratives of the dangers of the crossing on film, whereas the absence of a border-crossing with Latin American immigration has encouraged narratives of vulnerability after having reached Spain.

The *limited*. Territorial Claims and Conflict.

The relationship of Spain with Morocco is one full of tensions, where territorial claims often resurface. The Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla, on the coast of North Africa and surrounded by Morocco, have often been a point of contention. Melilla has been Spanish since 1497, whereas Ceuta became Spanish in 1668, after being under Portugal's rule since 1415. Gold (2000) indicates that the status of Ceuta and Melilla as Spanish municipalities had already given these cities meaningful connections to Europe, but that since Spain acquired EU membership, this Europeanness is often very explicitly stated. According to Gold (2000, p.xii), this position has derived in many conflicts over the sovereignty of the towns, with Morocco laying claim to Ceuta and Melilla since the 1950s. The issue is not resolved, and it is at the core of many other tensions between Spain and Morocco.

One of the more recent territorial incidents between Spain and Morocco is the "Perejil Island Crisis", which also resurfaced the tensions around Ceuta and Melilla. In the summer of 2002, Moroccan soldiers landed on the small rocky island of Perejil, in the Mediterranean Sea, and raised the Moroccan flag. Claimed by Spain and Morocco, the

land has little strategic value, but it symbolises other territories' claims. Initial diplomatic conversations did not have the desired effect and, in a show of military power, Spain sent patrol boats, corvettes, a frigate, 400 ground troops, an F1 aircraft, over 14 helicopters and an unconfirmed submarine to the area (Gold, 2010). Although the conflict was carefully worded as a return to the status quo, meaning a deserted island, the troops on both sides interpreted the occupation as a challenge to sovereignty, both raising their country's flag when in control of the island. An important note made by Gold (2010) is the intervention of the US in the conflict, which acted as a mediator and was the first to announce the resolution. The position of the island on the border of Africa and Europe is seen by Gold (2010, p.96) as a symbolic location when

> the last thing that Washington wanted, barely ten months after the events of 9/11, was a dispute between two of its allies that happened to bridge the cultural and religious divide between Christianity and Islam and also happened to be located in a strategically sensitive position on either side of the Western Mediterranean coastlines.

Two things were indirectly achieved in the resolution of this conflict. Related to its national configuration, Spain projected a display of force that reasserted the limits of the nation and its sovereignty, despite official allegations that there was no such claim. Related to its international standing, the intervention of the US conferred significance to the conflict, and Spain's military reaction projected strength against invasion, which in the context of the concerns over the European-African border ratified Spain as a guardian of Fortress Europe. Since entering the Schengen area, Spain had been under pressure to improve the security of its borders and increase surveillance systems (Flesler, 2008; Agrela, 2002, Agrela and Dietz, 2005). With the new immigration bill in 2000 and the construction of the SIVE over the first eight years of the new millennium, the Perejil Island incident enabled a media display of the resources available on the border.

The cities of Ceuta and Melilla are not the only ones creating tensions over the extension of the Spanish territory, as Gibraltar also is a contested territory, this time claimed by Spain since it ceded it to Great Britain in 1713 in a treaty of peace. Del Valle Gálvez (2015) reports for the Instituto Real El Cano that with mounting tensions since

the change in governments in 2010-2011, a diplomatic crisis in the summer of 2013 between Spain and the UK broke after Gibraltar created an artificial reef in waters claimed by Spain. Part of the countermeasures considered by the government included "[r]einforcing inspections at the frontier in order to prevent smuggling, money laundering and illicit trafficking" (del Valle Gálvez, 2015, p.140), bringing to the forefront concerns over the role of Gibraltar in the border and moving beyond the issues of fishing waters and environmental protection that had pervaded the claims over Gibraltar to date. In doing so, the porosity of the border becomes not just a Spanish issue but a European one. Since then, numerous news reports echo these anxieties with articles on the drug rings in Gibraltar, the use of this artificial reed in the smuggling activities, or the role of British nationals living in Gibraltar in the narcotraffic, networks reflected in *The Kid* (2015).

The area of the Strait and the waters in between are areas in which the control of the border is expressed in terms of influence and power. In 2011 the Spanish government published a report (European Migration Network, 2011) in which the Spanish measures in controlling the border were defined as "a great effort" and where the Spanish surveillance system, SIVE (Integrated External Surveillance System), was lauded as the significant technological advance in the area, also mentioning the FRONTEX (European Patrol Network) as contributing in lesser ways. The SEAHORSE Mediterranean project, which shares real-time information between countries in the Mediterranean Sea, has been praised as a Spanish initiative led by Spain. Despite the costs of all these projects, the report emphasized Spanish management of the border. In 2012, after the US signed an agreement with Morocco that provided it with the radar technology SeaVue to control the Strait, Spain expressed concerns over the advantage of Morocco to patrol the border. A year later, Spain acquired a crewless plane and a helicopter that the news media[5] reported as a "counterbalance" of the Moroccan technology. In the control of the border, having better technology than Morocco allows Spain to acquire *symbolic capital* in Europe by leading the initiatives of control and surveillance.

[5] https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/seguridad/Espana-helicoptero-Estrecho-inmigracion-Marruecos/20130424010000068682.html

The *imagined community.* Europeanness Post-Franco

Being part of the EEC (European Economic Community), which later would be integrated into the European Union, had been an objective for Spain since its conception in 1957. Yet, the dictatorship made this aim impossible because the EEC would only accept democratic countries. Although Franco opposed what he perceived as corrupting European values, the ECC's agricultural policy threatened Spanish exports (Payne, 1987, p.528). As a result, Franco authorised an application for ECC membership in 1962, which was rejected because it could not admit a non-democratic member (López Gómez, 2014, p.76). In the debates surrounding Spain's suitability to join the European project laid a question of whether Spain aligned with the European values. Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001, p.763) explain the ambivalence towards Europe in these terms:

> What the Franco regime could not do was praise the political virtues of the European model or the modernity of its social and moral practices, for these contradicted the dictatorial character of the political regime and the conservative character of Spanish Catholicism. Thus, while the Franco regime contributed to the idealization of Western Europe as a model of economic progress, it stopped short of identifying with Western Europe's values and political institutions.

For those opposing the Francoist movement, Europe not only represented a chance to better the economy but also ideas of democracy and freedom. When the ECC offered a preferential trade agreement without full membership, it was seen by Franco's opponents as a way to instigate political change (Ortuño Anaya, 2002, p.31). After Franco died in 1975 and a month after the 1977 elections, Spain applied for full membership with "the unanimous support of all political parties represented in the Spanish Parliament" (Ortuño Anaya, 2001, p.39), becoming the first to do so (López Gómez, 2014, p.84). Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001, p.768) indicate that "the messages transmitted by the democratic opposition stressed that to be democratic meant to be European and to be European meant to be open to foreign influence, to be modern, and to be democratic". Thus, the construction of this binary opposition between Franco and Europe made European membership collide symbolically with ideas of democracy,

modernity, and international relations. These three concepts are at the core of Spanish perceptions of Europeanness and play an essential part in how the contemporary Spanish national identities are still being constructed. Configured after the French Revolution, the European ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity were set as goals in democratic Spain. Full EU membership was an indicator of transformation: from an antidemocratic, backwards, and isolated Spain to a democratic and modern country with international standing. Indeed, European integration has been depicted in favourable terms that make being European a distinctive dimension of Spain's national identity (Medrano and Gutiérrez, 2001).

Joining the EEC in 1986 finally validated Spain as a democratic country, offered Spain trading and financial advantages, and increased Spain's own perceived political value (Medrano, 2003; Medrano et al., 2010). Although the worth attached to Europe in post-authoritarian regimes is not exclusive to Spain, Powell (2015, p.13) notes that the EU's symbolism as a bastion of democracy was "greater in Spain than in Portugal or Greece, the other two southern European countries undergoing democratization at the time". There were many reasons to get behind European membership and Europeanisation in Spain. For example, López Gómez (2014, p.86) indicates that it offered an end to the international isolation that Spain had suffered, it dissuaded reactionary groups seeking to either re-establish a dictatorial government or attain independence, and it promoted financial growth. Europe also offered symbolic unification in a country still divided by the ghosts of the Civil War and, thus, a European identity could provide an anchor to the fragmented Spanish identities. This combination of Europeanness and democratic freedom reinforces the narrative of European membership as an achievement of democratic Spain. At the same time, it connoted a rejection of the Francoist regime.

In the Transition from dictatorship to democracy, Spain went through a process of reimagining itself after a complete renovation of the structures that configured the nation-state. Payne (1985, p.25) affirms in this regard that Spain's democratisation "constitutes a political transformation without any clear parallel or analogy in twentieth-century systems" with a complete overhaul of "personnel, institutions, and mechanisms of the regime itself, led by the head of state". Aguilar (2002, p.162) argues that the main driving force of the Transition was "to avoid radicalisation of political and social life". To do so, Spain ratified the Monarchy, established a bicameral parliament,

and above all, institutionalised "tolerance, moderation and the obsessive search for consensus" (Aguilar, 2002, p.166). In this process, Spain attempted to embrace all its national diversity, creating federal regional governments of "comunidades autónomas" (autonomous communities) with which it signed personalised agreements. A Spain where regional differences had been neutralised during the Francoist regime was now fragmenting its space into 17 federal communities, each with a regional government and a pursuit to recover their regional cultures and languages. In this context, ECC/EU membership bonds all these regional communities and presents itself as the umbrella under which they flourish.

This desire to project Europeanness and plurality has shaped much of recent history. The year 1992 is often considered the moment Spain claimed the successes of the Transition and European membership fully, and the year in which the branding of a new Spain was established. The Barcelona Olympics, the V Centenary of arrival in the Americas (and subsequent colonisation), the Seville World Expo, and the inauguration of the high-speed train service all collide that year. This combination of events projects a Spain that is modern but also has a historical past connected to power; one that showcases national artists but also attracts those of international standing; one that exhibits its own successes but also offers a platform to other nations to display their achievements. More than anything, the events communicated notions of a united Spain that was inscribed firmly in Europe. As the British-composed song in the closing ceremony of the Olympics called, Spain was here to be “Amigos para siempre” (Forever Friends).

Spain was being acclaimed internationally for the transformations it had done in just ten years under the socialist government (just under two decades since Franco’s death), often under the terms of the “Spanish Miracle” (Buendía and Molero-Simarro, 2018). Heralded as a model of peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy initiated from within, Spain received the last motivational push to complete the next step of EU membership: the participation in the Schengen area and the single market. Having signed the Schengen agreement in 1991, by 1995, Spain had made the required changes and abolished its borders alongside most of the signatories, getting ready ahead of Italy, which had signed a year earlier. Indeed, The Financial Times survey of Spain in 2000 described the country as “optimistic, assertive, successful” (quoted in

Farrell, 2001, p.xvii). The desire to display similar ideas, which confer notions of willingness and preparedness to meet European requirements, has permeated two other events since: the construction of new security systems on the external borders (2000-2008), which implemented a state-of-the-art high-security system in record time; and the settlement plans for the financial rescue after the crisis (2012), which Spain is on track to repay earlier.

The *imagined community.* Immigration after Joining the EU.

Before entering the EU, non-European immigration barely reached 1% of the total population (Iglesias de Ussel et al., 2010, p.25). With the agreement of Schengen (1995) and free movement between European countries, Spanish immigration numbers increased exponentially (fourfold by 2000), taking politicians and public opinion by surprise (Iglesias de Ussel et al., 2010; Agrela, 2002). Even though half of the immigration numbers around the mid-90s were from either UK, Germany or Portugal (Ortega Pérez, 2003), the concentration of non-European immigration in big urban centres gave them more visibility. The first immigration bill LO 7/1985 (B.O.E., 1986) set some fundamental rights and freedoms for foreigners in Spain but was mostly limited to work permits and legal entry. Something that it did establish, however, was a preference for certain immigration. Particularly, this list explicitly declared preference for immigration from some countries and territories, and although in subsequent bills this phrasing was removed, they retained a special status by having fee-waivers in their applications or different terms for applying for nationality. The list is not straightforward. It includes some countries with which Spain has a history of colonialism, such as Spanish Latin America, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea, yet it excludes the Spanish Sahara and Morocco, which also experienced a colonial relationship with Spain in recent history. It includes the Sephardic community, the Hispanic Jew community who were expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century, but it does not include the “moriscos”, those of Arab ancestry who converted to Catholicism and who were expelled at the start of the seventeenth century. It includes territories in the Iberian Peninsula, such as Portugal, Andorra and Gibraltar, and also the old Portuguese colonies in Latin America under the encompassing term "iberoamericanos"

(Ibero-American). The list underscores who is missing from this preferential treatment: the North African. Indeed, Morocco is twice absent from this list, as it includes other countries with a colonial relationship with Spain and also communities expelled from Spain after the Reconquista. In contrast, not only was the Sephardi community explicitly mentioned in the 1985 bill and afterwards, but in 2015 the Spanish government offered automatic citizenship to those who could prove a Sephardi connection, as means of reparation for the expulsion of 1492. However, no similar reparation has been undertaken for the “moriscos”, those of Arab descent who had converted to Christianity, sometimes generations before the expulsion was enacted. On the one hand, this absence is connected to the anxieties that the North African evokes. On the other hand, I suggest that the discourse of reparation and commemoration towards the Sephardi community echoes European reparations and commemorations connected to the Holocaust. Since Spain did not enter the Second World War, the symbolic reparation of the 1492 expulsion of the Jews allows Spain to participate in a European collective memory of forced diaspora and reparation.

The relationship between Spain and the Maghreb, particularly Morocco, is shaped by a centuries-long history of colonial encounters and contemporary territorial disputes. An essential work for understanding this relationship is the in-depth historical and cultural study *The Return of the Moor* (Flesler, 2008), which offers a historic account of the image of the "Moor" from their settlement in 711AD on the Peninsula to the period of Reconquest (Reconquista) and their subsequent expulsion in 1492, to the Spanish history in the Protectorate of Morocco, to finally current contemporary tensions. Flesler (2008) emphasises how the connotations associated with the medieval "Moor" permeate, in particular, contemporary perceptions of Moroccan immigration. Despite being the most prominent immigration group per country in the period of study, Spanish immigration cinema has focused on portrayals of Latin American and Sub-Saharan immigration, with very few films led by a Moroccan main character. Moreover, despite being one of the smallest immigration groups, Sub-Saharan immigration from Mali and Senegal is over-represented in comparison. As an example, in 2005, when a regularisation process took place, attracting an increase in immigration, the number of local registrations that year was 82,519 from Morocco, 3,278 from Mali, and 6,908 from Senegal (Finotelli and Arango, 2011, p.58). For Santaolalla (2005), a reason for this over-

representation is that Sub-Saharan immigration in film provides further otherness against which to re-define Spanishness, which Latin-Americans, as the “close other” (Santaolalla, 2005) cannot provide. With the historical tensions and ambivalent relationship with the North Moroccan, the Sub-Saharan represents a more apparent notion of *otherness*. The “value of otherness”, argues Santaolalla (2002, pp.68-69), reconciles “the nation’s desire for integration into modernization and globalization processes with a desire to retain the comforting feeling of continuity offered by local traditional culture”.

EU membership and a booming economy suddenly increased Spanish immigration in the 1990s, with several films exploring narratives of integration, highlighting Spain’s prejudices and calling for tolerance. With the sensationalist media comparing arrivals by sea to invasion, many films turned their gaze to Africa and African characters to counterbalance the media's stereotypes and incite a sympathetic response from the audiences. Despite an increasing presence of the African *other* in fiction films, these narratives are mediated mainly by Spanish filmmakers, with the notable recent exception of Santiago Zannou, a director of African ancestry. The portrayal of immigration in film is further explored in the next chapter.

The *imagined community*. Hispanidad and *cultural capital*.

In the portrayals of the Latin American *other*, notions of affinity and inclusion in the *imagined community* are often expressed in terms of “Hispanidad” (Hispanic-ness), imagining connections based on the affinity of culture, language and religion between Spain and the old colonies of the Americas. Ramiro de Maeztu (1931) defined Hispanidad as "a community" that "is not geographical but spiritual", emphasizing notions of an *imagined community* bonded by culture, particularly Catholicism and Spanish language. In doing so, this narrative reinforces one of the four axes of the coloniality of power rearticulated by Mignolo (2007, p.478), that is, the control of knowledge and subjectivity, by attaching value to the culture of the coloniser in detriment to the value of indigenous cultures. For Mignolo (Mignolo and Ennis, 2001; Mignolo, 2017), the emphasis on these territories' cultural and linguistic bonds continued a colonial subjugation that disguises itself as modernity. In the early

twentieth century, Spanish philosophers such as Miguel de Unamuno had already argued that the Spanish notion of Hispanidad captured a latent colonial spirit. In contrast, Ramiro de Maetzu, in 1934, asserted that it incorporated indigenous peoples into "Christian civilisation" (Roberts, 2004, pp.62-64).

The 1992 festivities on the centenary of the arrival of Columbus to the Americas encapsulate tensions over the ideas subjacent in Hispanidad. Rodríguez (2011) describes how the initial proposal for the commemorations was titled "V Centenary of the Discovery of America", which Mexico opposed with the alternative "Encounter of two worlds". The Mexican suggestion was eventually accepted, for it lessened the focus on the arrival of the colonisers and constructed notions of cultural exchange. The story of a legacy allows Spain to imagine an authoritative position towards Latin America after the independence of the old colonies. Particularly, after the so-called "Disaster of the 98" (for 1898), when Spain lost its last Latin American colonies in the Spanish-American war, an event that marks the end of Spain's position of power in the world, became a national humiliation and was considered proof of its inferior status among the new global powers. In this context, Hispanidad allows a narrative of fraternity that also positions Spain as the source of this identity, creating bonds with Spanish Latin America and maintaining Spain in a somehow authoritative role.

The establishment of the Instituto Cervantes as the official Spanish institution promoting Spanish language and culture abroad has often extended the focus from the cultures of Spain to the cultures of the Spanish-speaking countries, particularly in regard to the promotion of authors and filmmakers abroad, taking an authoritative role in the validation and promotion of some Latin American production. Furthermore, until 2016, the Instituto was the only official international institution that provided certificates verifying Spanish language ability. It was not until 2016 that official exams were de-centralised to include the particular language variations of the Spanish spoken in some Latin American countries. However, the dismissal of indigenous cultures and languages within the configuration of Hispanidad works in dissonance with the emphasis on cultural and linguistic variety in the Iberian Peninsula. Hispanidad bonds Spanish Latin America and Spain under notions of a shared Spanish language, Catholicism, culture and history. That is, it delineates an *imagined community* under notions of *cultural capital* that maintain colonial links under ideas of shared identity. The notion of shared history

as a bond that creates fraternity also permeates some of the narratives of the African immigrant through notions of "Convivencia", while the authority of Spain in this relationship is expressed in terms of "Hispanotropicalism", to which I turn in the next section.

The *imagined community.* Convivencia and Hispanotropicalism

As mentioned earlier, the settlement of Berber and Arab communities in Spain is a historical event that continues to haunt Spain's historical memory. Spain in the Middle Ages was an array of different kingdoms and lacked any sense of national unity. Yet, after the 10th century, notions of fraternity started to be built around Christianity, and the idea of reconquest as a holy war started to take shape. This division between "Christians" and "Muslims" asserted a racialised difference and provided a sense of unity among the Christian Kingdoms. As Flesler (2008, pp.63-64) notes, notions of conflict between the Spanish Christian and African Muslim were not constructed until the 10th Century, when the Muslim invasion started to be depicted as a scourge to remove the Christian Visigoths kings ruling at the time, and justified reconquest as a holy war in which the Spanish Kings were the true embodiment of Christian values. The Moor, a pejorative term that unified all the Arab and Berber communities settled in Spain, is constructed in this period in opposition to an ideal of virtuous Christianity associated with self-control, morality and loyalty. The depictions of the Moor in the chronicles of the time present them as tricksters, violent, malicious, and hypersexualised (Flesler, 2008, pp.73-74), setting the stereotypes associated with *maurofobia* (fear of the Moor). As the Reconquest continued to gain territories, this fear of the Moor coexisted with its counterpart, *maurofilia* (attraction towards the Moor), an orientalist position that Zaderenko (2003, p.163) identifies as becoming more prevalent during the final stages of the reconquest to provide narrative contrast against the character of the overambitious, lustful, or vengeful Christian lord that the narrative condemned. According to Flesler (2008), these stereotypes have survived through history in the collective memory, colliding in the image of the contemporary North African individual, also pejoratively named Moor in contemporary colloquial language. The layering of the historical Moor with the contemporary North African confers the

peoples from this area, particularly Moroccans, with meanings of violence, mistrust, or betrayal derived from positions of "maurofobia" and the exotic wisdom and rich culture displays derived from "maurofilia". It is important to note here that the stereotypes associated with the historical Moor have survived through the centuries, are now embodied in the North African, and are linked to Muslim identity.

While the reconquest created a narrative of holy war that divided the battles for the territory between the two defined groups of Christians and Moors, the study of the Middle Ages has also produced the notion of Convivencia (Co-living), a period when Christian, Jew and Muslim population supposedly lived in apparent harmony. The notion of Convivencia emerges from the works of Americo Castro and Menéndez Pidal during the second half of the 20th century. Exemplified in the unofficial School of Translators of Toledo of the 12th and 13th centuries, the cultural and knowledge exchange happening in n this period is often used as evidence of a successful co-living between cultures. However, the concept is problematic, as discussed at length in Glick (1979) or Wolf (2009), because it assumes peaceful coexistence and equality, obscuring the violence and repression suffered by the Arab and Jew communities a couple of centuries later. However, the notions of tolerance and co-existence that the term evokes continue to have ramifications on how Spain imagines its relationship with the *other*, a point to which I will return later.

The contemporary Moroccan immigrant has one of the lowest percentages of acceptance in Spain, while Latin American immigration has one of the highest for non-European immigration (Igartúa et al., 2007, p.203). Attitudes toward Moroccan immigration worsened after the 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid (Flesler, 2008) due to having been facilitated by a pro-Al-Qaeda Moroccan cell in Spain. The historical anxieties regarding the Moroccan and the lack of support for their integration explain the absence of Morocco in the list of preferred countries in the 1985 immigration bill or the contemporary advantages for obtaining Spanish nationality.

The elusive period of Convivencia is not located in a particular year range and the scholars usually just refer to the Middle Age years, equating the end of *Convivencia* with the end of the reconquest and the unification of the Spanish Kingdoms. This medieval period and Spain's articulation of it drives many attitudes of contemporary Spain and its recent past. For Flesler (2008), the prejudice experienced by North Africans in Spain is

anchored in notions of invasion and treachery derived from the conquest of Spain, while for Martin-Márquez (2008), the Spanish colonisation of Africa is influenced by notions of this medieval Convivencia. What is important to underscore is that the articulations of Spain's national identities through the centuries have always tried to resolve the tensions derived from experiencing eight centuries of Muslim past and, at the same time, asserting a continuous Christian lineage and tradition, a process that Martin-Márquez (2008) terms "disorientation". As Said (2002) indicates in the Spanish edition of *Orientalism*, Spain presents a case that makes postcolonial theory challenging to apply, since it is a country that has been orientalised by the rest of Europe for centuries, but that it also orientalises the African *other*. Edward Said (2002) notes this ambivalence in the Spanish introduction and laments not having knowledge of the Spanish Muslim past before completing this work, pointing at the notion of Convivencia as one that offers possibilities of resolution in (post)colonial encounters. While historically contested and thus problematic, Convivencia has found its way in the scholarship as an aspirational model of multicultural coexistence. Not only it is recalled by Said (2002) as an avenue to resolve (post)colonial conflict, but the term is also revisited by Gilroy (2004, 2006) to inform the idea of *conviviality*, that is, the strategies used in multicultural communities to ensure a peaceful co-living. The discourse of Convivencia continues to permeate national discourses in Spain, both in the political domain and in the cultural productions, where it has been made synonymous with "tolerance" and offers a particular discourse of anti-racism against the *maurofobia* that the 2004 terrorist attacks of Madrid incited. Convivencia and Gilroy's articulation of conviviality become important points of reference in the case studies that reveal trends in how the North African characters are portrayed after the attacks of 2004.

In contrast to this emphasis on co-existence in the North African colonies, Equatorial Guinea was approached with a project of Hispanidad and where ideas derived from Hispanotropicalism were more acute than in North Africa. Elaborated by Nerín (1998) and explored in much depth in the work of Martín-Márquez (2008), the term Hispanotropicalism reconciles the apparent contradiction expressed by Said (2002) of an orientalised and orientalising Spain. It reflects Spanish efforts to construct Spanish colonialism in opposition to other European colonialism, alluding to an "African sensibility" (Nerin, 1998, p.14) that was supposedly derived from the historical contact

with the African *other* in medieval times. According to this idea, Spanish colonialism presents itself as benevolent, rooted not in greed but in a mission to civilise and educate. The concept is very problematic, but this notion of a "better coloniser" still permeates contemporary cultural productions, such as in *Palm Trees in the Snow* (2015), part of the case studies.

Sovereignty. Neighbourly relations during Francoist Spain

As noted further above, Spain entered a profound national identity crisis after losing all non-African colonies in 1898. Having lost the war against the US in the emancipation of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the year marked the end of Spain's imperial pursuits and the ratification of the US as an emerging global power. Spain's philosophers and intellectuals entered a debate over the position of Spain in the world and the reasons for its decline, encapsulated in the phrase "Spain's problem" (el problema de España). Whereas thinkers such as Ortega y Gasset defended a complete Europeanisation of Spain, others like Unamuno saw reinforcing Spanishness as a solution, and others like Ganivet saw in the African expansion the potential to renew Spain's global status. A hundred years later, this debate over national identity, the value of Europe, its relationships with Africa, and the search for a path towards a renewed global significance is still present.

Franco had raised in the ranks through his actions in the first Rif Wars in Morocco (1909-1910 and 1921-1926), after which, on the day of the civil war uprising, he took leadership of the Army of Africa, an infantry of Moroccan and Spanish soldiers, and marched to Spain. At the start of Francoist rule, Spain held Equatorial Guinea, Western Sahara, the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, Sidi Ifni, and a few minor outposts and islands. In films produced during the dictatorship, trends of Convivencia appeared in the North African narratives, reimagining the medieval period when Jews, Moors and Christians lived in supposed harmony in Spain. In narratives set in Sub-Saharan territories, attitudes derived from Hispanotropicalism were more prevalent, alluding to the supposedly innate Spanish competence to colonize African territories, based on the legacy of Al-Andalus and a previous history of colonisation. Franco had used the colonial

narratives to resuscitate ideas of empire and "future glory" (Santaolalla, 2002, p.67) with films that "celebrated the greatness of Spain" (Stone, 2002, p.38), where Spanishness was constructed against the African population in portrayals that "served to reaffirm a sense of superiority and to clarify ethnicity and identity in Spain" (Elena, 2014, p.67).

The othering of the African in this period differed between the colonies, as Martin-Márquez (2008) and Aixelà-Cabré (2017, 2018) carefully describe. In Equatorial Guinea, the learning of Spanish and the conversion to Catholicism were at the forefront of colonial rule. In contrast, in Morocco, the Spaniards were encouraged to learn Arabic and the presence of the church was to provide services to the Spanish colonizers, not to indoctrinate (Martin-Márquez, 2008, p.280). While the Protectorate invoked brotherhood narratives derived from its cooperation in winning the Civil War, Equatorial Guinea was twice othered, against Spain and North Africa. After the pacification of Morocco in 1927, in Spain, a narrative of "brotherhood was sought, and the discourse of the shared Andalusian past recovered by Arabism was renewed to this end" (Aixelà - Cabré, 2018, p.8). After the Civil War, the bonds between Morocco and the Nationalists, winners of the Civil War, would invoke narratives of Convivencia. In contrast, for Okenve Martínez (2016, p.53), Equatorial Guinea was not constructed in terms of proximity, but difference:

> Equatorial Guinea, hence, became the other Africa, the one that Spain could not be linked to; the one that could highlight the adequacy of Spanish culture; the one that could offer a new frontier in which to expand Spanish Civilization-Hispanidad, even if Equatorial Guinea was too small to redeem Spain.

The expansion into the African territory offered ways to heal the humiliation of the "Disaster of 1898". Furthermore, by aligning itself with the European powers that would occupy and colonize Africa in the nineteenth century, Spain saw a way to "affirm the nation's 'whiteness' and its membership in the larger European community" (Martin-Márquez, 2008, p.50). However, and despite the official discourses, Sierra (2002, p.395) and Flesler (2008, pp.77-78) indicate that by the enlisting of Moroccan troops by Franco during the Civil War, the stereotypes of Moroccan men associated with treachery and

violence were reinforced in Spain, as it was to this faction that all kind of atrocities were attributed. Despite this, the Francoist regime sought to reinforce notions of brotherhood and Convivencia, under the assumption that the relative peace on the Spanish side compared to the French Protectorate was a reflection of Moroccan loyalty towards Spain (Payne, 2011 [1987], p.45). After Morocco obtained independence from France in 1956, the revolts turned to the Spanish side, and Franco saw no other choice but to withdraw from Morocco.

The colonisation of Equatorial Guinea is not too dissimilar, although with a much more painful withdrawal process. A Spanish colony since the Treaty of el Pardo (1778) with Portugal, the final territory was agreed in the Treaty of Paris (1900) with France, where Spain was to keep the isle of Fernando Po (Bioko) and the area of Rio Muni in the mainland area. With forced-labour programs and exploitative hiring systems based on advancements, the conditions in the colonies were not significantly different from the human trade system (Martin-Márquez, 2008, p.280). Francoist Spain became more involved in the control of the region, but with the admission of Spain into the UN in 1955, Spain was confronted about its colonies (Campos, 2003, p.97) and shortly after, it withdrew from Morocco. However, the withdrawal process in Equatorial Guinea was slow and marked by different attempts to continue to control the territory in alternative arrangements. Franco invoked Hispanidad in the territories as a goal finally achieved through the imposition of Spanish language and Catholicism. The Francoist regime first provided the locals with Spanish citizenship and later changed the country's status to Spanish province. Disagreements with the UN around these attempts to hold onto power forced a referendum in 1963, and the people of Equatorial Guinea would win independence five years later.

Thus, the discourse of Convivencia permeated the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco (1912-1956) but not the colony of Equatorial Guinea (1844-1968). Instead, Equatorial Guinea was part of a project of Hispanidad, for which schools and churches were established to impose Catholicism and the Spanish language. In both, but more acute in Equatorial Guinea, Hispanotropicalism asserted the superiority of the Spaniard towards the locals in both territories, but also towards other European colonisers who, under this view, lacked the sensibility and understanding of Spain towards the African *other.* What the intersection of Convivencia, Hispanotropicalism and Hispanidad shows is that

these articulations express the *cultural capital* of Spanish language and Catholicism, evoke a historical tolerance for Abrahamic religions, and establishes a Spanish exceptionalism that presents conquest in the old terms of civilising drive, instead of neoliberal greed.

The abandonment of Spanish Sahara in 1975 marked the loss of Spain's last official African colony, which is not discussed here[6]. When Franco withdrew from the African colonies, the Regime censored news about the difficult processes that some of these territories were experiencing post-independence, but also critical or historical accounts of any events occurring during the Spanish colonial period (Arazandi, 2014; Arbaiza, 2020). Franco proclaimed that the colonial period was a "reserved matter" to avoid scrutiny of human rights violations (Martínez-Saez, 2016, p.27). In the Transition, despite an opportunity to interrogate the colonial past, the implicit "pacto de olvido" (pact of forgetting) that the Culture of the Transition promoted led to a historical amnesia over the African colonies. Nevertheless, and as Jo Labanyi (2001. p.41) predicted, the interrogation of the civil war and the past in the early 2000s eventually turned the "attention not only to what Spain has suffered—which should not be underestimated—but also to what it has done (and continues to do in the neo-liberal order) elsewhere in the world". Nevertheless, the more critical evaluation of this past is happening in documentary film, and Martínez-Sáez (2016) and Aixelà-Cabré (2018) conclude that in contemporary Spain there is still a lack of knowledge regarding the history of the African colonies overall. This is also a criticism applicable to portrayals of African colonisation in Spanish film, with notable scholarly criticism in regard to the amnesia of Spanish film to address the African colonial past (Labanyi, 2001; Santaolalla, 2002; Elena, 2010; Bayre and Valenciano-Mañé, 2014). Although the recuperation of the memory of Francoist Spain and the Transition started to be addressed more widely and critically with the new millennium, the recuperation of collective memory of the African colonies has been a more recent phenomenon, which is explored later in the thesis. In the context of contemporary notions of *sovereignty* constructed in film, the history of the African colonies allow Spain to liken itself to the UK, Germany, and France in a history of a shared colonial past, rooting international cooperation before EU membership and presenting Spain as part of the core European powers. Yet, as in this

[6] For a succinct but detailed account of the history of Western Sahara, see Mundy (2006), Stephan & Mundy (2006).

past, current fiction-film narratives of colonial Africa continue to recall notions of Convivencia and Hispanotropicalism, asserting a Spanish exceptionalism of *conviviality* that aim to challenge claims of racism and prejudice in Spain.

Sovereignty. Seeking a Role in the International Stage

In the Transition and the first years of democracy under the PSOE (Spanish Labour Party), notions of influence in the world were associated with being part of the EU, the Schengen area, and the common market. Towards the new millennium, these horizons of power and influence are widened towards the global. In the early 2000s, the Spanish media showcased Spain as an emerging power, often quoting George W. Bush, who in 2001 referred to Spain as the eighth industrialised world power. Spain, which saw itself in the symbolic borderlands of global importance, would take this comment as support for joining some of the most influential political global organisations, such as the G-8 and the G-20, all of which include the top seven industrialised powers. With the 2003 Azores Summit, where the negotiations on the invasion of Iraq took place, Spain asserted a position of influence and fraternity with two of the global powers, the US and the UK. The Azores summit carried meanings in the news of having reached the small circle of global power, and pictures of President Jose María Aznar alongside Tony Blair and George Bush inundated the Spanish screens. At home, in the words of former president José María Aznar, "España va bien" (Spain is going well). This political sound bite reassured the population that all the rapid transformations taking place in the country during his government (1996-2004) were effective and that Spain was going in the right direction. If the socialist governments before him (1982-1996) had emphasised Europeanness as the pillars of a new modern, democratic and liberal Spain, during Aznar's government the discourse cemented the assumption that Spain had reached all its European targets and it was now moving towards being a global player through alliances with the US and the UK. The *symbolic capital* that this summit provided to Spain is echoed in interviews with the former president, who in a 2017 interview[7] declared that "I have never had best picture than the Azores one", talking about those in the summit as his "allies", including his "neighbour Portugal", "the strongest ally, the

[7] https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20170405/421477079167/aznar-nunca-mejor-foto-azores.html

US", and "a great country as the United Kingdom". While the summit was later questioned regarding the legitimacy of its aims and as a potential link to the 2004 attacks in Madrid, the meeting represented global political significance in the Spanish press.

Both the 2003 Azores Summit and even the 2004 terrorist attack in Atocha's station (Madrid) contributed to this perception of worldwide recognition by putting Spain in the international news. Despite the tragic consequences, being a target of Al-Qaeda meant that Spain was being perceived as one of the countries that were leading international invasions. However, the response to the attack cost Aznar's political party the elections after their insistence that the Basque separatists had planned the attack instead of Al-Qaeda. By trying to locate the culpability within the national instead of the global, the government aimed to disrupt the voices that interpreted the attack as a result of Aznar's interventions alongside the US. With the attack claimed by Al-Qaeda and upcoming elections that month, Aznar's conservative party lost to the socialist party led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (2004-2011). Among his first actions, Zapatero withdrew the troops that Aznar had sent to Iraq, aligning with other European countries. With the prevention of terrorism being a primary discourse in many countries of the global minority post-9/11, Zapatero's government suggested an "Alliance of Civilization" based on international cooperation under the UN, which would eventually be ratified in 2015 as the United Nations Alliance of Civilization (UNAOC). In this way, Spain sought a role in this network by initiating the proposal. However, Spain has not fully reached its ambitions in the global network-state, since its aspirations of joining either the G-7 or G-20 have not materialised. Although it was invited as a guest to the G-20 in 2008, intending to acquire a permanent role potentially, the impact of the financial crisis in Spain threatened this possibility and, to date, Spain is the only country that is a permanent guest in the summits.

The national discourses had associated with the Francoist regime (1936-1975) the obstacles to economic prosperity and fair political representation. When the impact of the crisis became evident, the mirage of economic prosperity was also apparent. Despite numerous unpopular austerity measures, Spain had to apply for a European financial rescue. The weaker position of Spain diminished any notion of equality among all European countries, particularly in relation to the core European countries of

Germany and France. The unsuccessful negotiations through Europe over fisheries between Spain and Morocco confirmed that Spain had no preferential treatment. The construction of Spain as a land of opportunity and a role model of economic recovery could not be maintained, but neither did the assumption that EU membership had equated Spain to other core European countries or that membership meant a privileged position in negotiations with non-member states. With unemployment reaching over 25% of the general working population and over 50% for youth unemployment, the narratives of economic migrants risking their lives to reach Spain started to diminish. Europe might have continued to claim its status as a rich superstate, but with so many Spaniards emigrating to Europe, narratives about Spain as a land of opportunity became contradictory. Indeed, a significant number of Spanish films turned to the portrayal of Spanish emigration, a theme that had been reignited with films such as *Un Franco, 14 pesetas/Crossing the Border* (Iglesias, 2006) or *El tren de la memoria/Train of Memory* (Pérez and Arribas, 2006), and that continued in *Bon appétit* (Pinillos, 2010), *Ispansi!* (Iglesias, 2010), *En tierra extraña/In a Foreign Land* (Bollaín, 2014), *Perdiendo el norte/Off Course* (2015) or *Julia Ist* (2017), among others. In this context, Spain is shaping notions of *sovereignty* through ideas of influence and cooperation at the supranational level, accepting the financial crisis as a consequence of the processes of globalisation and the greed of capitalism, locating the blame on the financial institutions and corrupt professionals.

Sovereignty in Global Times. Reacting to Global Threats.

With the turn of the millennium, in the context of more acute globalisation and an increasing international emphasis on securitisation, Spain has turned to achieving a *symbolic capital* within the new network state, emphasizing connections with the US and Europe. Bauman (2004, p.7) notes that the globalisation processes have increased concerns over security, overpopulation, and "the establishment of frontier-land conditions". With an augmented fear of global crime in local networks (Castells, 2010a, 2010b), governments are expected to manage the situation by increasing border control and national security. Van Houtum and Pijpers (2006, 2007) compare the EU to a gated community or defended neighbourhood, guarded by surveillance technology

and personnel to protect those inside. In this context, the fluid border between Spain and Africa becomes a concern and key area for reinforcement for Spain and Europe. The notion of "illegal entry" has conflated irregular immigration with criminality. Since the first 1985 immigration law, however, the political debates have associated illegality almost exclusively with African immigration, making this a concern in every policy that followed. In Moffette's words (2018, p.36), "it was not the presence of mere foreigners that the law was meant to regulate, but that of racialized immigrants". That Spain has taken this role as guardian of the Fortress Europe in the South as a main responsibility is evident because considerable efforts have been made towards reinforcing the fences and increasing the military presence.

This increase in security systems has become part of the national agenda not only because of the growth of immigration and the EU pressures that it incited, but also because of Al-Qaeda's bombings of Madrid in 2004. This attack revived the treacherous "Moor" in the collective imagination, who collides in contemporary Spain with the North Moroccan. For example, the media emphasised that material related to the Crusades and Al-Andalus had been found among the possessions of the Moroccans implicated in the attack (Rogozen-Soltar, 2007, p.875), while official institutions concerned with national security highlighted connections between the terrorist activity and the jihadists' desire to reclaim Al-Andalus as part of the Islamic world. The International Security Studies Group at the University of Granada lists in its public database any references to Spain that have been found in the jihadi propaganda, starting with a 1994 letter by Osama Bin Laden, in which he implores Allah to aid him to restore Muslim pride and honour, bringing unity to the stolen lands "from Palestine to Al-Andalus". Since that entry, a further 154 claims to Al-Andalus had been recorded up to 2019. The connections between the Spanish medieval past and contemporary Spain, however, form part also of more hegemonic Spanish discourses, such as the one given by former President Jose María Aznar, who in 2004 during a lecture at Georgetown University declared[8] that:

> Spain's problem with Al-Qaeda and terrorism did not begin with the Iraq crisis. It is necessary to go back (...) to the beginning of the 8th century, when Spain was invaded by the Moors and refused to

[8] https://www.arabnews.com/node/255651

> become another part of the Islamic world, launching a long battle to recover its identity.

However, Aznar is not alone in these discourses, and Howell and Lind (2010, p.286) declare that the media and politicians have constructed Muslims and Islam as complicit in terrorism, only challenged by civil society responses, particularly from Muslim organisations. The authors note how Spain has responded to terrorism in ways different from the US and the UK. Howell and Lind (2010, p.287) indicate that "the exceptionalism of Spain in this regard demonstrates the possibility of a different response to terrorism that preserves the spaces for collective action", noting the importance of discourses on co-existence and tolerance, alongside the lack of any extraordinary counter-terrorism measures.

Castells (2010a, p.321) declares that contemporary nation-states are undermined by globalisation and have become increasingly powerless, and in particular

> by the globalization of core economic activities, by the globalization of media and electronic communication, by the globalization of crime, by the globalization of social protest, and by the globalization of insurgency in the form of transborder terrorism.

In this context, government actions in these areas contribute to expressions of contemporary *sovereignty*. In setting the goal of becoming a core member of the G-20 or G-7, Spain aims to minimise the effects of financial globalisation, becoming an active part in the decisions affecting the global economies. Regarding the control of global crime, collaboration with other supranational and international agencies is lauded as the most effective way to prevent and fight against global crime, such as drug trafficking, terrorism, or the trafficking of human beings. The Action Plans and Spanish National Drug Strategies of the new millennium all focus on cooperation, both internally and internationally, to guarantee the success of reducing drugs in the country. Suggesting further cooperation between the EU and Latin America, Gratius (2012) indicates that the coordination and data sharing between EU countries has been paramount to reducing the impact of global crime and drug smuggling. In being seen

acting effectively against global crime, Spain displays notions of a valuable partner against these global threats.

Sovereignty. The interrogation of the Transition, the 15-M, and the Recuperation of Historical Memory.

Recent scholarship has explored the identity crisis of Spain in relation to the interrogation of what has become known as Culture of the Transition (CT), or the legacy of the consensus and reconciliation aims that drove the Spanish Transition. Some scholars have looked at the influence of the financial crisis and the anti-austerity spontaneous 15-M movement as triggers that brought this interrogation to the public spheres, underscoring the fragmentation of the hegemonic discourse of unity and consensus that the CT had constructed (Martínez, 2012; Snyder, 2015; Moreno-Caballud, 2014, 2015; Carretero Miramar and Bradd, 2019). Other work has interrogated this culture of consensus in cultural products and people, paying attention to expressions of nation-building but also resistance and disapproval emerging from these narratives (Sánchez, 2012; Triana-Toribio, 2019; Miguélez-Carballeira, 2016; Wheeler, 2016; Martín, 2020). While the interrogation of the Transition has brought to light the inefficiencies of the political transition and the weaknesses of the economic transformations, the European membership has not been contested. Although there is criticism towards particular policies and actions, belonging to Europe and its apparatus still holds value in Spain.

Near the turn of the millennium, narratives that explore Spain's past became more prominent and set filmic trends around the recovery of collective memory and a historical past that had been silenced with the unwritten "Pact of Forgetting". Many films approached the Spanish Civil War and the repression of the Francoist forces, with particular emphasis on the sacrifices of women and the suffering of children, such as *Ay Carmela!* (Saura, 1990), *Libertarias/Freedomfighters* (Aranda, 1996), *Tierra y Libertad/Land and Freedom* (Loach, 1995), *El espinazo del diablo/The devil's Backbone* (del Toro, 2001), *El laberinto del Fauno/ Pan's Labyrinth* (del Toro, 2006), *Las 13 rosas/the 13 Roses* (Martínez-Lázaro, 2007) or *La mujer del anarquista/The Anarchist's wife* (Marie Noelle and Peter Sehr, 2008). A series of heated debates in the media

followed the foundation of the ARMH (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory) in 2000, which influenced the government's decision to offer some level of acknowledgement with the Law of Historical Memory of 2007. The Law of Historical Memory of 2007, which sought to acknowledge the victims of Francoist Spain, brought heated political and public debates about reopening the wounds of the past, the tacit "Pacto de Olvido" (Pact of Forgetting) of the Transition, which encouraged looking to the future and not the past, or the transfer of power and those who had been involved. The consensus of the Transition was brought once again to the public debate, reaching the international stage when Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón, who had previously made international headlines by taking high-profile cases such as those against Pinochet or Videla under international law, opened the first case to investigate crimes of the civil war and the Francoist regime. This action was followed by a lawsuit against Garzón himself, claiming that he had no right to investigate these crimes as they were protected by the amnesty law of 1977. The close scrutiny of Garzón led in 2012 to a lawsuit against irregular wiretapping that has barred Garzón from practising law until 2023, effectively putting an end to the open case over the crimes of the Francoist regime.

In 2009, just when it seemed that the only goal that the Transition had fully met was the democracy, a series of corruption cases involving top politicians and the Royal Crown emerged in the news media, taking centre stage for almost a decade, while the reactions to the Law of Historical Memory of 2007 brought questions into the politics of consensus that the Transition had heralded. This Law of Historical Memory has been recently reviewed, with a new Democratic Memory Act proposed towards the end of 2020 and currently in the approval stage. This new law seeks to include a revised account of the Civil War and the Francoist regime in the school textbooks. It also aims to void the convictions of Francoist courts and suggests institutional support for exhuming the victims for DNA matching with surviving relatives. Finally, it eliminates the Francisco Franco Foundation, cancels nobility titles granted between 1948-1978, grants citizenship to children born from exile, and removes Francoist symbols. What these proposals manifest is the contemporary debates over recovering historical memory and the way they are associated with discovering the truth about the past, acknowledging the suffering of the victims, and making symbolic reparations. These points are echoed

in many of the films post-crisis, particularly those set in the colonial past. Fiction film is recovering this memory through a lens that still relies on Hispanotropicalism and Convivencia, and more significantly, the narratives advocate for an acknowledgement of the past rather than reparations.

Within this background, the financial crisis (2008-2012) brought a deep dissatisfaction with the main political parties and their actions during this period, such as the initial denial of the crisis followed by tight austerity measures, employment policies that allowed for easy dismissals and redundancies, or financial rescues that favoured the banking system but left the individuals in precarious positions; all in an attempt to prevent a European bailout that eventually could not be avoided. The increased precarity in society led in 2011 to the spontaneous protests of the 15-M (for 15th of May), also called the *indignados* (outraged) movement. This movement mobilised thousands of people in main squares, protesting austerity measures and bank bailouts. Characterised by sit-ins, urban camps, and walking rallies, the movement captured much of the news media's attention. The most significant visible change derived from the protests was the loss of trust in the main political parties and the subsequent formation of new ones. Campaigning first against corruption and the culture of the Transition, two main parties emerged from the public spaces of protest: Podemos ("We Can", populist left) and Ciudadanos ("Citizens", centre-right). A third main party, Vox, appeared in 2013 following this general dissatisfaction. Vox (Latin for "Voice") is a far-right party with anti-immigrant and xenophobic views. The surge of the far-right has been sudden and somehow unexpected in Spain. Although small right-wing parties had acquired some support in previous years, they had failed to enter the regional or national parliaments until December 2018, when Vox won 12 seats in the Andalusian regional parliament. Research emphasises the slow growth of right-wing parties in Spain in relation to other European countries and links this circumstance to Spanish history and national identity, particularly concerning the fear of bringing back right-wing sentiments associated with Franco's ideals (Arango, 2013). Spain's articulation of European belonging had offered for almost half a century resistance to the anti-immigration voices of the far-right (Arango, 2013, p.10; Encarnación, 2004, p.169), and until the end of 2018, no right-wing anti-immigration political party had won any seats. Encarnación (2004) infers that the absence of a direct anti-immigration narrative in the

political manifestos was due to its association with fascism, the discrediting of the extreme right after Franco, a preference for moderate political parties, and the fact that most immigration in Spain comes from Europe. Arango (2013) points instead to the value of the immigrant as a perceived necessity for financial growth, a requirement of the labour market and a sign of modernity. However, the fact that this political group has grown in support speaks of latent xenophobic sentiments in current society.

The financial crisis, thus, brought with it an intensification of a crisis of national identity that had been building up and shaped new projections of *symbolic capital*. With a national identity built in the first decades after the Francoist regime on notions of a quick financial recovery, a peaceful political transition, and becoming part of the EU with all that it entailed, the 2008-2012 period emphasized the cracks in this identity. The European financial rescue was final evidence that the Spanish economy was not that strong, whereas the corruption cases involving the main political parties brought doubts over the success of this transition and the silence that the consensus encouraged.

The *symbolic capital* that the achievements of the new democracy had enacted was fragmented during the period of the financial crisis and led to its reassessment and reconstruction. While financial stability has proven fragile, the official discourses have positioned it in the context of a global crisis that has impacted all the countries of the global minority. Furthermore, it is presented as a temporary anomaly that can be solved through solidarity and individual responsibility. If the corruption cases have incited in the media further mistrust in the political system and the narratives of the Transition, the narratives of Spanish film offer a purge of corruption led by regular Spaniards, while at the same time making it a consequence of globalisation and the greed of capitalism. However, as one of the objectives of the Transition and democracy, EU membership does not fall within the confines of this interrogation and is reinforced through the core notions of Europeanness: freedom, equality and fraternity. In this context, the multitudinous protests of the 15-M[9] speak of the political freedom of Spain and the determination of its population to achieve fair and honest political representation. The protests, thus, reflect the freedom that the democracy brought even if enacted against the political configuration that emerged post-Franco. Indeed, the Spanish national

[9] Also those against gendered violence or the indults to those implicated in the Catalan referendum.

television (RTVE) reported[10] recently the results of a European Social Survey that asserted that Spain is the European country with more participation in protests, more than duplicating the European average of 7.5% to 19.7%.

To conclude, this chapter connects historical and recent events to the articulation of nation, making connections with the construction of national identity post-Franco, the configuration of *symbolic capital* concerning its position in Europe, and how the signifiers of wealth, modernity, and stability became questionable in the context of the crisis. The construction of *otherness* and affinity in relation to the Latin American and African *other* has been impacted by notions of Hispanidad, Convivencia and Hispanotropicalism that derive from colonial encounters with Latin America and Africa. These concepts contribute not only to constructions of the non-European *other,* but also of a Spanish exceptionalism, within Europe, that reasserts the core European notions of freedom, equality and fraternity, at a time when Europe itself presents a narrative of decline in this regard. Finally, it sets the impact of the crisis in connection not just to a financial crisis, but to a crisis of identity after the interrogation of the successes of the democracy post-Franco.

This chapter posits that the articulation of Spanish identity since the establishment of democracy is closely connected to Europeanness, and that the articulation of this Europeanness has been impacted in the period of the financial crisis (2008-2012). By setting the ground of the history and events surrounding European membership and the relationship of Spain with the Latin American and African *other*, the chapter lays the background upon which the films are produced and opens the interrogation of how Spain is configured with and against this *other* in film, at the same that it situates key concepts in the context of the recent socio-political and historical events. To fully evaluate the changes in this portrayal of the Latin American and African *other*, the next chapter focuses on the portrayals in Spanish film pre-2005, after which the case studies discuss the evolution of these portrayals in the context of redefining national identity in Spanish film before, during and after the crisis.

[10] https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20210602/espana-se-situa-como-potencia-mundial-manifestaciones/2097585.shtml

Chapter 2. The Latin American and African *other* in Spanish film pre-crisis. Scholarship and context.

This chapter reviews scholarship on films depicting immigrant experiences and on films where the figure of the racialised *other* is a crucial part of the narrative. It positions this thesis within this scholarship, setting the terminology and establishing the gaps in the existing literature. Approaching scholarship on European and Spanish cinema preoccupied with immigration and the *other*, the chapter acknowledges the issues surrounding the terminology employed to refer to these films and specifies the terms used in this thesis. The chapter highlights trends in narratives and portrayals of the Latin American and African *other* since the inauguration of what has become known as Spanish immigration cinema.

Immigration Cinema and Spanish Film

The study of cinema by and about immigrants has increased considerably in the last two decades. From earlier depictions of the *other*, to the cinema made by second or third generation filmmakers, scholarship has approached ideas of reception in the host country, questions of belonging, and hybrid identities. The definitions surrounding the cinema made by or about migrant identities are varied and address different but often interrelated categories. Some scholars explore the particularities of the cinema made by filmmakers with hybrid identities derived from a diasporic, migrant or exilic condition. Others, expand their scope also to include any cinema that explores themes relating to migration, diaspora and exile. This thesis sits within the latter due to the limited number of filmmakers in Spain of migrant or diasporic identity.

An important landmark in migrant and diasporic film study is Hamid Naficy's (2001) *Accented Cinema*. Naficy employs *accent* to symbolically refer to the distinguishable characteristics of the cinema made by diasporic and postcolonial filmmakers in a host country. For Naficy (2001, p.22), these filmmakers' work is often rooted in elements of "double consciousness" that lead to a particular kind of hybrid product, where the films produced are shaped by the interactions taking place between "the cinematic traditions

they acquire" in the host country and "the exilic and diasporic traditions" they embody. By rearticulating W.E.B Du Bois' (1986) notion of "double consciousness", that is, an identity defined by the conflict between the identification with the coloniser and the colonised, Naficy encapsulates the tensions inherent in this double cinematic identity. Borrowing from Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) notion of *chronotope*, who conceived it as a signifier that encapsulates both space and time, Naficy (2001, p.152) indicates that "[a]ccented films encode, embody, and imagine the home, exile, and transitional sites in certain privileged chronotopes that link the inherited space-time of the homeland to the constructed space-time of the exile and diaspora". Thus, the migrant and diasporic filmmaker are positioned in a hybrid space where cultures of the host country and a pre-diasporic homeland conflate to construct the hybrid self. In this sense, the filmmaker is transformed by what anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1987) denominated *transculturation*, a two-way process of exchange where culture is transformed through a series of negotiations and struggles between two (or more) different cultures. Decades later, and in response to what he saw as fixed determinism in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Homi K. Bhabha (1994, p.4) would articulate a similar notion of cultural hybridity as the result of entertaining "difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" by negotiating identity in a *third space*, an "interstitial passage between fixed identifications". This in-betweenness is rooted in hybridity, but it does not conflate with Spanish notions of mestizaje, which at its root relates to the racial mixing of Indigenous peoples and Spaniards in the New World. In this respect, Shirley A. Tate (2005, p.66) clarifies Bhabha's point to indicate that this third space is not the same as creolisation or *mestizaje*, but that the hybridity to which this third space refers is one "where narratives of 'where you are from' interact with narratives of 'where you are at' in order for new identifications to arise." Much of the scholarship on migrant and diasporic cinema approach this sense of hybridity as a pivotal element. However, other definitions have arisen to address the cinema that, while intersecting on some themes and aims, is not a product of migrant and diasporic filmmakers, such as the majority of the films in the case studies. In the context of this thesis, this hybridity is discussed regarding how the films establish notions of negotiation of hybridity in alignment with perceived European *cultural capital.* Save some exceptions, the majority of the Spanish fiction films engaging with migrant and diasporic identities have been written and directed by Spanish filmmakers who do not share this lived experience and who, thus,

do not present this hybridity themselves. Where notions of hybridity and third space happen, these are often imagined through a Eurocentric lens.

Another exemplar study of the cinema made by filmmakers of diasporic and migrant identities is Laura Marks, who, in her work *The Skin of Film* (2000), also engages with aspects of in-betweenness that arise from a diasporic condition. Her notion of "haptic visuality" suggests a kind of sensorial "third space" (Bhabha, 1994) that manifests in the distinctive way that migrant and diasporic filmmakers perceive and reproduce the world, paying attention to sensorial qualities. The association of this "haptic visuality" to immigrant characters in Spanish immigration cinema speaks of the influence of European diasporic film in Spanish immigration cinema, in terms of its themes, portrayals, and usual stylistic conventions. Engaging with the postcolonial condition, Shohat and Stam (1994) also explore notions of hybridity and syncretism. However, this thesis agrees with Berghahn and Stenberg (2010, p.36) in that their framework might be insufficient for scholarship working on exilic and diasporic identities in general, as not all migrant populations are from Europe's older colonies. In this regard, Thomas Elsaesser (2005) approaches hybridity in the context of national identity and encompasses films by second-generation migrant and diasporic filmmakers under "cinema of double occupancy", where these filmmakers embody hyphenated identities, constantly negotiating their place in the hosting nation and the homeland of their ancestors. This categorisation aligns with Naficy's previously mentioned *accented cinema*. Will Higbee (2007, 2014) also explores notions linked to the filmmakers' migrant and diasporic identity but with a focus on the postcolonial context (mainly French), which informs the interactions between national cinema, the transnational and cultural identity in a "cinema of transvergence". For Higbee, this "cinema of transvergence" manifests the relationship between the filmmaker and the context of production, instead of being articulated as a subcategory and within the limits of diaspora and migration. Developing his ideas around the transnational and the postcolonial, Higbee and Hwee Lim (2010, p.18) argue that the theorisation of the transnational in the cinema of transvergence should be neither descriptive nor prescriptive, but a critical one that

> does not ghettoize transnational filmmaking in interstitial and marginal spaces but rather interrogates how these filmmaking activities negotiate with the national on all levels – from cultural

> policy to financial sources, from the multiculturalism of difference to how it reconfigures the nation's image of itself.

This claim is important because it cautions against the study of this kind of film within the limits of the marginal positions that the filmmakers might occupy and instead encourages readings that transcend them and explore dialogical processes. Rob Stone (2018) articulates the notions of *cinema of citizens* and *cinema of sentiment* in relation to the way that the films in a nation align with or differ from the hegemonic film cultures and the way they express the nation. The *cinema of citizens* (Stone, 2018, p.270) have

> close links between the government and filmmakers that are established and maintained (directly and indirectly) by funding, educational strategies, investment in related infrastructure, policies, quotas, incentives such as tax-breaks, sponsored training and official campaigns that support and exploit the soft power of homegrown films at festivals and awards ceremonies.

This approach has informed the selection of the case studies, as all the films included in this thesis participate in many of these characteristics. The *cinema of sentiment*, in contrast, express resistance and is fluid in relation to the identity articulated within the hegemonic channels of the state. It often articulates marginalised identities and looks outwards towards independent screenings and international film festivals. While many of the films included in this thesis engage with marginalised identities and are aimed at film-festival audiences, they express these aims within the hegemonic film cultures and seek to transform the national audiences through sympathy and figuratively contact with the *other*. Moreover, their inclusion in the screenings of the Instituto Cervantes and Spanish embassies abroad, make them representative of an image of Spain aligned with the state.

Some scholars expand the scope of study of films of migrant and diasporic identities to include also similar films made by national filmmakers who do not share this lived experience, an approach guiding this thesis. One such scholar is Yosefa Loshitzky (2010), who consciously engages with films considered "hegemonic" and less with what she denominates films of the "minority discourse" (2010, p.9). As such, her monograph *Strangers on Screen* (2010, p.10) analyses *otherness* as "reproduced by European

cinema as part of the continent's struggle with the questions of identity". For such purpose, Loshitzky groups films about immigration into three categories by narrative: journeys of hope, promised land, and second-generation cinema. The first grouping deals with "the migratory journey from the homeland to the host journey and sometimes back home" (Loshitzky, 2010, p.15), emphasising the hardship experienced by the migrants and occasionally their death in the process. The second group, promised land, focuses on the narratives of the migrant in the host country, often dealing with issues of "as racism, miscegenation, cultural difference, and economic exploitation" (Loshitzky, 2010, p.15), these films articulate encounters between the migrant and the host country, often dealing with questions of discrimination. Finally, the third group engages with cinema made by or portraying second-generation immigrants (and beyond), whose themes usually revolve around "integration", "assimilation", "alienation", and "disintegration" (Loshitzky, 2010, p.15). It is worth noting that although Loshitzky's division echoes Anderson's notions of the *limited* and the *imagined community*, by exploring journeys, interaction with the host society, and the notions of memory and belonging, Loshitzky does not approach these notions directly. My research intersects work by Loshitzky and Anderson to address how the portrayal of the *other* contributes towards the articulation of the nation.

The same year that Loshitzky published *Screening Strangers* (2010), Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg published *European Cinema in Motion* (2010), an essential edited collection born out of the AHRC-funded International Research Network "Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe". Berghahn and Sternberg (2010, p.4) refer to this kind of cinema as "migrant and diasporic cinema", leaving the category deliberately ambiguous to include any films about migration and diaspora, not only those made by filmmakers connected to these identities. Berghahn carries this terminology to her 2013 volume on *Far-Flung Families in Film.* It is also the approach of Ponzanesi (2011), who simplifies the term to "migrant cinema", and of Celik (2015, p.24), who justifies it as a desire to include directors "who take up these issues due to political attachment". Approaching both European and Spanish film, Barbara Zecchi (2013) denominates it "Cine de Otredad" (Otherness Cinema), Isolina Ballesteros (2015) calls it "Immigrant Cinema", and Guido Rings (2016, p.28) defines it as "European migrant cinema", signalling that it "embraces films about 'migration' to/from 'Europe',

regardless of the cultural background of directors, scriptwriters, producers, cast, or potential viewers". In Spain, this is the position taken by Isabel Santaolalla (2005), who uses the term "cine de inmigración" (Immigration Cinema) within her wider approach to "Cine de Otredad" (Otherness Cinema). With a similar categorisation, Chema Castiello (2005) refers in the same year to "cine de inmigrantes" (Immigrants' Cinema) to encompass any films concerned with migration narratives and characters, where the preposition "de" means both "by" and "about". This thesis moves away from Castiello's use of "immigrants' cinema" because its translation might suggest that it is cinema made *by* immigrants. Instead, I take Santaolalla's term, also used by Ballesteros (2015), to refer to any films that engage with issues related to the migrant condition of the *other* and films made by "second-generation" filmmakers, following similar definitions by Berghahn and Sternberg. However, I use "immigrant" instead of "migrant", the preferred term in Berghahn and Sternberg's (2010), because the thesis excludes from the analysis films about the emigration or return of Spaniards, in order to focus the analysis on the portrayal of the *other* and the national space (colonial or otherwise, as a destination, point of departure, or co-living space). The thesis employs the terms "films of colonial themes" and "colonial film" as equivalent when discussing the contemporary films that address colonial narratives, following the terminology used by Isabel Santaolalla (2005) and Alberto Elena (2010).

Spanish Immigration Cinema: Scholarship and Key Texts

Studies around immigration cinema in Spain proliferated with the start of the millennium, with several monographs appearing in 2005. Isabel Santaolalla's volume *Los "Otros": Etnicidad y raza en el cine español contemporáneo* (2005) (*The "Others": Ethnicity and Race in Contemporary Spanish Cinema*) is a landmark study that continues to be referenced to this day. The work engages with notions of *otherness* and immigration in Spanish cinema since its origins, encompassing over twenty decades of production. Her monograph offers an in-depth historical and analytical study that encompasses four categories: Spain's "internal *others*" (*gitanos*, Roma peoples), the "quintessential *other*" (African and Asian immigration), the "camouflaged *other*" (Eastern European immigration), and the "familiar *other*" (Latin American immigration).

Santaolalla's engagement with postcolonial theory, French post-structuralism and philosophical texts on globalisation connect her work with international scholarship and positions Spanish Immigration Cinema within a wider European context. In the same year, journalist Eduardo Moyano (2005) published a monograph on migration and cinema, emphasising notions of memory, mobility, and racism. Moyano's work aims to establish connections between the Spanish migrant past and contemporary immigration in Spain, paying attention to mobility within the Spanish borders and portrayals of the internal *other.* Whilst Moyano's work lacks strong engagement with scholarship, it is enriched with interviews and personal encounters with filmmakers. A further volume by Chema Castiello that same year explores three thematic narratives in immigration cinema: journey, rejection, and convivencia (as "coexistence"). These three groups intersect with Loshitzky's first two categories, journeys of hope and promised land, yet the category of migrant and diasporic filmmakers is absent in Castiello's research. The absence of voices from immigrant and second-generation filmmakers is a gap lamented by Castiello (2005) and Santaolalla (2005) at the time. What these foundational works highlight is the filmmakers' conscious desire to make the audiences reflect on the immigrant condition and expose racism in Spain. For example, Castiello (2005) indicates that the Spanish directors of immigration cinema openly declare their intention to make films that denounce reality and demand changes, understanding their films as a "testimony" and "social reflection" of Spain. However, for that same reason, many scholars have found limitations in the 1990-2005 immigration films, noting that many are centred around Spain's reaction to the *other*, and not so much around the *other's* experiences, that is, that they are more about Spain than about the immigrant (Flesler, 2004; Santaolalla, 2005; Gordillo Álvarez, 2007; Davies, 2006; Peralta García, 2016; Van Liew, 2019). This aspect is a crucial point in this thesis, which interrogates what the elements of this Spain that are constructed through the other are, whether the films after the start of the crisis change focus and challenge this approach, and how these elements are related to notions of national identity through a dialogue with Anderson's (1991) work. In examining post-crisis films, the analysis in this thesis demonstrates transformations in the way that Spain is portrayed in relation to this *other* that derive from changes in the social, historical, and political context

An important point that derives from the portrayals and narratives made in some of the films in immigration cinema is that while these films emerge from intentions to critique and challenge prejudice and stereotyping, they contribute to the construction and reproduction of stereotypes. Santaolalla (2005) explores issues of *otherness* in Spanish film up to the early years of the new millennium and concludes that, overall, the figure of the immigrant in Spanish film is treated with benevolence and sympathy, both by the narrative and the cinematography. However, she also reminds the reader that even though some films might have been driven by these sympathetic motivations, once the filmic text is circulating, they can be interpreted and appropriated in ways that promote discriminatory dispositions. My analysis of later films not included in Santaolalla's study posits, for instance, that the repetition of narratives around African immigration in the context of illegal entry and hardship creates a kind of "meritocracy of pain", where sympathy for the *other* is inspired by witnessing the suffering of the immigrant, instead of by realities that motivate the migratory experience.

The limitations derived from using tropes in films for social criticism are also briefly addressed by Iglesias Santos (2013), Pérez (2015) and Peralta García (2016). However, these scholars approach either documentary films or films pre-crisis in their analysis, leaving a gap in scholarship on later films. For example, Iglesias Santos' (2013) chapter explores the portrayal of Muslim women in literature and film, concluding that even though the films include humanitarian commitment and social criticism, there is a trend for what she calls *buenismo* or *buenrollismo* ("goody-goody" attitude), which overemphasises passivity and victimisation. In a similar argument, Pérez (2015, pp.219-220) denominates this kind of cinema "NGO-films" in order to encapsulate the "good intentions" of the filmmakers, but also to bring attention to their limitations and, fundamentally, the failures of the films regarding ethical accountability of Western neoliberal practices, "the root causes of migratory displacement" and the "historical Matrix of the Mediterranean". Finally, Peralta (2016, pp.46-47) addresses it as an "ambivalent cinema of social criticism" for its potential to raise awareness about the lives of undocumented immigration but their struggle to escape stereotypes. Considering the conclusions established by Peralta (2016) and Pérez (2015) about the power dynamic between the global minority and the global majority, it is valuable to explore whether these narratives continue to be prevalent after the financial crisis

revealed Spain's poor economy and financial struggles. As the analysis chapters in this thesis suggest, the impact of the financial crisis shapes some of the filmic narratives towards convivial spaces where the tensions in the community are not rooted in ethnic or religious differences but in attitudes towards consumption, Europeanness, and financial restrain. To fully comprehend how these narratives have evolved and how these changes reconfigure notions of Spain, the following sections explore the origins of Spain's immigration cinema and the contemporary narratives of the *other* that followed. The discussion is organised in two sets, each following a chronological order. First, I discuss films featuring the African *other,* after which I explore films on the Latin American *other.*

The African *other* in Immigration Cinema pre-2005

The film that is often lauded as the inauguration of Spanish immigration cinema is *Las cartas de Alou/Letters from Alou* (Armendáriz, 1990), although as Alberto Elena points out (2005a, p.57; 2005b, p.109), it was by no means the first film to include immigration narratives or immigrant characters, but the film that would define and inaugurate immigration cinema as a genre, with clear directorial aims of inspiring understanding towards the *other* and exposing prejudice in Spain. In the leading character role, Senegalese Alou (Mulie Jarju) travels around Spain looking for work, encountering prejudice but also finding networks of support and friendship. The film, Santaolalla (2005, p.121) concludes, invokes a markedly "anti-racist Spanish discourse" that has made it popular with institutions and education settings working on anti-racist values. Van Liew (2019, pp.262-263) brings attention to how the film's release aligns with the immediate period after the acceptance of Spain in the Common European Market (1986), a time when there was "increasing press coverage of immigration issues, and changing laws to accommodate what for Spain is a newer phenomenon than for many northern European countries". *Letters from Alou* (1990) was awarded prestigious accolades, including two Goya and the Concha de Oro at the San Sebastián International Film Festival, some of the most prestigious Spanish awards. Burkhart (2010, p.153) indicates that "the film critiques how Spanish society has dealt (or better yet, not dealt) with the integration of immigrants and with different forms of discrimination,

institutional or otherwise". Nevertheless, Ann Davies (2012, p.145) declares that the film is a "notable exception" in the portrayal of African immigration because the African immigrant is the film's central subject, something that would only become more common in the late 2000s. The ethical aims of the film to denounce racism and prejudice in Spanish society went beyond production or distribution. Armendáriz donated exhibition rights to SOS Racismo (SOS Racism) with the condition that the association had representatives present during the screenings in order to open a Q&A with audience members afterwards (Santaolalla, 2005, p.121). Most of the academic works on the film highlight the humane portrayal and positive representation of the character and his struggles to integrate into Spanish society. Santaolalla (2005, p.121) refers to it as "exceptional" and a "fetishist text of the Spanish anti-racist discourse", and Van Liew (2019, p.260) lists it for its "tone of great humanity and attitudinal diversity", while Guido Rings (2016, p.2) indicates that it is "an excellent example" of the values of the Council of Europe's film fund, Eurimages, as a film that looks to "strengthen human rights, racial tolerance and multicultural acceptance" (CoE, 1991, p.9 in Rings, 2016, p.2), noting how it aligns with notions of Europeanness. However, many of these scholars also bring attention to the *othering* of Alou through an exoticisation of his body (Santaolalla 2002, 2005, 2010; Ballesteros, 2001, 2005; Ian Davies, 2006; Burkhart, 2010; Rings, 2016). Being the first film to directly address African immigration and the problems that arose from a difficult integration, *Letters from Alou* (1990) set the model for many of the films that followed.

As scholars on Spanish film recall, a pivotal year for immigration cinema is 1996, when Imanol Uribe and Carlos Saura spearheaded this kind of new cinema with the release of the films *Bwana/Bwana* (1996) and *Taxi/Taxi* (1996), respectively. Alongside four other releases[11] in that same year, these films put narratives of immigration at the centre of the filmmaking industry. Many important monographs and studies on immigration cinema explore the history and portrayals in immigration films of the 90s and early 2000s,[12] noting two key themes in this period. First, the critical interrogation of Spain as

[11] *En la puta calle/Hitting Bottom* (Enrique Gabriel, 1996), *Menos que cero/Less than Zero* (Ernesto Tellería, 1996), *Susanna/Susanna* (Antonio Chavarrías, 1996) and *La sal de la vida* (Eugenio Martín, 1996). There is no official translation of this last film title, which means literally "The Salt of Life" but translates more accurately to "The Spice of Life"

[12] See for example: Santaolalla (2002, 2005, 2010), Castiello (2005), Gordillo Álvarez (2007), Gordillo (2019), Navarro García (2009), Ballesteros (2001, 2005, 2006, 2015), Martínez-Carazo (2005), Rodríguez (2011), Elena (2005a, 2005c), Davies (2006), Flesler (2008), Elena and Martín Morán (2016), and Vega-Durán (2016).

a welcoming host country. Second, the portrayal of immigrants as the rejected *others*, and the difficulties they suffer to reach Spain or find acceptance in the host country. These themes encourage audiences to reflect on their own positioning, inspiring compassionate attitudes and promoting societal change. For Guido Rings (2016, p.158), immigration films of the 90s "operate largely within a traditional multicultural or traditional intercultural framework that follows an agenda of enhanced peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, and limited interaction". However, it is essential to note that while these are trends, the films usually ascribed to early immigration cinema are by no means homogeneous, and there are differences according to the origin of the immigrant. Most of these narratives focus on Sub-Saharan immigrants, with a notable absence of Moroccan immigrants in prominent roles. For Daniela Flesler (2008), this absence is connected to national anxieties over the North African *other*, particularly the Moroccan *other*, due to signifiers of the medieval "moor" permeating contemporary Spain with notions of invasion and treachery. Her monograph makes a compelling case and has become a landmark study, exploring a variety of examples, from history to politics, to traditional national festivities and cultural products.

For many scholars, the portrayals of the African *other* in the first immigration films of the 90s address the migratory experience of the *other* to highlight prejudice and racism in Spain. This is the case, for example, in *Bwana* (Uribe, 1996)*, Taxi* (Saura, 1996), *Saïd* (Soler, 1998), *Poniente/Setting* (Gutiérrez, 2002) or *Salvajes/Savages* (Molinero, 2001). Death marks the ending of *Susanna* (Chavarrías, 1996), a film with an eponymous protagonist whose romantic involvements with a married Spanish man and a Moroccan immigrant lead to a tragic ending that constructs notions of danger around the *other*. Less concerned with the Spanish family or its interactions with the *other,* Ilegal/Illegal (Villar, 2003) approaches violence and death deriving from human trafficking practices. With a more comedic tone, uncommon in these narratives, but following other national traditions of picaresque genres, *El traje/The Suit* (Rodríguez, 2002) explores stereotyping and *objectified capital* through the changes in treatment that the protagonist experiences after being gifted an expensive suit. The films included as pre-crisis examples in this thesis, *14 Kilometres* (2007) and *Dear Bamako* (2007), explore the journey and hardships of the Sub-Saharan immigrants in their pursuit to reach and settle in Europe. Several themes run through many of these narratives. Firstly, the

immigrant's undocumented status and illegal entry are emphasised and often made part of the main narrative, whether by depicting entry by *patera*, or focusing on vulnerable conditions derived from their irregular status. Second, death or the risk of death surrounds the *other*, particularly in the context of the dangerous journey or violent racism experienced in Spain. Third, for the most part, integration in the Spanish space is truncated by death, expulsion or violence and made impossible. Through such portrayals, these films construct the African *other* in positions of danger and vulnerability. In many of these films, the African immigrants risk their lives to reach Spain, which often disappoints them for not being the rich, welcoming country they envisioned. These films configure Spain as attractive to immigration due to its position within Europe and the availability of jobs, even if these jobs are unskilled and offer no protection. The hardships experienced by immigrants in the films, while underscoring the prejudice and the obstacles they encounter, also emphasise this desirability of Spain since the *other* endures them to reach or remain in Spain. Decontextualised from the root issues that motivate the migrant experience at origin, often reduced to economic migration but left in a vague and abstract context, these films evoke the *pull factor* of Spain instead of fully integrating the living experiences of migration. Once in Spain, the films focus on the prejudice present in Spanish society and tensions arising from the encounters with the Spaniards. The narratives explore these interactions in terms of conflict, which tend to produce transformations in the Spaniards, making them in this way the complex characters in the film and reducing the *other* to a discursive tool that calls for change from the Spaniard character and, indirectly, the Spanish audiences.

The scholarship often differentiates portrayals of the Sub-Saharan and the North African *other*, alluding to the collusion of the medieval “Moor” with the contemporary North African, particularly those from the Maghreb. The Spanish term “moro”, widespread in its use, is a pejorative noun that underscores these historical connections. For Santaolalla (2005, pp.130-133), Sub-Saharan characters have carried three types of connotations. First, in relation to a sexualised body, where the black body constitutes visual or sexual pleasure, a characteristic that also appears in Latin American characters of African ancestry. Second, as part of marginal and criminal worlds. And third, as a victim of racism. Iglesias Santos (2013) refers to the over-representation of Sub-Saharan immigrants on screen as a sign of the anxieties that this more visible *otherness* incites in

Spain. Moreover, Iglesias Santos (2013) suggests that the Sub-Saharan represent the *other* in all their poverty, being the ones who need more protection and who are mostly undocumented. The problems that arise with this interpretation are many, but it also represents the white saviour narratives that permeate narratives of Sub-Saharan immigration to Spain and the homogenisation of Sub-Saharan Africa.

North African characters are underrepresented in Spanish cinema despite being the most prominent immigrant group in Spain of African origin, an issue already noted by Santaolalla in the earlier immigration films (Santaolalla, 2002, 2005). Whilst Spanish film has portrayed North African characters since its early years, particularly during Francoist Spain, after the death of Franco (1975), Morocco has often been used as a landscape or backdrop for action genres, something that Santaolalla (2005) concludes that continued in contemporary cinema, at least during the 90s, where the immigrant from the Maghreb appears mostly in secondary roles and, when interracial relationships are included in the narrative, these turn to tragedy and deny full inclusion in the *imagined community*. Those of the Maghreb, Santaolalla (2005, pp.134-140) continues, are often portrayed in either impossible romantic encounters with the Spanish women or as a mischief of great wisdom. However, it is worth noting that these portrayals are also remnants of Spanish literary traditions and not exclusive to contemporary film. In the films addressed in this thesis, successful relationships with potential for romance are depicted between Moroccan women and Spanish men, while a Moroccan man becomes the main character of a narrative of personal achievement, noting, therefore, a change in trends on leading character roles and the possibilities of inclusion.

Castiello (2005) does not fully differentiate in his study on portrayals of immigration between North African or Sub-Saharan characters, addressing instead differences by gender. For Castiello (2005), African men in films up to the early 2000s are regularly characterised as single men, in need of work, isolated and *othered* through culture and language, often portrayed as naïve and illiterate. The same author concludes that, in contrast, women from the Maghreb are usually portrayed in regard to keeping traditions and in opposition to notions of freedom, secularism and tolerance. Peralta (2016) focuses on the Sub-Saharan *other*, but it does so within the scope of documentary film. However, a point in common with research on fiction film and noted by Peralta (2016) is a fixation on the entry by *patera* and undocumented status.

Ballesteros (2015) notes that filmmakers often try "to provide alternatives to the partial coverage made available by the media" and acknowledges the increase in Islamophobia in Europe after the 2004 terrorist attacks. Covering many of the films discussed by Santaolalla (2005) a decade earlier, Ballesteros also underscores the importance in these films of border crossing and *pateras*. Similar conclusions are reached by Barbara Zecchi (2013) and Cristina Martínez-Carazo (2013) in the edited collection *Imágenes del Otro*[13] (Iglesias Santos, 2013). Zecchi (2013) confirms the stereotyping of earlier immigration cinema around illegality and criminality but affirms that the cinema made by women filmmakers at the turn of the millennium opened avenues to more multicultural spaces of negotiation. Martínez-Carazo (2013) also notes an oversimplification in the films in her analysis (all pre-crisis), indicating that they dehumanise the immigrant with outlined personalities. Yet, this is a characteristic applicable to immigrant characters of both Africa and Latin America for the author.

The scholarship highlights the lack of complexity in characters and narratives, which for the most part, are instruments for the transformation of the Spaniard. The depictions of the African immigrant in the pre-crisis films often express, with narratives of illegal border-crossing, Spanish anxieties over the control of the external border. The African immigrant is almost exclusively associated with economic migration and unskilled labour, often characterised by poverty, illegality, or illiteracy. When romance or sexual attraction is hinted at, the body of the African immigrant is exoticised, and miscegenation is disallowed in the narrative through tragedy or deportation. Scholars allude to how in most of these films, the encounter with the *other* is a device that calls for transformations in Spanish society. Therefore, these films configure notions of an imagined community where the presence of the other creates tensions that need to be resolved within the context of European notions of equality, freedom, and fraternity.

The Latin American *other* in Immigration Cinema pre-2005

Having discussed the portrayals of the African *other*, I turn to the Latin American *other*. Latin American immigration on Spanish screens is not a recent phenomenon, and many

[13] Images of the Other.

films with Latin American immigrant characters were also produced during Franco's regime (1936-1975). Marina Díaz López (2005) and Alberto Elena (2005a) explore in the same collection the characterisation of Latin Americans in Spanish cinema with two chapters that together cover the period 1929-2005. Díaz López's work focuses on early cinema until the end of Franco's regime, in 1975, whereas Elena covers representation between 1975 and 2005. The chapters highlight the desire for a national homogeneity during Franco's regime that was prone to stereotypes and where characters from other cultures were positioned within an exoticizing and *othering* lens. For Díaz López (2005), the myth of *Hispanidad*, or the notion of a common Hispanic identity, runs deeply in the films of Francoist Spain in the shape of a supranational identity that connects all Spanish-speaking America and Spain. This shared identity offers possibilities of inclusion into the *imagined* Spanish *community* and makes Latin American immigration far more accepted than that from other non-European origins. Indeed, Santaolalla (2005) approaches the study of Latin American immigration under the term "the familiar *other*", underscoring the shared history between Spain and Latin America but also the prevalence of stereotypes that convey paternalistic attitudes of the Spaniards.

The notion of *Hispanidad* emphasises the shared *cultural capital* between Spain and Latin America, and it was an element often highlighted in Francoist films, where common culture was employed to underscore affinity and similarity, such as the use of bullfighting for characters and narratives connected to Mexico or of football for Argentina. Díaz López (2005) finds trends that exoticise the Latin American woman, an element that Santaolalla (2005, pp.175-176) also emphasises, particularly in relation to the figure of Caribbean women of African ancestry, who are often inserted in comedies and positioned against backdrops of sun, beach, sex, dance and fun. Often, the character's origin typifies its characterisation and blurs any differences between peoples from the same country. However, certain countries do become more visible in film, such as Argentina, Mexico and Cuba, mainly due to the post-independence migration and asylum applications from or to Spain. Elena (2005a, pp.113-114) notes how among all Latin American characters, Argentineans became a prominent figure in Spanish cinema after Franco, influenced by the significant number of Argentinean exiles who went to Spain during the military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983). Due to the repression and violence suffered under General Videla, many Argentinean artists,

filmmakers and professionals arrived in Spain while the country was reconfiguring its identity as a democracy. For Elena (2005a), this event changed the Spanish cinematographic landscape and opened opportunities for Argentinean actors, who had only had the choice of either portraying exotic characters or hiding their origins and accent to portray Spanish roles. Despite this, Elena concludes, it is precisely the Argentinean dictatorship that would typify Argentinean characters on the Spanish screens of this period, connecting their characters and narratives to exile and political turmoil. This trend continued until the new millennium, when the figure of the economic migrant started to overlap and displace that of the Argentinean exile. A critical point that emerges from this is that, consequently, the Argentinean immigrant is rarely framed within the confines of immigration cinema, having pre-dated the increase of economic migration post-European membership, a characteristic also applicable to the Mexican immigrant. The flows of immigration between Spain, Mexico and Argentina before the 1990s create a tradition of Argentinean and Mexican characters rooted not in portrayals of economic migration but in portrayals of political emigration. As a consequence, the characters elude some of the stereotypes connected with economic migration, such as illiteracy and poverty, with many Argentinean and Mexican characters portrayed as highly skilled professionals, often working in the arts. Towards the end of the millennium, this started to change, and Alberto Elena (2005a, p.116) indicates that profiles of exile give way to narratives of economic migration in films such as *Martín Hache* (Aristarain, 1997), *Lugares comunes/Common Ground* (Aristarain, 2002) and *Roma/Rome* (Aristarain, 2004). However, in depicting Latin American characters, immigration cinema has been more preoccupied with those from Cuba, the Caribbean islands, and the Andean countries, which construct a collective blurred image of the Latin American immigrant in most contemporary films portraying Latin American immigration.

For Santaolalla (2005) and Castiello (2005), the portrayals of Latin American characters and cultures by Spanish directors are still anchored in many stereotypes informed by ideas of Hispanidad. In this regard, Santaolalla (2005, p.175; 2007, p.145) goes a step further and indicates that many of the films “reveal paternalistic attitudes, even arrogant, towards the characters or the realities of those countries”. Castiello (2005) also finds reductive stereotypes and concludes that Latin American characters are often

portrayed as happy and dynamic people, sometimes in romantic relationships with Spaniards, in situations or dialogues that emphasize sexual tropes, very well integrated who share a common culture with Spain. However, he also notes that these characters rarely portray significant differences derived from their countries of origin, often only showcasing variety in regard to music, food or alcohol. Yet, Corbalán (2014a) argues that Castiello's (2005) analysis is overly optimistic. Instead, Corbalán affirms that the happy portrayals of Latin American immigration derive from paternalistic attitudes and not from positive constructions. Thus, Latin American *others* are perceived as "individuals who do not pose a threat to the concept of Spanish national identity, either because they are silenced, (…) or because they are easily assimilated" (Corbalán, 2014a, p.84). For Corbalán (2014a), when in conflict, the Latin American *other* must disappear to achieve social harmony, as in the deportation in *En la puta calle/Hitting Bottom* (Gabriel, 1996), or the voluntary departures in *Flores de otro mundo/Flowers from Another World* (Bollaín, 1999), *Agua con Sal/Water with Salt* (Perez Rosado, 2005) and *Princesses*. The portrayal of Latin American immigration as joyful is a characteristic also highlighted by Van Liew (2019), who analyses a series of films up to 2005 and notes that Cuban characters, in particular, are not only exoticised but linked to notions of an "authenticity" that is correlated to opposition to materialism. This is an element that for Santaolalla (2005, p.181) connects with a "nostalgia of the imperial time", where Cuba is associated with a slow pace of life, but also where Cuba emerges as a rebel and a survivor against US influence. This is a point that for Santaolalla (2005) offers Spain satisfaction and indirect revenge for the humiliation of the "Disaster of 98".

Many films employ this exoticisation of the Caribbean and Cuban *other.* Films such as *Un asunto privado/A Private Affair* (Arias, 1995) or *Los hijos del viento/Children of the Wind* (Merinero, 1995) reproduce some of the stereotypes linked with Cuban immigration in relation to the erotic body and sexual appetite. *Cosas que dejé en la Habana/Things I Left in Havana* (Gutiérrez Aragón, 1997) attempts to subvert these tropes and includes the characters' self-awareness of these stereotypes and the expectations they construct. However, the film also anchors the Cuban migrants to the notions of authenticity discussed by Santaolalla. For Johnson (2019, p.286), it evokes "a longing for stability of place and identity, a palpable nostalgia for an island nation perceived as coherent and pure." Elena (2005a) adds depictions within criminal

networks to these portrayals, such as in the films *Nadie hablará de nosotras cuando hayamos muerto/Nobody Will Speak of Us When We're Dead* (Díaz Yanes, 1995), *A tiro limpio/Once and For All* (Mora, 1996), *El árbol del penitente/The Penintent's Tree* (Borrell, 1999) or *Peor imposible. ¿Qué puede fallar?/ It can't be any worse. What can go wrong?* (Blanco and Semprún, 2001). Criminality is also discussed by Santaolalla (2005) in her analysis of *En la puta calle/Hitting Bottom* (1996), a film in which the Cuban character teaches the Spaniard guile activities to survive in Madrid. *Flores de otro mundo/Flowers from Another World* (Bollaín, 1999) became a landmark film that is often lauded for opening the door to many other women directors, but also for the narrative about immigrant women, since the main characters in immigration cinema had been men up to this point. The different stories and resolutions for each of its characters present a Spain where *othering* emerges layered and intersects with ethnicity and gender, the rural/urban spaces, and the acceptance or resistance towards patriarchal structures. The film allows for the negotiation of identities and, whilst it presents discrimination, struggles and violence, it also gives the women agency to accept or escape the future that is configuring ahead of them. If much of the immigration cinema in the 90s focuses on the difficulties of integration in Spain, *Flowers* offers potential for an intercultural Spain by providing an ending of successful miscegenation and blended families and emphasising parallels between the Spanish characters and the immigrant *others.*

The analyses of pre-crisis films, with some exceptions, present a series of tropes that portray Latin American immigration concerning notions of *Hispanidad* and cultural similarities that, however, retain their *otherness.* This *otherness* is often expressed with an exoticisation of the Latin American body inflected by notions of race, particularly in characters of the Caribbean region. However, it is essential to note that the portrayal of immigration from Latin America is not homogeneous and that different characteristics appear depending on the country of origin they represent. This thesis looks at the common points of intersection among these portrayals to identify the common trends that emerge around the figure of the Latin American *other* within Spanish film, which inevitably groups together peoples of very different cultures and histories. However, the case studies inquire whether the characterisation of the Latin American immigrant

is constructed attending to the immigrant's origin or if it encompasses under the same signifiers very distant origins.

What this section underscores is how the historical ties with certain countries articulate notions of *Hispanidad* that are layered not only with the common *cultural capital* of language and religion, but also shared experience of immigration and political oppression, as in the case of immigration from the Southern Cone, or exoticism derived from an imperial gaze, as in the case of immigration from the Caribbean. These are stereotypes that continue to be prevalent in contemporary Spanish film, although Andean characters have acquired more screen presence after the start of the financial crisis, a point that I connect in the case studies to notions of a pre-modern land that accentuate the increased precarity of globalisation.

Expressions of the Nation in Film.

The *imagined* Spanish *community* has been a point of discussion in Labanyi (2002), a particularly enlightening collection on the construction of Spanish identity at the turn of the millennium. In this volume, the authors explore plurality and hybridity in "the cultures of Spain", avoiding equating Spanish national identity to this plurality but creating a mosaic of cultures within the Spanish space. Looking at more contemporary cultural products, the work of Raquel Vega-Durán (2016) interrogates diversity and migrant identity in Spain, noting the solidarity arising from a shared immigrant experience between the recent histories of Spain, Latin America, and Africa; yet also underscoring the construction of illegality in the mediatised border-crossings across the coastlines. Vega-Durán approaches notions of historical memory concerning Spain as an emigrant country, dealing with the tensions and solutions that emerge in the encounters between Spaniards and non-Europeans within this context. With an analysis of diverse cultural production, such as novels, films, or art exhibitions, Vega-Durán (2016) asserts that Spain can no longer be understood without also addressing the role and impact of contemporary immigration. While very relevant to the argument of this thesis, Vega-Durán only mentions the financial crisis as a reason for Spanish migration, and the film examples analysed in Vega-Durán's volume do not go beyond 2008. This is also the case of the foundational works *The Return of the Moor* (Flesler, 2008) and

Disorientations (Martín Márquez, 2008), which address the identity construction in Spain through the African *other*, but since they are publications pre-crisis, this element is outside their scope.

Addressing political and historical debates over national identity, Angel Smith and Clare Mar-Molinero (2020 [1996]) indicate that nationhood in Spain is in tension with the diverse expressions of nation from the Spanish regions, some of which were a historical Kingdom themselves and, in some cases, have a different language and cultural production. This tension with regional identities is at the heart of many scholarships on Spanish nation-building in the 20th and 21st centuries. Junco (2002, p.35) contests that the regional nationalisms had lost weight at the turn of the millennium, anchored in what he sees as a success of the Transition:

> The transition to democracy after Franco's death was a success, and the present parliamentary democracy is stable. Spain is gaining some ground as an international power, it is a respected member of the European Union and NATO, and pride in Spanish identity seems to be growing. Spain is no longer an underdeveloped country, and specifically Madrid is no longer the underdeveloped region where the political center is located, confronted with two industrialized peripheral areas.

However, these sentiments crumble under the impact of the crisis, as this thesis explores, and a decade later, Núñez Seixas (2013, p.195) asserts that Spain is once again concerned with the integrity of the nation, for which it uses the Spanish language as a device of unity and inclusivity, not without resistance from the historical regions. In the films explored in this thesis, the Spanish language also becomes an element of shared identity that allows inclusion in the *imagined community*.

Andrés Zamora (2016, p.6) proposes that Spanish cinema has "attempted to achieve a very particular form of inclusive national identity" after the decline of the nation-state and the decentralisation of Spain post-Franco. Zamora (2016, p.6) contests that "rather than a weakening or dissolution of national sentiment, on the whole Spanish cinematic discourse seems to represent a belated but determined push towards nation-formation". However, Zamora's work explores Spanish cinema from the Transition to the end of the millennium; thus, his argument is limited to the construction of nation

post-Franco and does not consider the crisis as a pivotal moment in the deconstruction and reconstruction of this national identity. However, the inclusive national identity in Spanish cinema is a point that continues to be relevant. Indeed, in the context of the (very heated) debates over the Catalan referendum for independence (2014), the box office hit *Ocho apellidos vascos / Spanish Affair* (2014) embraced a plural Spain that resonated with the audiences. This diversity is connected to notions of European cinema that intersect in some elements with what has been called "Euro-pudding" (Liz, 2015), where the territories crossed here are those of the regional autonomous communities instead of the different European countries. A few years earlier, in 2011, the Catalan film *Pá Negre / Black Bread* (2010) became the first film in a regional language to win the hegemonic Goya for best film, best direction and another seven awards, a point that Nuria Triana-Toribio (2016) notes about the emergence of film industries in Catalunya and the Basque country. Thus, in more recent contemporary films, this national identity is not only plural, but it becomes so from within the hegemonic discourses of the nation, and not simply in parallel. This emphasis on a plural Spain where diversity can be non-divisive presents itself as an alternative to the regional nationalisms that the crisis reignited and aligns with a cinematic decentralisation of production and filmic locations. Narratives in the new millennium explore minor urban centres and regions, whereas earlier Immigration Cinema was, for the most part, set either in the main Spanish urban spaces, in the specific regions where the migrant is often concentrated, or in the particular regions where a news story had emerged. In doing so, the films of the new millennium assert a diverse Spain that also includes the immigrant *other*. For example, *Ilegal/Illegal* (2003) takes place on the coast of Galicia, *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (2008) takes place in a small town in Extremadura, and *Evelyn* (2012) takes the narrative to a border town near Portugal. However, this is not a complete shift, and the big global cities are still a point of encounters in multicultural societies where tensions arise, such as in *The One-Handed Trick* (2008) or *Biutiful* (2010), or where they can be resolved, such as in *Amador* (2010) or *Truman* (2015). One key point that these debates underscore is the significance of the Spanish language as hegemonic *cultural capital* in the context of national identity. Additionally, it is important to note that the tensions between the regional identities and a Spanish national identity are resolved in contemporary film by incorporating them into the hegemonic discourse, that is, by making diversity and plurality a quality of Spanishness.

While not new, I contest that in the context of the crisis, discourses of diversity and plurality are further emphasised in cinema. Firstly, as a response that challenges the prejudice of the recent far-right voices and their anti-immigrant discourses. Secondly, as part of the portrayals of a Spain impacted by globalisation, which has increased peoples' mobility. Thirdly, to support ideas of *conviviality* as an essential part of contemporary Spain. And finally, as a way to incite ideas of unity in the context of diverse plurality, which works in response to the debates over Catalunya's referendum and the threat of territorial fragmentation, or the recuperation of historical memory and the threat of internal disputes that it raised. A plural Spain serves as a counterpoint to discourses of the "Two Spains" and the inherent conflict that this term encapsulates.

In regard to depictions of Spain concerning its territory, and thus connected to Anderson's (1991) notion of *limited*, an essential work in scholarship is Ann Davies' *Spanish Spaces: Landscape, Space and Place in Contemporary Spanish Culture* (2012). Davies (2012) approaches space and place in film and literature to discuss identity through the interactions with the geography and the subjectivities they explore. Reflecting on the role of place in the context of recovering historical memory, Davies' (2012) volume concludes that these depictions are also plural and diverse, and that the interaction of the characters with the cinematic landscape expresses subjectivities around nation. However, all the case studies are pre-2007, and as a consequence, the impact of the financial crisis in these portrayals is outside its scope. In the same year, Nathan Richardson (2012) explores the reconfiguration of Spanish identity through manipulated space, that is, through buildings, manufactured borders, or fabricated bridges made in the reconfiguration of Spain in the 1950s-1990s. Approaching not just the Spanish territory, but the liquid boundary of the sea into consideration, Fiona Noble (2018) explores the connections between the sea and migration in Spanish cinema, concluding that the seascape is a device that underscores the (in)visibility of immigration in Spain, particularly in relation to the use of *patera* crossing and drownings. Also approaching border crossing and the sea, Debra Faszer-McMahon and Victoria L. Ketz (2016) discuss the figure of the African immigrant in a variety of narrative, digital and visual texts, underscoring the potential of many of these cultural products to create a "third space" in the Strait. However, as with other recent

scholarship, their study of fiction film does not go beyond 2008, and thus the impact of the financial crash is also outside its remit.

Depictions of African territories are also common in films of colonial themes, which have been widely explored by Elena (2001, 2002, 2005b, 2010, 2014) and Labanyi (2001). These contemporary incursions into the past depict a broach range of events and moments in history, of which the colonial themes are a minority. However, as Elena (2010) points out, documentary film already showed increasing interest in the (post)colonial histories of African territories under Spanish rule. Cinematic depictions of the recent past have attracted a wide range of scholarship in recent times, particularly in relation to the interrogation of the culture of transition and the recovery of historical memory. Labanyi (2000, 2002, 2008, 2009) also approaches issues of memory and past in her work, particularly by formulating Derrida's *spectre* as a shadow of the past, as the return of the repressed in history. Labanyi (2001) foresaw already the tensions between historical amnesia and the ubiquitous spectres of the past that would lead to the interrogation of the transition, the revision of the past, and the rediscovery of collective memory that was about to come. For Labanyi (2008), the recovery of historical memory taking place in recent years is a process not as much of remembering but of rewriting the Transition and the histories that it supported. For this reason, most of the scholarship discussing historical memory and the shared past address the civil war, the Francoist regime, or the Transition. This is also the approach of Juan Carlos Ibáñez (2010), who discusses cinema and television in Spain and Italy across three themes: memory, civil war and terrorism. Lorraine Ryan (2014) connects memory and territory in fiction narrative, with a focus on how affect and memory give meaning to spaces, such as in monuments or places of memory, a point that connects with García-Sanjuán (2016) concerning the places of memory linked to Al-Andalus, as well as the way that it is often excluded from hegemonic discourses of national identity due to its association with the Reconquest and the "Moor". Other illuminating works on the emergence of political debates around historical memory in Spain and the interrogation of the cultures of the Transition are Resina (2000), Cardús and Resina (2000), Boyd (2008), Labanyi (2009), Tamarit Sumalla (2011), or Druliolle (2015). These authors note the contemporary importance of revisioning the events surrounding the Civil War, the dictatorship, and the Transition. Focused on Spanish film, the works of Labanyi (2000),

Amago (2013), Marsh (2015), and Legott (2015) explore how discourses around historical memory permeate contemporary Spanish film, while Davies (2019) argues that some scholars might be too focused on finding these connections, particularly in their readings of specific genres such as the Gothic, which in itself often references the past and its spectrality.

What this section underlines is the prevalence of analysis of films pre-crisis on scholarship on Spanish immigration cinema, which leaves underexplored the potential impact of the financial crisis and surrounding events in the narratives and portrayals of the (immigrant) *other*. This chapter reviews the scholarship and underscores the gaps, positioning my research within the wider scholarship and indicating where it advances knowledge. It determines the common themes and connotations attached to the portrayals of Latin American and African immigration in film pre-crisis, as a way to establish the context for the case studies of this thesis and underscore the evolution of some of these portrayals. In looking at scholarship concerning films from the period of study of this thesis (2005-2015), the chapter notes that most of the scholarship explores films before the crisis, and there are few publications attending to many of the films explored in this thesis post-2008. This is a consequence of the decline in immigration cinema in Spanish film, partly due to changes in production and funding, partly because of a shift in the concerns and anxieties of the period, which are shaped by the impact of the crisis and its aftermath. Significantly, this is the first comprehensive study to address transformations in portrayals and narratives of the (immigrant) *other* after the start of the financial crisis, illuminating trends in themes and portrayals that emphasise the impact of globalisation, offer *conviviality* and cooperation as models for a successful co-existence, and display Spain as a valuable partner against the threats of globalisation.

Chapter 3. Journeys of Hope, Disappointment, and Despair.

"I had heard many stories about the wealth of Europe, but I had always thought they were exaggerations, aimed to provoke awe; now I know they are true"[14], says Moussa, the protagonist of *Dear Bamako* (Oké and Llorente, 2007) after reaching Spain. The *pull* of Spain as a prosperous country and its identification with Europe permeate many of the film's pre-crisis. This chapter examines how cinema represents immigrant journeys to and from Spain, and the extent to which these films affirm or challenge notions of Spain as a modern and wealthy land of opportunity, how they narrate Spain's links to Europe, and how they configure spaces as representative of modernity and globalisation. It examines the ways in which Spain was constructed and portrayed as a Promised Land before the start of the crisis, noting an evolution in the portrayals of the journey, the modes of travel, or how the documented or undocumented status of the immigrant impacts their lives. The cinematic journeys construct notions of a "here" and a "there" through places of departure and arrival, constructing points of difference and similarity through the *mise-en-scene*. In doing so, these films attempt to delineate "the Spanish nation" as a discrete sovereign space where the porosity of the border disrupts this ideal.

The case studies in this chapter demarcate Spain through depictions of the spaces of origin and departure, the journey, and the border. They attach meaning to the landscapes, towns, and roads the immigrant crosses, inviting readings of Spain in relation to modernity, Europeanness, and globalisation. Focusing on the films *14 kilómetros/14 Kilometres* (Olivares, 2007), *Querida Bamako/Dear Bamako* (Oké and Llorente, 2007), *El Rayo/Hassan's Way* (Araújo and de Nova, 2013), *Evelyn* (de Ocampo, 2012), and *Diamantes negros/Black Diamonds* (Alcantud, 2013), this chapter suggests that the financial crisis (2008-2012) shaped Spain's imagination of itself in connection to Europe, its role as guardian of the Southern border, and how it has been impacted by globalisation. I posit that films pre-crisis construct a Spanish identity anchored to notions of itself as a land of opportunity, a dominant player in the defence of Fortress Europe, and an example of modernity through its technological or financial progress.

[14] Moussa in *Querida Bamako/Dear Bamako* (2007), 01:25:54-01:26:03.

These notions are challenged in films released after the start of the crisis, where Spain is articulated concerning increased precarity, the permeability of the border, and modernity as consumption, in the context of globalisation.

Echoing Anderson's (1991) map and how it is employed to fix boundaries and territories, the films discussed in this chapter emphasise Spain's belonging to Europe and the southern European border. The securitisation of the southern coastline and the border controls at the airports in many of these films capture the dimension of the *limited* (Anderson, 1991), that is, how Spain imagines its territorial domain, discerning between the imagined national (and supranational) territories, and the homelands of non-European immigrants. As with the map, these films trace the paths between depicted spaces, locating at the same time the urban centres, landforms, boundaries, and transport hubs such as airports. Yet, many of these films also give visibility to places often omitted from conventional maps, such as refugee and immigrant camps, nomadic settlements, and clandestine routes. The border is constructed as a territorial boundary encompassing the nation and internally in points of entrance such as controls at airports. National immigration policies appear as barriers to overcome, invisible borders that construct divisions between Spanish citizens and the non-Spanish *other*, as well as among non-Spanish immigrants, whose nationality further impacts the requirements for entry and stay. Since becoming a member of the European Union and the Schengen area, many of Spain's immigration control policies have aligned with Europe's. However, different historical and postcolonial relationships between Spain and countries in Latin America or Africa influence the expedition of visas and work permits.

The case studies explore two lines of enquiry, one connected to the notions of the border, which defines the nation's physical limits; the other explores the spaces separated by it and how they are constructed. First, the discussion examines portrayals of the border as either a barrier to overcome or as an accessible porous space. This approach informs a discussion on constructions of Spain as a Promised Land in the early years of the period of study, where border-crossing became the ultimate challenge, and the illegal entry of immigrants became of national concern. After the crisis impacts Spain, these borders and the immigrant status become less relevant in the narratives, and the *pull* of Spain as a country of immigration is minimised. Second, the analysis explores Spain's association with modernity, in contrast to the immigrants' homelands.

This analysis argues that pre-crisis films construct Spain as a wealthy, developed, and safe European country, in contrast to depictions of the immigrants' homelands as poor, undeveloped, and precarious. This section argues that while notions of technological progress and development continue to permeate portrayals of the films of the crisis, assertions about Spain's wealth and the opportunities it offers are contested in the films of the crisis and its aftermath.

The work of Bauman (2000) is relevant in considering how filmic representations of modernity construct or blur differences between the countries of departure and arrival. For Bauman (2000), a new stage of modernity (*liquid modernity*) has replaced the modernity of industrialisation (*heavy* or *solid modernity*). While the old modernity encouraged production through technological developments and collective labour to fulfil basic needs, this new *liquid modernity* encourages consumption and the constant pursuit of individual pleasure that is never completely gratified. Thus, *liquid modernity* has created a *society of consumers* driven by the fulfilment of desires, instead of the fulfilment of basic needs of the *society of producers*, preoccupied instead with providing enough to cover food, accommodation, or bills. When individuals cannot engage in the constant cycle of consumption of the *society of consumers*, they are recategorized as *flawed consumers*, often further marginalised through increasing debt and exclusion from places of leisure, consumption, and pleasure. The significance of these ideas to the analysis derives from their potential to unveil how the places of the journey construct ideas of modernity and the extent to which they create or blur distinctions between Spain and other depicted territories. Employing the concepts of *liquid* and *heavy modernity* and the societies they sustain, the chapter argues that pre-crisis films emphasise Spain's depiction as a consumer society that contrasts against the immigrants' homelands through symbols of modernity and consumption. These notions are challenged after the financial crisis began, with portrayals of Spain as a struggling *society of consumers* (or *flawed,* to adapt Bauman's term), which has lost its status as a land of opportunity, and where greed increases the vulnerability of the most marginalised.

Analysis of the spaces of the journey also reveals how they are represented as dangerous or pleasant, as an isolating or collective experience, and how arrival at the destination is either constructed as a reward for the pain endured along the journey, or

as a place of further exclusion. I argue that some of these portrayals of the hardships of the journey incite audience sympathy through what I label a *meritocracy of pain*, that is, through centring the suffering of immigrants in their efforts to reach or settle in Spain, where becoming part of the *imagined community* is presented as the reward for this suffering. The narratives of pain and hope make the immigrants' acceptance in the *imagined community* a type of reward for their exceptionalism as resilient survivors of the journey.

This chapter analyses five films whose protagonists – economic migrants - initiate journeys to or from Spain, seeking to improve their impoverished lives. These films follow some of the trends of *accented cinema* by approaching the immigrant journey as "a major thematic thread" (Naficy, 2001, p.33). However, they all ascribe closer to the *cinema of citizens* than the *cinema of sentiment* (Stone, 2018) because of state support and the role of hegemonic institutions in either their production, distribution, or exhibition. While most films start with journeys into Spain, *Hassan's Way* (2013) tracks a reverse journey of return incited by the financial crisis. As with many other immigration films, these films had limited box office success but have enjoyed acclaim at film festivals, exhibitions, and school curricula. The state funding, hegemonic awards, or exhibitions in official Spanish institutions connect these films with the *cinema of citizens* (Stone, 2018) despite their focus on marginalised groups and the film-festival status of many of these films. Among the cultural circuits, these films are still being featured long after their release at numerous screenings organised by the Instituto Cervantes, the official and institutional Spanish centre, to promote the language and culture of Spain. These films are screened abroad to project images of Spain and Spanishness. To provide an example of the many locations and dates of screenings, the Instituto Cervantes has screened *14 Kilometres* (2007) in London (2009), Manila (2009), Munich (2011), Lisbon (2012) and Toulouse (2021); *Dear Bamako* (2007) in Brasília (2009); *Hassan's Way* (2013) in New York (2016), Pekin (2017), Sydney (2018) and Manchester (2019); *Evelyn* (2012) in Berlin (2014), Casablanca (2014) and Dublin (2014); and *Black Diamonds* (2013) in Bremen (2016), Chicago (2018) and Krakowia (2019). What this sample of locations and dates shows, in combination with the place of exhibition, is the importance of immigration cinema in representations of Spanishness beyond its borders, which it regularly features in many of the 86 centres of this Spanish institution.

Some of these films have been approached regularly by scholarship, although most remain under-researched. *14 Kilometres* is analysed in the work of Zecchi (2013), Deveny (2012), Pérez (2015), Ballesteros (2015) and Peralta (2016), but *Dear Bamako* has received less attention and is often addressed in comparison to *14 Kilometres*, as in the work of Peralta (2016) and Pérez (2015). Peralta offers a more positive evaluation of the films as successfully depicting the realities of the journey, whereas Pérez argues that although the films portray the harsh realities of some African countries, they do so without acknowledging the factors that produce them. *Hassan's Way* has been analysed by Berger (2016) and Teixeira (2016), who note the sensibility of the film towards its protagonist and the characteristics of a journey of return incited by the financial crash of 2008-2012. The more recent films, *Evelyn* and *Black Diamonds,* have received little attention in academic scholarship, with some works mainly concerned with the exploitative practices depicted in the narratives. Tarré (2016) and León (2016-2017) examine human trafficking and sex work in *Evelyn*, while Barbero-González (2014), Reyes Torres (2017), and Rondón (2019) explore themes of fraudulent recruitment in sport in *Black Diamonds.*

The analysis explores how these films construct notions of the border and the relationships between the spaces divided by it, that is, between Spain and the immigrants' homelands. The first element of the analysis considers the *limited* dimension of the nation as expressed through its cinematic borders, paying attention to how the spaces separated by this border are imagined. In particular, it looks at what kind of meanings are conveyed through the landscape, landmarks, buildings, roads, and markings usually depicted in maps. By approaching these notions around a theme of depictions of space, this chapter interrogates the way in which Spain is imagined as *limited*, how the borders of the nation are imagined within the Schengen area, and how representations of the territories at each side of the border emphasise Spain's modernity and Europeanness.

This chapter is organised into three sections. For the similarity and overlap in some of the themes, some of these films are compared to each other. First, I approach *14 Kilometres* (2007) and *Dear Bamako* (2007) as pre-crisis films. Second, I discuss *Hassan's Way* (2013) as a journey of return to the homeland in the context of the financial crisis. Although this film was released in 2013, it had been four years in development, having

started filming in 2011, hence my decision to discuss it as a film of the crisis and before *Evelyn* (2012), which I approach alongside *Black Diamonds* (2013) in the final section, focusing on the increased vulnerability of immigrants and concerns over global crime emerging during the crisis and its aftermath as part of broader concerns about the impact of globalisation.

14 kilómetros/14 Kilometres (Gerardo Olivares, 2007) and *Querida Bamako/Dear Bamako* (Omer Oké and Txarly Llorente, 2007)

The hardships of the journey to the land of opportunity.

14 Kilometres is a film written and directed by Gerardo Olivares. Winner of the Best Film award at the Seminci Valladolid Festival, the film is a favourite of festival circuits, school curricula, and exhibitions. Its title underscores the short distance between Spain and Africa at the Strait of Gibraltar, which contrasts with the long and difficult journey depicted in the film. The title conveys territorial closeness, but also difference, since spatial measurements can only be taken between points that are apart, points that are not the same. The film follows the journey to Spain by brothers Buba and Mukela from Niger, and Violeta, a young woman from Mali they meet. *14 Kilometres* opens in their homelands, with Mukela convincing a reluctant Buba to attempt to become a footballer in Europe, while Violeta travels to escape an arranged marriage with an older man who abused her as a child. The three characters meet at a stop near the Sahara and continue the journey together. However, they become lost in the desert, and Mukela dies. Buba and Violeta are rescued by a group of Tuareg people and spend some time recovering with them before continuing the journey. They are separated at a border control, and Violeta disappears from the narrative until the film's last ten minutes, when they reunite and cross the strait from Africa to Spain. The film closes with the pair running along a Spanish beach after a member of the Guardia Civil (the Spanish police force in charge of border controls and inter-urban areas) pretends not to see them and lets them go.

Dear Bamako was released the same year as *14 Kilometres*. The film was directed by Omer Oké, former Director of Immigration in Euskadi, and Txarly Llorente, a Basque assistant director. Omer Oké is a filmmaker born in Benin and nationalised Spanish.

With a degree in communication and an institutional post for developing new immigration policies in Euskadi, Oké aims for a pedagogical discourse around the different realities of emigration from Africa to Europe. This film alternates between a fictional scripted narrative and a series of testimonies in a talking-head format. The fictional narrative follows Moussa, a farmer and family man from Burkina Faso who decides to emigrate to financially support his family after their farm crops start to die because of droughts. In his journey, he meets Justin and Khady, with whom he continues until the point of crossing near the Strait, where they separate to take a different route into Spain. Khady and Justin become romantically involved and she becomes pregnant. Despite the risk, she chooses to swim across the strait, while Justin attempts to jump the fences near Melilla, and Moussa joins a *patera* crossing. They all reach Spain and hope for the future permeates the final scenes. Justin reunites in Madrid with Khady after months of absence, their child already a toddler, and Moussa in Bilbao daydreams about his own family reunion. The testimonies are interweaved between the sequences of the fiction film, where African immigrants in Europe talk individually to the camera about their experiences of the journey, usually interwoven with the stage in the journey represented by the fictionalised part. Positioned among these other voices of the documentary part, Moussa's story becomes one among many. For example, the interviewees speak about emigrating to seek financial support for their families, escaping war and conflict, being subjected to political persecution, suffering from the impact of natural disasters and environmental issues, or forced migration and exile. The analysis in this thesis focuses only on the fictionalised part of the film, that is, Moussa's journey.

Both films depict a hard and long journey from the protagonists' homelands to Spain, where the journey and its dangers are the narrative's focal point. These films align with what Loshitzky (2010, p.15) terms "journeys of hope", which

> By portraying the hardships endured by refugees and migrants on their way to the Promised Land (the host country in Europe), the films of this genre challenge and subvert contemporary media and public discourse on migrants which dehumanizes and criminalizes them.

However, by constructing the destination as a Promised Land, many of these films contribute to dualist ideas of, on the one hand, danger and poverty of the immigrants' homelands, and, on the other hand, safety and wealth of Spain and Europe. These portrayals oversimplify the different realities of these countries and make arrival in Spain the reward for the hardships encountered. On the journey, *Dear Bamako* offers a more complex and varied portrayal of its realities, while *14 Kilometres* offers a restricted depiction of the motivations to migrate and the pull of Spain.

Yet, it is *14 Kilometres* that has attracted the most popularity and recognition as a film of immigration cinema, as evidenced by its constant appearance in educational resources, the screenings of cultural institutions, and events organised by NGOs. As the analysis suggests, *14 Kilometres* becomes problematic when addressing the motivations to reach Europe or potential solutions to Africa's poverty, which in the film is portrayed as one homogeneous territory suffering from underdevelopment, massive emigration of the young labour force, and lack of investment. In contrast, *Dear Bamako* offers a broader range of motivations for the journey, underscoring the unequal distribution of wealth between the global minority (the wealthier countries primarily positioned in the Western and North areas of the globe) and the global majority (the less wealthy countries often encompassed under terms such as developing countries or global south). These two films configure notions of Spain (and Europe) that are juxtaposed against the immigrants' homelands, demarcating these with binaries such as modern/underdeveloped, wealthy/poor, or safe/dangerous.

Looking at how space and place are constructed in these films, crossing the border into Spain is imagined as the solution to the problems of the immigrant, where the border stands for the ultimate obstacle (although not the last), and the arrival is the reward. These two 2007 films configure a *meritocracy of pain* where African immigrants earn their places in Spain through the suffering endured in their journey and their exceptional survival. Significantly, however, these films often refer to the destination as "Europe", not just "Spain", relativising any differences between European nations and emphasising Spain's pull as a European country. Because the protagonists continue the journey despite the difficulties, these narratives echo the desirability of Spain and its value as a land of opportunity, shaping notions of Spain's *symbolic capital* as a legitimised form of capital connected to wealth and EU membership. The journey's

difficulties are expressed through the African landscape, the threats to personal safety, and the crossing of the Strait as a moment of rebirth. I address each of these in the following paragraphs.

In *Dear Bamako*, the opening sequence reminds the audience of the dangers of Mediterranean crossing, with scenes of chaos in a *patera*, point-of-view shots submerging under the water, and finally its remnants in the morning by the beach (Figure 3). As Moussa starts to narrate his journey in a voice-over over the shipwreck, the audience is left to wonder if this is a posthumous narration, and the film retells the events until his death. The chaos that ensues is heightened by the editing and the water sounds, with shots abruptly and intermittently cutting to black and silencing everything but the soundtrack. The grainy film stock echoes documentary film and suggests authenticity in the scene, while the sound of the sea accompanies underwater shots and alludes to drowning. After the credits, the morning spoils are revealed on the beach: a floating lifejacket and Moussa's black bag with the word "voyage" on it, followed by the bodies of two immigrants gently washed by the waves. However, as the audience discovers in the third part of the film when the flashback finally meets this point in the story, Moussa is assisted on the beach and continues the journey through Spain. After this scene, the narrative engages with the situation in the immigration centres, the support of the NGOs, and the policies around deportation. The film is novel in its portrayal of these centres and its commentary about the system's inefficiencies. The sea, thus, opens the film and reminds the viewer of the potential outcome of these journeys before it turns to Moussa's family life and his motivations to travel. When the narrative finally reaches the event of the opening scene and it is revealed that Moussa has survived, this arrival in Spain suggests notions of rebirth associated with reaching this land of opportunity.

Figure 3. Dear Bamako (2007). Opening sequence. [01:55]

The crossing from Africa to Spain is configured in both films as a risky activity that, however, is worth doing because of the promises and hopes it offers. In *14 Kilometres*, Buba and Violeta cross the Strait in a *patera*, but the border patrols are alerted of their arrival and approach the coast. In the end, instead of arresting them, the Guardia Civil who finds them simply disappears (Figure 4). A question remains unanswered: "What now?". While we do not know what the future holds for Buba and Violeta, we know they are now in irregular condition in Spain and therefore, their integration will be less than straightforward.

Figure 4. 14 Kilometres (2007). Guardia civil finding Buba and Violeta. [01:30:41]

While some scholars (Ballesteros, 2015; Zecchi, 2013) have read this ending as a positive outcome that metaphorically appeals to the individual's compassion, as encapsulated in the Guardia Civil, Pérez (2015) sees it as a utopian and unrealistic ending. For Pérez (2015, p.25), the officer stands for the model Spanish citizen, and the film suggests to the audiences that as long as they "treat the arriving migrants with the same mercy as this fictional officer, the casualties of migratory movements to Europe might vanish, and we would all live in a happy-go-lucky multicultural world". The scene manifests a desire for the erasure of the border control or, at least, a caring response. In the aftermath of the tragedy in Ceuta (2005) and the express deportation agreements (2005)[15], the film provides a border officer who quite literally gets out of their way and leaves the immigrants on Spanish soil. What Santaolalla (2005), Zecchi (2013) or Pérez (2015) do not note is that this is not the only act of kindness that the characters have experienced at the border. On the other side and on their way to the *patera*, Buba begs a smuggler to let Violeta join, even though she does not have enough

[15] After weeks being harassed by the Moroccan police in a nearby immigrant camp, a group of people waiting to cross the fence separating Morocco from Ceuta decided to attempt the jump collectively that night. Over 700 people attempted to cross during the night. At some point in the chaos, the Spanish border guard started shooting and in the urgency many got tangled in the razor wire. The exact number of deaths and injuries is unknown, although reports suggest many injured and at least 15 deaths. Many of those arrested were subjected to what is called "devoluciones en caliente" (express deportations), being left in the desert without attending to the injuries or processing their data. The event set the outcry of many groups working with immigrants, yet the media reported it briefly. It would take almost a decade to remove the razor wire and investigate the circumstances

money to pay for the journey. After some protests and a short pause, the smuggler allows them both into the truck. Thus, the kindness at the border comes both from the smugglers and the Spanish border-control officers, both with the power to prevent or allow the crossing. By ending with scenes built on binary themes (departure/arrival, night/day, smuggler/border officer), the film metaphorically offers two sides of the same coin and puts them in interdepending relations, where one impacts the other. In this case, the increase in border controls also increases the precarious conditions under which the immigrant attempts their journey and, therefore, a reliance on the smuggling networks. In this sense, acts of kindness by individuals with (in)formal control of the border offer a conclusion of hope. By doing so, the film emphasizes actions at the microlevel of individual encounters but fails to recognise the issues at the macrosocial level, such as systematic or institutional racism and the violence inherent in the system. With a more positive view, this ending allows a metaphorical rebirth of Buba and Violeta on the shores of Spain. Alone but together, they run to the beach with a smile as the film fades to black. Over this, a quote from Spanish writer Rosa Montero affirms that "they will continue to come and they will continue to die, because history has demonstrated that no wall is able to contain dreams". With the use of "they" in the quote, the film turns to an "us" and "them" discourse that asserts the gaze of the Spaniard in the film as the subject doing the looking and having the voice.

For all the characters, the threat of death at the border and their survival construct a rebirth that aligns with the hopes of a new life in Spain. The hardships of the border are delineated as obstacles to overcome for a better life. In doing so, the film creates a *meritocracy of pain* connected to endurance and survival. This thesis does not question that suffering is indeed part of the Sub-Saharan migratory experience, nor argues for films to stop highlighting these tragic conditions. Instead, it notes that the uncontested recurrence of images of suffering, poverty, and illiteracy constructs reductive understandings of Sub-Saharan migratory experiences that obscure other realities, such as the big, industrialized cities of Africa, its universities, emigrants with professional and highly-sought skills, and in general any image that challenges the binaries constructed around eurocentrism. In configuring the spaces as "there" and "here", "pain" and "survival", "poverty" and "sustenance", the border associates Spain (and Europe) with ideas of wealth and safety.

The endings of both films seem to indicate that the protagonists have reached the land of opportunity and, therefore, all is well. However, *14 Kilometres* ends at the beach, away from any urban centres and leaving the characters without any support. It leaves unanswered whether undocumented Violeta and Buba would be able to enter the land of opportunities, both physically and organically, participating in and being accepted by Spanish society. Ballesteros (2015) welcomes this ending as hopeful, noting its avoidance of the usual news-media cliché of rescue by Andalusian society. However, the characters remain in a natural space, not an *anthropological place*, nor a *non-place* of supermodernity. Thus, the possibility of integration into the social anthropological space of Spain and Europe is negated at this stage. Since the beach in immigration cinema is often a symbolic seascape connected to death (Noble, 2018; Davies, 2012), that the characters return to the beach might be read not as a fresh start but as a reminder of the liminality of the immigrant condition, the difficulties of integration, and the hardships still to come.

In contrast, *Dear Bamako* situates its characters in the urban spaces of Bilbao and Madrid. In the first, Moussa is sharing a flat with other immigrants from Burkina Faso, whom he has found through a local NGO. Having signed the local register (*empadronamiento*), he is now entitled to some basic benefits that he supplements by selling counterfeit DVDs. In Madrid, Khady lives with a cousin and her toddler, Justin's child. Months have passed and Justin has not arrived. Since the border camps where immigrants wait to cross are segregated by country of origin, Khady enquiries about Justin to Ghanaian immigrants she meets in the local square. Despite the men's discouraging words, Justin appears one day in this same place. The choice of the square, at the centre of the district of Lavapiés in the Spanish capital, connotes multiculturality and coexistence, as it is an ethnically diverse area of Madrid well known for its immigrant population and described on the local government's website as a "melting pot of cultures and traditions"[16]. The square has a main underground station, but its entrance is not fully inscribed in the shots and, instead, the camera places the characters in front of the recently refurbished library for the National Distance-Learning University (UNED). By approaching the square in this way, the cinematography minimises notions of mobility and underscores, instead, notions of settlement and

[16] https://www.esmadrid.com/en/madrid-neighbourhoods/lavapies

inclusion with the anthropological places of the square and the university. The reunion is a rare occurrence in immigration cinema of this period, where immigrant nuclear families are often separated. Furthermore, nuclear families comprised exclusively of immigrants are also rarely depicted in Spanish films. This is one of the few instances where they are represented within a narrative that does not hinder notions of settlement, not stressing the potential for deportation or separation. In this film, successfully crossing the border is depicted as the last challenge before reaching the promised land, though it does not signify the final stage before full inclusion in the *imagined community* can take place. In its final scenes, a montage of the journey is voiced over by Moussa, speaking of its difficulties and the collective experience of the travellers, before turning to his impressions after arrival in Spain. In his words, "the journey does not end here, with the arrival in Europe", indicating that one day he will "succeed to be someone in Europe", get a job and reunite with his family.

Although *14 Kilometres* does not portray Spain beyond the beach, notions of Spain (and Europe) as a place of modernity, safety, and wealth are expressed via dialogue and contrasted to Africa in almost a binary opposition, something that *Dear Bamako* avoids with depictions of Africa's buzzing urban centres, welcoming communities, and family businesses hiring employees. The portrayals of *Dear Bamako* note the unequal distribution of wealth between Europe and Africa but avoids depicting extreme dichotomies. Similarly, while the journey and its spaces in *14 Kilometres* are portrayed mostly in terms of risk and danger, in *Dear Bamako,* the places along the journey also provide notions of community and support, such as when the three characters get jobs and accommodation with a family for a few months before continuing the journey.

African landscapes appear beautiful yet hostile. On-screen animated maps construct the African continent as the *other*, appearing at different points to help the audiences locate the sections of the journey in the African continent. The protagonists' crossing of the Strait in *patera* boats is not displayed on these maps, nor in *Dear Bamako* the last stage of the journey from the South of Spain to the North. By using these on-screen maps, these films provide the audience with concrete geographical information, helping them locate the precise places of the journey and appreciate its length. Yet, the need to use these maps to trace the journey also speaks of the Spanish audience's lack of knowledge regarding African geography. Thus, the use of maps sets the territory of the

Sub-Saharan immigrant as unknown to Spanish audiences and emphasizes the crossing from the unfamiliar to the familiar.

The scenes depicting Africa often connote the beauty of the landscape and close communities, constructing an image of Africa for Spanish audiences. However, while *14 Kilometres* projects an orientalising vision of the hometowns and its landscapes with long shots, ochre tones, and the simple nomadic lives of the Tuareg, *Dear Bamako* focuses on the personal relationships of the characters with closer framing, often includes urban spaces, and uses more muted tones. In the opening scene of *14 Kilometres*, the camera lingers over the Niger River in Mali, showing fishermen's silhouettes against the colours of sunrise (Figure 5).

Figure 5. 14 Kilometres (2007). Opening scene. [00:00:31]

A series of dissolves moves the gaze through different parts of the river, the features of the people on the boats cannot be clearly distinguished, and their bodies are obscured against the sun's backlight. As the camera approaches the riverbank, we are introduced to the town along the shore. Here, a short montage leads the viewer to scenes of women doing laundry, shirtless children playing, and older people sitting on the streets. These outdoor spaces lead us to the dark interior of Violeta's house, where she is overhearing the negotiation of her dowry. Buba, the main character, is introduced a couple of minutes later in Niamey, in the south of Niger. The camera explores a busy

and crowded market, using closer shots to drive the audience's gaze to a butcher slicing meat, goats roaming the streets, and groups of people passing by. An old and battered pick-up car drives across the dry land, stopping at a garage where Buba is working on a car. The hometowns of the immigrant are constructed as spaces of *heavy modernity* and a *society of producers* (Bauman, 2005, 2007), that is, where people construct identity around notions of what they can produce (their profession, their skills) and where the aim of labour is to meet basic needs. In contrast, *Dear Bamako* offers a more varied mosaic of places throughout the journey, crossing through busy towns with shops and traffic, the cities full of sun and music. However, in *Dear Bamako* not all the spaces in the film are welcoming and hospitable*,* as it also underscores the hazards of the desert and the risks at the point of crossing.

In *14 Kilometres*, the dangers are accentuated with a street sign near the start of the film (and the journey), reminding what those who adventure forward might find: "banditry, aggression, rape, AIDS, thirst, hunger, death" [14:57] and attaching in this way the journey to crime, disease, poverty, and mortality. Once the three characters in *14 Kilometres* travel together, the landscapes become arid and dangerous, amplified by extreme long shots in open and natural spaces. Instead, in *Dear Bamako,* the protagonists often find refuge in urban centres and welcoming communities, counterbalancing Western media tropes of Africa as a poor, underdeveloped, and dangerous territory.

In both films, the first tragedy of the journey is the death of a companion while crossing the desert, making the severity of the African landscape and climate a focal point in the films. However, *14 Kilometres* suggests that the African landscape could be tamed or be made more hospitable through adequate knowledge. This idea is underscored in two scenes in the desert, the first one when the group is trying to cross it, the second one after being rescued by a group of Tuareg people. As Buba, Mukela, and Violeta rest on their first night in the desert, Violeta tells the brothers the names of the stars in the sky and how they can be used to find the North. However, instead of using this knowledge, the group continue to walk during the daytime, when no stars can be seen, and they get lost. After their gruelling desert walk, they realise that they have been walking in circles and stop exhausted at the same spot where the conversation took place. The reasons for not following Violeta's knowledge and advice are not clear, and, as a consequence,

this scene allows for readings of the characters as naïve or foolish. In the morning, when the Tuareg travellers find the group, it is revealed that Mukela has perished overnight. Very fragile, Buba and Violeta are taken to the Tuareg camp to recover. Here, another scene implies that with the right knowledge, the African landscape can be tamed, in a dialogue that brings criticism to the motivations of the economic migrant. Sitting around a campfire after recovering, Buba questions the Tuareg community's determination to remain in Africa when so many people emigrate to Europe. One man replies that it would be inconceivable because the land is rich and can be harvested it. Grabbing some of the soil, he explains that with knowledge and effort, even the dry land of the desert is workable (Figure 6). This scene evokes Marks' (2000) "haptic visuality" through a tactile dimension to seeing that triggers memories. In this case, the focus on the hand as it grabs the sand and lets it slip through the fingers alludes to the uprooting of African migrants going to Europe and the loss of knowledge to work the land. Ignoring foreign debt, wars, postcolonial histories and neocolonialism, the man suggests that Africa's poverty is a consequence of emigration, adding that if the same efforts were invested in opening businesses in Africa, its economies would lift and create jobs. The answer trivialises the migrant experience and the postcolonial history of many of these countries. Because the film does not portray a wider range of conditions of migration and diaspora, it offers a reductive view supported by neoliberal meritocracy. Thus, it adopts a Eurocentric perspective that presents Europe as a land of opportunity, at the same time that it insinuates that Africa could improve its economy if its people remained in their homelands to work. In doing so, the film emphasises the appeal of Europe as a *pull factor* but disappoints in bringing understanding of the variety of *push factors* motivating the journey.

Figure 6. 14 Kilometres (2007). Haptic visuality and attachment to the land. [00:53:09]

Europe as a place of wealth is evoked through dialogue, such as when Mukela describes Europe as a place where you can find money under rocks, and also through props and accessories that connote its *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). For example, Violeta starts her journey with a shopping bag imprinted with the logo "Paris", and Buba takes from a range of Real Madrid memorabilia a football replica gifted by his brother. The allusions to the French capital and Real Madrid are symbolic of Europe's wealth, consumption, and success. However, the characters lose all possessions on the journey; what little they had, taken by force or left behind. For Loshitzky (2010) and Naficy (2001), the loss of the objects that the immigrant carries, often a suitcase, represents the discarding of old lives, with the physical journey also metaphorically being one of "forgetting, a passage where identity is lost yet the prospects of gaining a new identity are dubious" (Loshitzky, 2010, p.18). By losing the objects that represent their old lives and their hopes, the film further emphasises the suffering of the journey and the sense of loss that the characters experience. Moussa loses his bag temporarily in *Dear Bamako*. First shown in the opening shot of the shipwreck, being washed out on the beach, the bag inscribed with the word "Voyage" makes it representational of the hopes and motivations of the journey. In recovering this bag after his rescue at the beach, Moussa's dreams are renewed, and his journey can continue.

The desert landscape in *Dear Bamako* is also a threat, and one of Moussa's companions dies during the crossing of the desert. In his hometown, the land is becoming inert, and

the crops have stopped growing. The loss of habitat that Sassen (2014, 2016) connects to displacement and migration, the forced *expulsion* from one's homeland due to climate change and desertification, is in this film at the forefront as Moussa's motivation to leave. The concern for the wellbeing of his family and his attachment to the homeland is present at every step in the journey throughout the letters that he writes to his wife, whom he nicknames Bamako. The film's title, thus, is the start of each letter sent home, centring Moussa's experience and the personal impact of family separation. By constructing Moussa as an educated and literate immigrant, Oké is mindful of avoiding generalisation and stereotypes of illiteracy that anchor immigration to low-skilled manual jobs. The voice-over that accompanies Moussa's introduction speaks of his parents' sacrifice to send him to school and his own truncated desire to study humanities to become a journalist. His letters are full of references to philosophers and literary writers, conveying *cultural capital* and knowledge often missing from these representations.

The places that Moussa encounters in his journey are varied and he never travels them alone, showing a network of solidarity and friendships that develop along the way. In contrast, *14 Kilometres* emphasises ideas of loneliness and vulnerability by having Buba travel part of the journey on his own and stressing his pain through close shots. Moussa, Justin and Khady, instead, find accommodation and a job along the journey. The trio is seen sharing joyful moments in *anthropological spaces* of the temporary homes. Even in the immigrant camp near Maghnia towards the end, which is presented as dangerous and ruled by mafias, the group is seen around the fire in scenes of community and friendship. The emphasis on networks of support is a constant in *Dear Bamako*, which alleviate the hardship of the journey. In Morocco and waiting for the opportunity to cross to Spain, Justin avoids the police by shopping at night and bringing snacks to the flat (Figure 7), a portrayal significantly different from that in *14 Kilometres*, where Buba is crammed in a small room waiting to depart (Figure 8). *Dear Bamako* aims to construct sympathy towards the experiences of the immigrants through identification, driven by closer shots that emphasise the bond and friendship of the main characters, and also by the voice-overs of Moussa when writing letters to his wife Bamako.

Figure 7. Dear Bamako (2007). Waiting to cross [00:58:48]

Figure 8. 14 Kilometres (2007). Waiting to cross. [01:18:47]

Once in Spain, *Dear Bamako* turns to the immigrant centres, NGO services, and the cities of Bilbao and Madrid as the places occupied by the protagonists. The film informs the audiences of the inadequacies and successes of immigration policies, from the overcrowded immigration centres and inconsistent application of the policies, to the teaching of the culture and language of Spain, to the assistance of the NGOs in getting

the financial and social support available. While the characters usually speak of Europe, and not Spain, this part of the film explicitly addresses Spain's immigration policies and laws, both in the fictionalised script and in the interwoven testimonies of the immigrants. In the immigration centre, with a map of Spain dominating the background (Figure 9), a worker speaks of the requirement to leave after forty days and presents the immigrants with “expulsion papers”. The people in the room unsettles with concern, yet the worker clarifies that the papers refer only to the building, not Spain, and informs them that they can get a travel ticket to mainland Spain if they have a relative or friend living in the country. This scene underscores the vulnerable position in which the policies leave the immigrants, since many give a location hoping to be released but are left without any further support. As part of its pedagogical aims, *Dear Bamako* engages with the hardships of the border at the point of crossing, and the obstacles that the immigration policies raise for the well-being and integration of the immigrant.

Figure 9. Dear Bamako (2007). Immigration Centre. [01:19:34]

When Moussa is given a ticket to Bilbao, the spaces of this last part of the journey across Spain display wide and well-kept motorways, long illuminated tunnels, large urban centres, and the Guggenheim Museum as a landmark of modern architecture

(Figure 10). The traffic rushes past and Moussa wonders if life is always this busy. The contrast with the spaces encountered in Africa presents a Spain rooted in modernity and wealth. While the film directly says through exposition that the global minority (Europe) should share its wealth with the global majority, the film never addresses the causes of this inequality. It presents it as an issue of accumulation of wealth, ignoring other factors such as foreign debt, Europe's role in the configuration of the postcolonial nations in Africa, or the exploitation of resources by the global minority. This view of Europe and Africa was also echoed in *14 Kilometres*, as explored in the scene with the Tuareg community, yet wherein *14 Kilometres* the responsibility fell on the African immigrant to stay and work the land, in *Dear Bamako* is connected to unequal distribution of wealth and the responsibility of the global minority to support the development of the global majority.

Figure 10. Dear Bamako (2007). Moussa arriving in Bilbao. [01:21:40]

The border in these two films connotes ideas of rebirth, being imagined as the ultimate challenge of the journey. The hardening of the border and the immigration policies places immigrants in a vulnerable position in Spain, with both films suggesting that the actions of individuals, such as the Guardia Civil in *14 Kilometres* or the NGOs volunteers in *Dear Bamako*, can contribute to reducing the vulnerability of the immigrant upon arrival. Similarly, both films address the theme of illegality, inviting audiences to

question its purpose and the dehumanisation the label creates. In *Dear Bamako*, it is defined as an obstacle to integration into society. In *14 Kilometres*, with the Guardia Civil's decision to leave the area, the film metaphorically argues against the criminalisation of irregular entry. The presence and immediate response of the Guardia Civil and the Red Cross in these films suggest a Spain that is constantly policing its borders, asserting the role of guardian of Fortress Europe adopted by Spain after obtaining EU membership. Nevertheless, both films underscore how border controls and immigration policies increase the risk of harm to the immigrants, due to their reliance on smuggling networks and a preference for less policed (but riskier) routes of entry.

A journey to cross the border is also a feature in *Hassan's Way* (2013), although in this case, this is a journey of return. Written during the crisis, the film echoes news reports on the voluntary exit of immigrants from the country, which returned Spain to a country of emigration for a short period. While entry to Spain is characterised in previous films as a path of hardship and pain, Hassan only encounters obstacles from policies not related to his immigrant status, such as the road regulations or the paperwork of the tractor that he drives.

El Rayo / Hassan's Way (Fran Araújo and Ernesto de Nova, 2013)

Return to the homeland in times of crisis.

Hassan's Way (2013) is the first feature film of Fran Araújo and Ernesto de Nova, a film that took almost four years to complete and premiered at the Film Festival of San Sebastian in 2013. Its premise takes the audience on a journey from Cózar (inland Castilian Spain) to Algeciras (coastal South Spain) and finally to Beni Mellal (Morocco), with some influences from the road-movie genre. The film follows (Hassan Benoudra), an irregular immigrant who decides to return to his hometown after thirteen years. In contrast to the previous two films, this is a journey of return motivated by the Spanish financial crisis (2008-2012). This reversed *journey of hope* (Loshitzky, 2006, 2010) starts with Hassan's purchase of a tractor, for which he uses all his life savings and which he names El Rayo (Thunderbolt), the Spanish title of the film. Hassan intends to take the

tractor to Morocco and farm his father's lands, as he struggles to find work in the Spanish agricultural sector. Its contemporary social themes have made it a popular choice in film festivals and screenings organised by governmental institutions, such as the Instituto Cervantes or Spanish Embassies. The film approaches the themes of migration and financial crisis with a sympathetic lens, focusing on the impact of the crisis and how it brings common experiences to both immigrants and Spaniards.

Scholarship on the film is very limited, and few scholars provide an in-depth discussion of the film, being relevant works by Berger (2016) and Teixeira (2016, 2017). Berger (2016) explores the narrative of return as a journey for independence and financial stability, whereas Teixeira (2016, 2017) compares it to *14 Kilometres* to argue that the journey of return allows Hassan to leave behind both the precarity encountered in Spain and the diasporic condition forged in Spain. While Berger (2016) asserts Hassan's transnational and hybrid identity, Teixeira (2016, 2017) presents this hybridity as temporary, connected to a nostalgia for the homeland, and understood in terms of internal conflict resolved upon return to the homeland. My analysis expands the discussion by anchoring the film to the financial crisis, briefly acknowledged in these works, and interrogating further the question of Hassan's hybrid identity.

Hassan's Way constructs the border as fluid and porous, disconnected from the hardship and controls of the previous films analysed. In doing so, this film highlights the status of a Spain suffering from the financial crash (2008-2012), no longer attractive as a country of immigration. Moreover, the film suggests that this land of opportunity was never manifested in rural Spain, turning its focus to the concept of "emptied Spain" (España vaciada), which expresses the depopulation of rural areas in favour of migration to the urban centres. By depicting the rural spaces of both Spain and Morocco in very similar ways, the film establishes similarities between these countries and their citizens, dissolving dichotomies around modernity, wealth, or financial opportunities. However, I suggest that although these binaries are minimised, Hassan is nevertheless constructed as an immigrant *other* through shots that convey difference and isolation. While the rural spaces of Spain and Morocco are similar, the notion once again that development in African countries is linked to investment from the native population is underscored through an ending where Hassan expands his farming activities in Morocco by repeat journeys to Spain to purchase more tractors.

Being a journey of return, the hardening of the border disappears, and it is presented as a mere administrative barrier. Although Hassan reminisces about his first arrival in Spain in *patera*, this is mentioned only in passing and presented as the usual mode of entry for African immigrants. Since Hassan has been living in Spain for over a decade, he qualifies in principle for citizenship, and his regular or irregular status does not appear as an obstacle in the narrative. Indeed, when the Guardia Civil stops him along the journey, it is always because of illegally driving the tractor on main roads. To navigate this limitation, Hassan covers the tractor in mud and gets a map, which provides him with an excuse to drive his tractor on the main road by claiming to be travelling between jobs. Hassan studies the map at night, learning the names of local villages that he can repeat to the officers if stopped. The role of the map in this film, thus, is not to inform the audience of the steps of the journey, and it is not always explicit where he is travelling to, but allowing Hassan to acquire local knowledge and to exploit gaps in the system to avoid issues with the authorities. This negotiation of the law is also at the forefront of other films portraying financial insecurity in Spain, such as in *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (2008) or *Amador* (2010), where the main characters minimise their precarity, one with an arranged marriage, the other through deception by pretending to still take care of an elderly man who has died. The use of deceit in these films articulates not fraud but solutions to obstacles created by the state. Because this kind of deceit does not harm any individual, the films present it as wit, and a valid means to navigate an obstacle that would ordinarily increase the immigrant's precarity. In this case, Hassan has no funds to pay for transportation of the tractor and undertaking the journey on rural paths would increase the length of the journey and require more funds. Thus, the use of the map here metaphorically expresses navigating not only through rural Spain, but also through the bureaucracy that applies a blanket rule that might increase the individual's precarity.

Returning to his hometown allows Hassan not only to make a living, but to help transform conditions in his town, making the film's overall message align with political discourses of the time, when migrants were encouraged to return home as a means of lowering unemployment rates and immigration, encapsulated in the Voluntary Return Programme (Programa de Retorno Voluntario). Hassan can reduce his precarity and that of his family by returning to his homeland, investing in his hometown, and leaving Spain.

The script is based on the real-lived experience of the actor who performs Hassan, a worker in the fields owned by director de Nova's family. Authenticity is not only sought through a close depiction of Hassan's story, but also through the depiction of the spaces he visited in his actual journey and a filmmaking process focused on spontaneity. As Berger indicates (2016, p.170), the directors travelled with Hassan once and then alone several times. During these trips, they wrote a loose script with no dialogue but plenty of camera instructions and action descriptions. Whilst the planning took a few years, the shooting was completed in a little over a month at the chosen locations, when generic topics of conversation were given to the actors, relying on improvisation and aiming in this way to capture authentic interactions. Araújo and de Nova not only used non-professional actors, but they also incorporated into the shooting any passer-by who wanted to join in. The film claims that "the people who appear are playing themselves", switching naturally from Spanish to Arabic depending on those speaking.

The cinematography alternates often between extreme long-shots or aerial views of the tractor, embedded within the Spanish landscape, to long shots of Hassan routinely eating, sleeping and driving through these spaces. The voyeuristic gaze of the audience is incited by the slow pace and the uneventful journey, with very few points of interaction with other characters throughout. By focusing on Hassan's routine (Figure 11), this style encourages a *costumbrist*[17] narrative that brings the audience closer to Hassan. Nevertheless, once he starts the journey, the scenes where he is following religious customs emphasise isolation, as he is usually on his own, framed in long shots that do not give him a central space, and in the dark.

[17] *Costumbrismo* is a trend with origin in 17th century literature that became very popular during the 19th century. With a realist style, it depicts customs, manners, and peoples in everyday settings. According to Gies (2004, p.387), the costumbrist portrayal differed from Romantic historicism in that the latter "registered a fundamentally bourgeois world view", whereas *costumbrismo* "worked to index the external world to the predominantly middle-class perspective that increasingly structured the Spanish polity".

Figure 11. Hassan's Way (2013). Praying. [00:18:10]

From the onset, the idea of departure is conveyed with an establishing shot of the Spanish landscape, where a moving vehicle is apparent among the small strip of greenery (Figure 12). Berger (2016, p.173) refers to the overall slow pace of Hassan's trip as "the haunting of a clear destination and the self-conscious and determined rootedness of the protagonist's identity in his Moroccan home country". This "rootedness" is encapsulated in the phone call of the opening scene, heard in voice-over, when Hassan tells his brother - in Arabic - of his decision to return home. By superimposing the Spanish landscape with Hassan's decision to return, the shot connects the Spanish land to the idea of departure and the Moroccan space to the notion of belonging, as Hassan's voice has already reached the destination: home.

Figure 12. Hassan's Way (2013). Opening shot. [00:00:01]

However, this connection to the homeland is also a point of affinity with other characters in the rural space, emphasising in the narrative internal migration following the agricultural season. Indeed, other Spanish characters talk with Hassan about their displacement and separation from their families. In doing so, the film creates connections between the Spanish and non-Spanish workers through a shared experience of mobility. The desire to foreground these similarities is evident first in the exchange with Leo, a migrant from south Spain, and later with an unnamed Andalusian. Both comment on the need to travel around Spain to find seasonal work, their uprooting, and the impact of family separation. However, the style makes these scenes more voyeuristic than participatory, as the commonalities are specific to seasonal agricultural work. With the camera often positioning itself in two-shot framings (Figure 13), the audience is encouraged to participate as external witnesses, instead of through identification and point-of-view shots.

Figure 13. Hassan's Way (2013) Unnamed Andalusian. Labourers and migrants. [01:00:01]

The audience takes on a tourist gaze to approach not only Hassan's customs and homeland, but also rural Spain. As Urry and Larsen state (2011, p.10), the tourist is a "contemporary pilgrim" who shows "fascination in the 'real lives' of others that somehow possess a reality that is hard to discover in their own experienc[e]". The very few shots where the camera is positioned from Hassan's point of view on the road are intended to show obstacles to the journey or allow the audience to listen to the Spanish radio, which broadcasts pieces on the financial crisis. The narrative suggests a modest rags-to-riches ending that is only possible once he returns to his country. Despite being in Spain for over a decade, Hassan can only pay for the tractor and not for its transport and has to do any repairs himself. However, his family owns lands in Morocco, and after just over a year, he can return to Spain and buy a second tractor, with another two being bought shortly after. Thus, immigrating to Spain is presented as a temporary adventure, rather than seeking permanent settlement, and grounded on economic migration. Spain here is no longer presented as a land of opportunity, and Hassan even suggests that Spain was never so. For example, Hassan says that upon arrival, he felt disappointed and thought that "he was swapping his country for a worse one", seeing that it was all mountains, and declaring that the stories about Spain that he heard back in Tangier were exaggerations and lies.

The seasonal workers are portrayed within Bauman's (2004) notion of the unemployed as the "reserve army of labour" (2004, p.71), those who step in for temporary jobs and who become vulnerable to market changes. While the labourers all struggle to find

work, Hassan's immigrant status makes him the most vulnerable, the one who is "forced, induced, pressed or persuaded and encouraged to depart" (Bauman, 2014, p.30). As with other post-crisis films, such as the films of Spanish emigration to Europe, *Hassan's Way* brings to the forefront *expulsions* (Sassen, 2014, 2016), exemplified here as the lack of available work and the need to leave for a better place, in this case, to his hometown. With a narrative of success as the result of determination and hard work, Hassan's return is offered as the solution to escaping the Spanish financial crisis, but also to improving the lives and conditions of his family.

The film successfully provides a sympathetic view towards the Moroccan immigrant in ways that Spanish cinema had not previously done, with a triumphant ending of personal accomplishment, yet the premise and the visuals do not escape *othering.* Indeed, many scenes position Hassan as belonging to a different culture and land, and his presence in Spain is framed within notions of displacement and temporality. Despite Berger's (2016) interpretation of Hassan's character as one of transnational belonging (i.e. an identity anchored across different nations), I argue that the film also underlines alterity through the framing of the religious customs. One of the first scenes in which Hassan's identity is more clearly marked as *other* for a Spanish audience is during the slaughter and roasting of a lamb in the street, which happens within the film's first ten minutes. This scene starts with a close up of bright red blood dripping into a sewer, on which the camera stays fixated for a few seconds. The editing of this scene breaks expectations and carries elements of surprise and shock. In the previous scene, Hassan was painting the tractor bright red, creating the assumption that the red puddle on the floor might be from paint washed away. After a few moments, however, it is revealed that the source of the puddle is instead a lamb's neck, inciting surprise. Still draining blood, the shot concentrates on the animal for five seconds while still and inert, then suddenly retching for air and shaking its limbs. By doing so, the camera concentrates on the animal's passing and contrasts it to the festive atmosphere around it, possibly Eid, given the time setting. On the one hand, this scene portrays the celebration as a place of multiculturality where Spaniards and immigrants share the food in a jovial celebration. On the other hand, by manipulating the viewer's expectation into surprise and shock, it disrupts a comfortable viewing and echoes Spanish prejudice against the practice. Not only does part of the Spanish press report the festival annually under

wording such as “torture”[18], “brutality”[19], or “massacre”[20]. The law also establishes that the only legal way to kill an animal for consumption is with stunning prior to slaughter and under specific hygienic requirements, with the press often reporting the number of cases in which this practice is done outside the law[21] or concerns over health and safety[22]. For this reason, the scene’s editing contributes to a distancing from the festivity instead of participatory sympathy by focusing on the elements of blood, death and animal suffering that the Spanish public opinion condemns. This scene is followed by evening festivities in the Spanish town, where people play chase with fake bulls and fireworks. As the people run around laughing and screaming, Hassan wanders between amused and confused, never fully participating in the chase, leaning instead on a lamppost, becoming just another immobile element in a scene where the social body participates in a communal activity. Even though he commands the Spanish language, he is often presented as an outsider. The film reinforces the temporality associated with the immigrant condition and his belonging to somewhere else.

Hassan’s Way disrupts representations of Spain as a land of opportunity and wealth, suggesting that, as in Morocco, its rural spaces also suffer from precarity. Border controls lose significance as a means to prevent irregular immigration, evident in Hassan’s dismissal of his own entry in *patera* as common practice, and the apparent absence of obstacles to re-entering the country to buy new tractors. The landscape creates similarities between the countries through the opening and closing scenes (Figures 12 and 14), focusing on the farming lands in both countries.

[18] https://elfarodeceuta.es/partido-animalista-forma-sacrificar-cordero-legal/
[19] https://www.vice.com/es/article/4w9d53/igualdad-animal-denuncia-la-crueldad-ritual-contra-los-animales
[20] https://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2019/08/11/5d4db019fdddff4baa8b46a4.html
[21] https://elpais.com/sociedad/2010/12/10/actualidad/1291935608_850215.html and https://www.elindependiente.com/espana/2021/07/19/la-fiesta-del-cordero-la-enesima-batalla-entre-el-pp-y-vox-en-ceuta/
[22] https://www.abc.es/espana/catalunya/barcelona/abci-seis-personas-denunciadas-sacrificio-irregular-corderos-tarragona-201908141511_noticia.html

Figure 14. Hassan's Way (2013). Closing scene: a business idea and hard work. [01:23:28]

Nevertheless, these similarities in landscape and experiences do not fully allow readings of the integration of Hassan in the *imagined community*, as he is visually isolated in many shots. Radio broadcasts depict Spain as a country in financial difficulty, struggling to recover, and the journey of return echoes political discourses encouraging re-migration to their homelands. The ending of the film and, thus, the solution to precarity, suggests that economic migration is temporary, and there can be no possibility of family reunification, settlement and belonging within the Spanish space. Whereas films of the previous section corresponded Spain with Europe in terms of wealth and modernity, *Hassan's Way* challenges these notions to present the precarious conditions of rural Spain.

Journeys to Spain and the desire to return to the homeland are fundamental narrative elements in *Evelyn* (2012) and *Black Diamonds* (2013), the next films in the case studies. These journeys are not initiated by a desire of the protagonists to travel to Spain but incited by Spaniards seeking to exploit the immigrant. These films underscore the impact of criminal networks in the context of globalisation and the *society of consumers*, with journeys that start with the assumption of legal entry but are revealed to be deceitful.

Evelyn (Isabel de Ocampo, 2012) and *Diamantes negros/Black Diamonds* (Miguel Alcantud, 2013)

Dishonest recruitment and vulnerability in the society of consumers.

In *Evelyn*, the eponymous protagonist is a young Peruvian girl whose family pressures her to join her cousin Margarita in Spain, who is supposedly working in hospitality. A representative of a fake agency provides Evelyn with the promise of a job, arranges her passport, and makes travel preparations in exchange for a fee secured against the family's house. Once in Spain, Evelyn discovers that the promised waitress job did not exist and that, instead, her cousin was working in a brothel, which is masked as a motel. After refusing to work as a sex worker and attempting to escape, Evelyn is locked into her room and ill-treated until she complies. By the time the police raid the brothel and she is taken to the police station, Evelyn has abandoned her desire to escape, for she sees sex work as the only means to provide financial security for her family. The narrative engages with modern slavery and human trafficking, emphasizing the financial pressures and deceitful practices that lead to the victims' recruitment, as well as the humiliations and abuses that gradually erode the will to escape. The film avoids stereotypes that link sex work with addiction or dysfunctional families, narrating instead a story about supporting the family and ultimately sacrificing oneself for it.

Black Diamonds also engages with exploitation, but this time with irregular practices in recruiting underage African footballers for European leagues. The film follows Amadou and Moussa, two teenagers from Mali, who are among the best players in their town's youth football team. They are approached by Spanish scouts who promise trials and training with the big European clubs in exchange for an administrative fee. The underage recruits are made to sign an exploitative binding contract that they cannot read, and are given false IDs to pose as students with college scholarships. Once in Spain, the promises do not materialise, and the youngsters end up on the streets trying to survive. In the end, Amadou returns to his hometown after being stranded in Portugal, whereas Moussa finds a supporting role in a training club in Estonia. The opportunities available are outside the Spanish space.

The protagonists in these films have not started the journey out of desperation but are lured into the journey by organised networks exploiting the appeal of Europe. Spain is just a step along the journey for the protagonists longing to settle in France in *Black*

Diamonds. For Evelyn, Spain is a temporary place of opportunity before returning home with money. The manipulation of the immigrant and illicit recruiting has attracted some scholarship, yet there are limited analyses of these two films. *Evelyn* has attracted work on human trafficking and Latin America (Aguilar, 2012; Tarré, 2016), as well as the overrepresentation of Latin American immigration and sex work on screen (Zarco, 2017). My analysis focuses instead on how these films contribute to constructions of Spain as fully impacted by globalisation, as perceived through portrayals of the rise of global crime, increasing inequality, a global consumer culture, increased migration, and the growth of organisations supplementing the support of the nation-state (George and Wilding, 2002, p.2). In these films, the processes of globalisation have increased the precarity of individuals, with the most marginalised becoming more vulnerable to exploitation. In portraying Spain as impacted by the threats of globalisation, it is also portrayed as a full participant in globalisation processes, also enjoying its more desirable effects, such as faster modes of transport and communication. As Castells (2010a, p.143) notes, since the final years of the twentieth century, nations have aimed to either adapt to or lead "the process of globalization" because "their positioning in the global networks of capital, technology, information, and communication was essential to keep, expand or negotiate their power". Thus, active participation in global processes also hints at the power of the nation. While portrayals of Spain's participation in globalisation are not new, I suggest that since the crisis, these narratives have been reinvigorated as a way to project notions of global significance, to express anxieties derived from the financial crash or the dishonest practices that increased its impact, and to delimit the crisis as a temporary consequence of the global markets. These points are developed later in the thesis.

The border in these films, thus, is portrayed in the context of a globalised world, that is, of increased mobility and faster means of transport. The main characters in *Evelyn* and *Black Diamonds* enter Spain via international airports, assuming that their paperwork is in order and that they have the right to work. Yet, they are told to pretend that they are entering under a different status, as a tourist (*Evelyn*) or students (*Black Diamonds*). While the characters are confused by the request, it does not trigger any suspicion, and they all comply with the instructions. In the case of Moussa and Amadou, their passports are confiscated and given fake ID cards to pass for secondary-school students.

Crossing the border, thus, appears as unproblematic for the immigrants, unaware that their entry into Spain is, in fact, illicit and that the deceitful practices of their recruiters place them in positions of irregularity and vulnerability. The porosity of the border is, thus, emphasised alongside the role of dishonest and criminal networks. Whereas the films at the start of this chapter underscored the difficulty of entering Spain and focused on border-crossing in *patera*, the films in this section highlight the flows of irregular immigration entering by other means, particularly with the involvement of criminal networks. In both films, the networks recruiting the immigrants are driven by greed and show a lack of concern for their wellbeing, putting them in more precarious positions. The emphasis on border security, which expressed anxieties derived from notions of Spain's role as guardian of the southern border, is here minimised, turning the anxieties towards the insecurity created by globalisation.

In *Evelyn*, the journey to Spain is narrated as a journey to "the land of the conquerors" in the words of Evelyn's older relatives, for whom Spain still represents a land of opportunities. In contrast, Evelyn prefers to continue working in the nearby city and staying in the Andes. While this dialogue line evokes the notion of a glorious past, it also foresees the violence and suffering that Spain will inflict on Evelyn's body. Once in Spain, it soon becomes clear that the work offered is sex work. She is confined in the brothel until she can settle the ever-increasing debt of maintenance, accommodation, and travel fees. Forcing Evelyn to look at a world map, Ricardo, the owner, draws a line connecting Latin America and Spain, making her notice the distance and the associated costs of travel to justify her debt. For most of the film, Evelyn attempts to escape in the hope of returning to her hometown. However, when the opportunity comes after being taken to the police station during a raid, Evelyn foregoes this chance, slips away, and returns to the brothel. This scene brings to the forefront the emotional manipulation of the criminal networks and the inefficiency of the authorities, bringing into question the adequacy of systems of prevention and support for victims of criminal networks. When asked for her name during an interview with an immigration officer, Evelyn answers "Jazmin", the nickname assigned to her for the brothel. This is the first time that Evelyn uses this name, as, until this point, she had repeated her own name as an act of resistance. The officer briefly glances at her passport but does not acknowledge the difference in name. While this exchange is interpreted by León (2016-2017) as an act of

empowerment, I contend that it is an act of compliance, since she did not choose this nickname and she asserts her own name throughout the film up to this scene. Evelyn finds herself in the police station at a crossroads where returning home would mean losing the family house (because of the loan agreement), but where returning to the brothel would also mean acceptance of the life she had fought to escape. In accepting the nickname, Evelyn makes her choice and acquiesces. Even though the found paperwork includes the contract secured against the house, the officer does not notice it and only pauses on a letter from the family, who excitedly tells Evelyn about a new bike and include a picture with the liaison for the brothel, Evelyn's little brother, and the bike (Figure 15). Unable to get answers from Evelyn, the officer suggests that she stay a few days with an NGO and leaves the room briefly, when Evelyn seizes the opportunity to leave. The scene highlights the missed opportunities that the system produces, despite the good intentions of the individuals. The officer's questions are suggestive of the criminalisation of the irregular immigrant by focusing on the means of entry and her personal details, instead of the activities taking place in the brothel. The offer of the NGO underlines the lack of support within governmental and official institutions, as the care is outsourced to charity organisations. Similarly, by leaving the room to attend to a different matter, the scene suggests that immigration officers lack time to give their cases individual attention. Thus, the scene alludes to the inefficiency of immigration policies and processes that emphasise their irregularity instead of providing support. The film exposes some gaps in the system that leave irregular immigrants confined to their irregularity, without an adequate support system or procedures to regularise their status. The border is made fluid and porous, almost invisible, and the immigration policies that create an abstract barrier of access are also presented as inadequate and full of deficiencies.

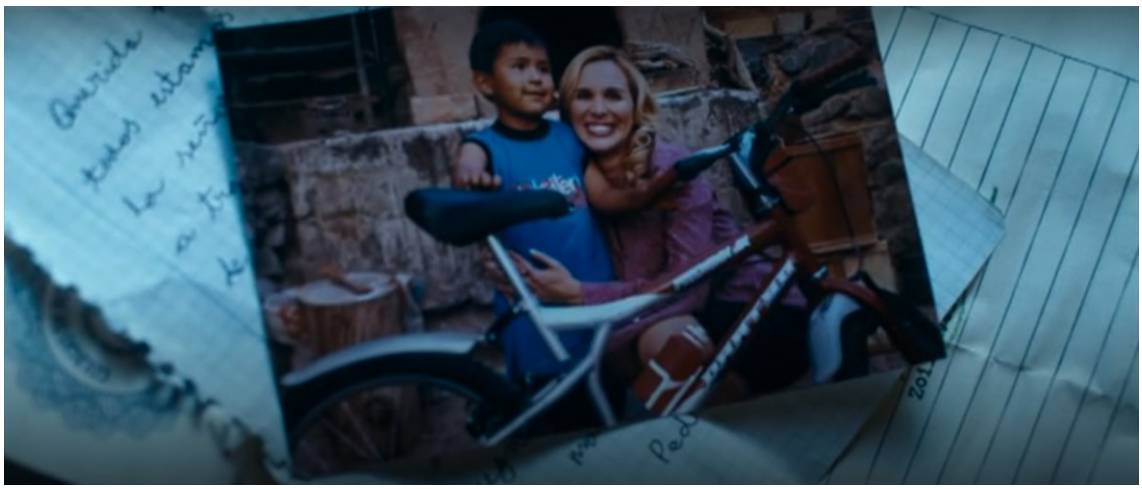

Figure 15. Evelyn (2012). Reminders of home's precarity. [01:28:03]

The recruitment and border-crossing in *Black Diamonds* are approached similarly. The exploitative contracts are written in Spanish, which neither Amadou nor Moussa understand, and with conditions that are never explained to them. The promises made in Mali disappear as soon as the contracts are signed, and the youngsters never reach France, where they were told they were heading. The scouts emphasise at the airport that if questioned, they must say they are students, yet the reasons for the subterfuge are not explained to the youngsters. In the plane, Moussa excitedly touches buttons while Amadou looks around in wonder. The journey into Spain is uneventful but joyful, in contrast to the journeys at the start of this chapter. Travelling after arriving in Spain underscores the mobility within the Schengen area, as Amadou travels to Portugal and Moussa to Estonia without any further border controls or identity checks. After being abandoned by the scouts in Lisbon following an injury during a trial, Amadou wants to return home but lacks the money or paperwork to do so. Even though he asks for help at a tourist police point in Portugal, the officers laugh at him, claiming that they are "not a travel agency", leaving Amadou with no other choice but to resort to crime to pay for his return ticket to Mali. In these films, the border becomes an abstract barrier made of immigration policies and controls at airports, instead of represented in the crossing of the Strait or the fences at the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla, as in *Dear Bamako* and *14 Kilometres*. The physical boundary and its barriers lose significance towards the more abstract barriers of the policies regulating entry. The changes in the way in which the border is imagined are features of globalisation, which Sassen (2007, pp.214, 217) suggests "is producing ruptures in the mosaic of border regimes and contributing to the

formation of new types of bordering", where "the geographic borderline is but one point in the chain" and "institutional points of border-control intervention can form long chains inside a country". Sassen (2007) explores some elements that configure this new way of thinking about the border, among them the idea that globalisation has transformed notions of border beyond the geographical boundaries and physical points of border control delimiting the nation.

While the physical borders are not portrayed in these films, the depictions of Spain and the homelands of the immigrants continue to express binaries around modernity, particularly the *liquid modernity* of the *society of consumers* (Bauman, 2000). The spaces of origin of the immigrant are constructed as *societies of producers*, where the purpose of work is to cover basic living needs, and the individuals' identities are anchored to their profession. In contrast, Spain is portrayed as a *society of consumers*, where living costs are expected to be covered and individuals are driven by the never-ending gratification of desires, building their identity through consumption and pleasure. Immigrants in these two films never fulfil their role as consumers in Spain, restricted by debt, homelessness, or captivity. However, they all are recruited for their value in the *society of consumers* as a product of consumption themselves (either in the form of coerced sex services or for their potential as footballers) and, thus, a product of the entertainment industry. Since neither has control over their earnings nor the freedom to choose how and where to perform these activities, the agency of the immigrants in the activity is further reduced.

At the end of *Evelyn,* the protagonist returns to the brothel so that her family retain their house, whereas Moussa accepts a role as companion to another young footballer. On resigning their respective hopes of escape or playing for a team, both characters are embraced by members of their new imposed communities, that is, those of the brothel and the football academy, and they are both able to secure an income. In contrast, Amadou, who returns to Mali, is rejected by his community and finds himself without a network of support and jobless. These resolutions to the narratives suggest that, to survive or succeed in the globalised world in their vulnerable positions, the characters must accept the role assigned to them by the *society of consumers*. In embracing the name of Jazmín or complying with instructions not to score goals and pass the ball to

the valuable player, both characters stop resisting and accept the role imposed on them.

The films portray the homelands of the immigrant as *societies of producers* that are, however, touched by globalisation. The public phone line in the community connects in both films their hometowns with Spain; Evelyn's siblings gather to watch repeatedly the same bike commercial on the TV, while Moussa's neighbourhood gets together to watch the European football matches. Their homelands are portrayed as financially precarious, with limited infrastructure and a risk to health, as both Amadou's and Evelyn's mothers are ill. Yet, the characters are also introduced enjoying their lives in the village despite their situation. In *Evelyn*, the protagonist is introduced carrying a laundry basket in a small Peruvian town in the Andes. Walking with a smile through the green landscape, *Evelyn* conveys the homeland as a happy space, where the protagonist's tactile interactions with nature emphasise her attachment to the land and the happiness it brings her. She walks between the cornfields letting the leaves touch her face and body, and she stops to touch the clear waters of the stream. These scenes echo Mark's (2000) *haptic visuality*, bringing the viewer to appreciate this landscape and how it gives her a sense of belonging and brings her joy. This act of touching that brings together memory, belonging and place is also depicted when Evelyn holds freshly baked bread rolls during her first attempt to escape the brothel. As she walks towards the backdoor, Evelyn discovers the bread rolls and turns to grab a couple (Figure 16) instead of opening the door. Because her family owns the local bakery, the bread triggers memories of home.

Figure 16. Evelyn (2012). Smelling the bread. [00:37:37]

The bread roll also comes to represent her acquiescence in a scene of breakdown and transformation, where Evelyn grabs and eats her roommate's stale bread roll, a symbolic representation on an altar of her roommate's dead child. The bread, thus, functions as a reminder of the homeland, the family, and the family's bakery. By eating in rage the stale bread from the altar, Evelyn metaphorically destroys the hopes of leaving to reunite with her family, as it is after this scene that Evelyn joins the other women to offer sexual services. This transformation is forecasted from the start through the opening credits, which follow a sequence of close-ups in which a pair of hands work the dough through different stages. As with Evelyn's endurance in the film, the dough is manipulated, beaten and shaped until it takes the desired consistency. The dress of the unknown woman beating the dough is splattered with little yellow daisies, the nickname of her cousin Margarita in the brothel, while the print of the tablecloth against which the dough is beaten is covered with ripe fruit (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Evelyn (2012). Opening scene. Beating the dough. [00:02:11]

If the immigrants' homelands are configured as a *society of producers*, Spain is anchored in a *society of consumers* driven by consumption, greed and individual pleasures. One that is sustained by individuals preoccupied with their own survival and lifestyle, who turn a blind eye. Out of the main routes in a small town near the border with Portugal, the motel is connected to the rest of Spain with shots of roads, electricity towers and phone lines that alternate with the hotel sign (Figure 18), associating the activities of the brothel to the networks of globalisation and the wider society. The film expresses

ideas of shared responsibility for human trafficking. For example, Evelyn contacts a client's wife and asks for help, yet after many promises, the wife refuses to help in order to prevent conflict in her marriage. The cook in the brothel also turns a blind eye to its activities with the excuse that she has a family to feed. The police officer who returns a runaway sex worker and his superior are complicit in the situation, and some clients using the services are aware that the women are not there willingly. Even Amanda, co-owner of the brothel and Ricardo's wife, conveys visually regret upon Evelyn's acceptance of the job, with a trembling jaw and sombre look, but continues with the exploitation. Notably, a diverse range of characters representing different sectors of society fails to assist Evelyn, suggesting that everyone is responsible for this abuse due to either direct participation or inaction. As Bauman (2007, p.127) indicates, the place of those expelled from society is "out of sight". They are invisible to society, whose members can turn a blind eye to their plight once poverty and criminality are associated (Bauman, 2005, p.82).

Figure 18. Evelyn (2012). Global networks. [00:54:19]

Black Diamonds also presents the exploitation of its protagonists as a consequence of globalisation and the *society of consumers*, this time in regard to the recruitment of young footballers. Preying on talented youngsters, the promises of the Spanish scouts construct Spain as a land of opportunity and give Moussa and Amadou hope, encouraging their families to pay for the costs. Amadou and Moussa have very different

financial situations, avoiding a reductive view of Mali by not limiting the portrayals to poverty and desperation. Indeed, there is no indication that Moussa needs to support his family and he appears driven solely by the motivation to become a famous player. This approach reinforces the film's message that this could happen to any youngster, also stressing the impact of these recruitment practices on poorer households. To emphasise these differences, the film opens with cross-cutting scenes of Amadou and Moussa playing football, suggesting different financial situations from the onset via their clothing and the training fields they use (Figures 19 and 20).

Figure 19. Black Diamonds (2013). Introduction of Amadou. [00:01:29]

Figure 20. Black Diamonds (2013). Introduction of Moussa [00:01:48]

Amadou is introduced in a field next to a landfill, where he plays football barefoot with some younger children. In shallow focus, the camera lingers on the waste in the background and the cows that wander around its edges, leaving Amadou out of focus. Moussa, however, is introduced in football kit playing next to a big house in a field surrounded by greenery, where other children ride a bike. Amadou lives in very precarious conditions, his mother is ill, and his salary is insufficient to feed all the family. In contrast, Moussa's home is large, his father owns a local business, and supports three wives, their children, and their elders. When the football scout meets the families of the youngsters individually, the scene uses cross-cutting editing to contrast their different realities. Moussa's family organises a barbeque party to supplement the requested €2,500 with donations from the community, but for Amadou's mother, this is an amount beyond her means. The tragic consequences of fulfilling this request will not be evident until the end of the film, when Amadou is told that in order to pay for the fees, his mother sold their youngest sibling to the shopkeeper (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Black Diamonds (2013). The human costs. [00:18:36]

The interactions between the characters suggest that, in Mali, Europe is imagined as a place of wealth, fame and recognition, of which Spain becomes the entry door.

The film makes cultural connections between Europe and Africa through a shared passion for football, with scenes depicting communities both in Mali and Spain meeting to watch the sport. *Black Diamonds* aims to bring understanding to the exploitation of young African footballers, whose passion for football and dreams of becoming a famous player is capitalised on by unscrupulous scouts. While its enjoyment is shared by African and European communities, the *symbolic capital* of football is allocated to the big European football clubs. The recruitment for European leagues cannot be accessed directly by the African players, promoting a network of scouts who approach youngsters, not always with authentic promises. The film focuses on the consequences of the fraudulent activities of some scout networks, who offer contracts that hide very high commissions for the scouts. If the youngsters become successful, the scouts take most of their earnings; if not, the scouts recover the initial investment with the fee demanded from the family, and the youngsters are abandoned without further support. Left to their own means, the protagonists in *Black Diamonds* are figuratively expelled from the *society of consumers* and become what Bauman (2004) terms the *waste* of *liquid modernity*, that is, those who have been made redundant, who serve no purpose to the society. On arrival, instead of going to the football academy halls with other young footballers or travelling to France, as promised, they are left alone in an old flat with just enough to eat and disregarding diet requirements. When evicted from the flat, Moussa resorts to eating from bins and living on the streets until his desperation drives him to sell drugs for a local dealer. Being caught and sent to the Youth Detention Centre, Moussa experiences a chain of expulsions in Spain: from the private space of the home to the public space of the streets, and from this to the expulsion from society through imprisonment. It is only when he once again acquires value as a player that the scout releases him and takes him to Estonia, a process that Bauman (2004, 2005) describes as “recycling”, when those who had been made redundant (or *waste*) are offered a new opportunity to reincorporate themselves to the *society of consumers*.

The protagonists suffer from their lack of familiarity with this *liquid modernity* and the competitiveness that it encourages. At the end, Moussa only retains his place in the Estonian football academy when he becomes professionally less threatening to the star

player and stops trying to showcase his skills. While the youngsters have talent and motivation, they lack the technical skills of the European-trained players, and this becomes an obstacle to their development. The lack of investment in their technical training hinders the youngsters' opportunities to compete in a levelled field. The film offers a reading where the only way to survive their precarious experiences is either by exceptionalism, as the star player from Mali at the end, or by accepting a position assigned in society by those with power or authority. This reading also applies to *Evelyn*, where the protagonist returns to the brothel to prevent further precarity in the family. However, hope still lingers at the end of the films. While Moussa might not be able to play in a competitive team, all it matters, as he exclaims, is that he is playing football and not returning to Mali. He could also, eventually, find a team to play. For Evelyn, compliance in the brothel means not only wealthier and gentler clients, but that once the debt is paid, she has the right to choose to leave, as other sex workers have apparently done. Under this reading, precarity can be temporary, and it is resilience and compliance that helps to survive it. I suggest that this premise echoes Spain's contemporary anxieties over the financial crisis and aligns with the solutions provided. Under the political discourses of unity, resilience, and collective effort to get Spain out of its financial crisis, the effects of the crash were presented as a temporary blip in an otherwise wealthy country. The crisis is constructed in the media and political discourses as inseparable from the processes of globalisation and, thus, blame is entirely shifted onto unpredictable changes in the market, neoliberal practices, and the agents stimulating globalisation. With a credit rating plummeting between 2009-2016[23] and having lost its status as a role model for financial recovery, Spain rearticulates its diminished status as a risk derived from globalisation, a temporary situation that can be reverted with the effort and resilience of its population. In this context, a reading can be made where the narrative of manipulation echoes the circumstances of the preferred bonds fraud, which involved dishonest bank practices that led to the loss of life savings of about 3 million small savers between 2009 and 2011, almost an 8% of all over-20s (Zunzunegui et al., 2017). *Black Diamonds* and *Evelyn* echo notions of precarity derived from globalisation, while the resolutions to the narratives suggest that the only way to survive it is to endure it, at least temporarily.

[23] https://www.fitchratings.com/entity/spain-80442206#ratings

While Spain is imagined from afar as a modern and wealthy country full of opportunities, the reality after arrival shows immigrants a very different side from their expectations. Spain's modernity is represented in the urban cities through large buildings, wide motorways, buzzing illuminated streets, and airports. However, the films also show the other side of globalisation with marginalised areas, homelessness, exploitation, and global crime. Spain might not be a land of opportunity for all, but since this is a consequence of globalisation, Spain is reaffirmed as modern through its involvement in the global processes of globalisation, even if temporarily impacted by its more negative side.

The films bring attention to the inefficiency and dehumanisation implicit in border control and immigration systems. The lack of controls around student visas encourages the unscrupulous activities of the scouts, who exploit loopholes in the system to bring underage players illegally under the guise of study grants. Similarly, tourist visa regulations make this option easily exploitable by the brothel owners, who arrange documentation and money for immigrants to cross borders but immediately retain both afterwards. In this sense, the films highlight the gaps in the policies that allow these networks to operate.

The journey is not initiated by the *other* in their desire to reach a land of opportunity, as in the case of the films at the start of the chapter. Instead, the immigrant is deceived and convinced to migrate. If *14 Kilometres* and *Dear Bamako* imagine Spain as a wealthy country, the two films explored in this section present a country corrupted by consumption and greed. Whereas the former films focused on border crossing and Spain's role in guarding the Southern border, *Evelyn* and *Black Diamonds* make the journeys joyful and uneventful, focusing instead on the hardships in Spain. In doing so, the focus is not on the *pull* of Spain and the worth of the journey despite the suffering, but on the personal sacrifices upon arrival, the disappointment experienced when realising that this is not the Spain they imagined, and the compliance that allows them to survive. In a different light, because of its reverse journey of hope, this disappointment is also what drives the protagonist of *Hassan's Way* to return home, in a narrative of crisis that dismantles the view of Spain as a land of opportunity. At the start of the chapter, the protagonist of *Dear Bamako* asserted that the wealth of Europe was real. In the middle of the crisis, Hassan asserts that it has never been. While this

disappointment post-arrival is present in other narratives of immigration pre-crisis, in these films, the experiences in Spain are fully interwoven with the adverse effects of globalisation, the precarity it creates, and the criminal networks it encourages.

Chapter 4. Inclusive Encounters. Friendship and Romance.

"We exist because someone thinks about us," says Caye in *Princesses* (2005), connecting existence to the relationship with others, to their ability to *imagine* us. This chapter considers the cinematic relationships in the *community* between Spaniards and the *other*, reflecting not only on how these films imagine this *otherness* but also how they imagine Spain, making it exist for the audience with markers of Europeanness that shift over time. My use of *other* instead of *immigrant* in this chapter is led by the inclusion of the film *Alacrán enamorado/Scorpion in Love* (Zannou, 2013), whose character is *othered* through race, but whose status as immigrant is intentionally ambiguous as the director sought to represent second-generation immigrants and Spaniards of African ancestry. The use of *other* as a category encompasses individuals constructed as different because of their immigrant status and people defined as different because of visible markers of race. Considering Anderson's (1991) notion of the census as a tool of nation-building, the chapter reflects on who is counted in the *imagined community*, how is the *other* categorised, and who is included or excluded.

In each of the five case studies, the analysis interrogates how the *cultural capital* of the immigrant relates to their potential for inclusion in the *imagined community* of Spain, including the *institutionalised cultural capital* of permanent residency. Attending to the notions of *cultural capital* that these films convey in regard to Spain, Spaniards, and immigrants, the chapter suggests the complicity of many of these films in what Guerrero (1995, p.397) terms the *empty space in representation*. Discussing the representations of black men in Hollywood narratives, Guerrero (1995) notes the absence of a "heterogeneous range of complex portrayals" beyond "the one-dimensional, positive-negative characters usually contained within Hollywood's formulaic narratives". While not Hollywood, early narratives of Spanish immigration cinema created formulaic narratives around the hardship of the immigrant experience and the obstacles to integration in Spain, which many immigration films have followed afterwards. The prevalence of immigrant characters constructed around notions of economic migration, illiteracy, unskilled labour, and illegal entry create partial portraits and consolidate, instead of challenging, existing stereotypes. I argue that *cultural capital* is often portrayed in films of encounters to reinforce Spain's Europeanness and to

support notions of inclusion of the *other* when this *cultural capital* is negotiated to reduce difference.

Each section explores the use of place to convey notions of inclusivity or exclusion through the use of *anthropological places* and *non-places*. The discussion appropriates the work of Augé (1995) on *non-place*, a place disconnected from the ideas of identity and community that characterise its opposite, the *anthropological place.* *Anthropological places* are "places of identity, of relations, and of history" (Augé, 1995, p.52), such as homes, community centres or schools; while *non-places* create anonymity within "the shared identities of passengers, customers or Sunday drivers" (Auge, 1995, p.101), such as airports, shopping centres, or motorways. *Anthropological places* are anchored in identity and community, while *non-places* underscore the solitude of the individual. Both places, affirms Augé (1995, p.94), are never entirely one or the other, and those using them can transform the space.

Because *anthropological places* are connected to community and identity, they create notions of inclusion in the *imagined community* through the participation of the immigrant in these places. Similarly, because *non-places* are linked to anonymity and *liquid modernity*, they offer potential for participation in the *society of consumers* and underscore the mobility of the immigrant. In both cases, they can express ideas of exclusion through the impossibility of inhabiting these places and offer potential for inclusion through the collective negotiation of space. Via the portrayals of place, these films construct notions of inclusion and exclusion around immigrant characters and the spaces where encounters occur. By examining what kind of places configure these encounters, this chapter addresses how Spain is imagined as either welcoming or hostile, how inclusion is expressed through notions of community and consumption, and how the films assert connections between Spaniards and the *other* through participation in each other's spaces.

Finally, the analysis addresses encounters between Spaniards and the *other* as narrative tools that support ideas of *conviviality* through shared experiences. As noted in the introduction, *conviviality* is defined by Gilroy (2004, 2005, 2006) as a process of negotiation in multicultural societies, where cultural and racial differences do not create conflict but enrich co-living. The films show a progression from representations of Spain where potential *conviviality* is hindered by the system, to a negotiation of the system by

individuals who participate in this *conviviality*, seeking to minimise obstacles to the integration of the *other with*in the *imagined community*. Since *conviviality* expresses cooperation and community, in the context of the crisis, this *conviviality* is also anchored in the ability of individuals to reduce the precarity of others and help them overcome difficulties related to their position as *flawed consumers*. In exploring these themes, the chapter demonstrates shifts in the configuration of the *imagined community* that call for a convivial experience in Gilroy's (2005) terms, that is, where differences in ethnicity and culture become less important than the everyday living experiences that make co-existing possible.

The Encounter in the Imagined Community.

Sara Ahmed (2000, p.6) defines the encounter as "a meeting, but a meeting which involves surprise and conflict" and makes the encounter an indispensable condition for the production of the *other* (2000, p.3). With depictions of encounters that transform the Spaniard through close contact with the *other*, these films resolve conflict by dismantling prejudice and encouraging audiences to challenge their own. Hence, the films facilitate encounters between the audiences and alternative images of immigration. Judith Butler (2009, p.51) suggests that in festival or small-budget independent films "certain kinds of lives may become visible or knowable in their precariousness". Bauman (2014, pp.126-127) suggests that meaningful encounters with the *other* are necessary for the deconstruction of stereotypes and *otherness* and that over time "the 'customary badges of 'foreigners'', e.g. such as skin colour, facial features, dress, speech, etc., become less visible". Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2010, p.199) concludes that in films addressing migrant and diasporic identities, "friendships and romance are employed to portray the encounter between members of different social groups within the confines of the nation state", noting that these cinematic narratives are not simply depicting personal stories, but that "while portraying personal proximity, intimacy also contains structural moments that convey distance, marked by social divisions", echoing in this way the "social dynamics" surrounding the characters and their relationship. For Monette (2018, p.29), the filmic encounters of Spanish

immigration cinema use encounters to explore conflict resolution in the *imagined community*, as they tend to replicate an

> ethnocentric focus by emphasizing the contact zones where Spanish and immigrant characters interact from a Spanish point of view and how these encounters allow all characters to resolve their differences and establish a new form of balance and community around their common socioeconomic marginalization.

The role of encounters in Spanish immigration cinema is also addressed by Corbalán (2014a, p.87), who questions the success of these narratives in addressing inclusion and integration, noting that "these movies broach the topic of immigration mainly through a defective lens. They construct only a partial view of an encounter with the Other that is characterized by a significant tension and conflict". Although Corbalán's (2014a) study focuses on portrayals of Latin American immigration, her claim applies to other narratives of immigration in Spanish cinema. Understanding filmic encounters enables understanding of how these films construct ideas of nation and resonates with Sara Ahmed's (2000, p.101) discussion of how the concept of encounters also constructs the idea of the stranger, of the *other.* Ahmed suggests,

> national identity is unstable, and emerges through multiple encounters between those who assume themselves to be natives and those recognised as strangers, as out of place, in this place. The response to strangerness in the discourse of nationhood is hence built around the question of what it means to be 'in place'.

Thus, by analysing the filmic encounters, the case studies can help us recognise how the films contribute to the articulation of national identity, and the construction and dissolution of *otherness*, which are also at the centre of the ideas of the census. Anderson (1991, pp.164-165) argues that the census in emerging postcolonial states constructed categories that became increasingly more racialised and supported notions of identity. Drawing on an example of the construction of race as a distinct category in Spanish American colonies, Anderson suggests that the census reflects how a nation imagines its class structure and the location of the *other* within it. In approaching how these films imagine the Spaniard and the *other* or the structure of the class relations

present in their encounters, these films illuminate articulations of nation and the *imagined community*. Appadurai (1996) approaches Anderson (1991) to discuss the quantification of the census in the construction of identity in India, bringing significance not only to the variety of categories it creates, but also to the importance of their numbers. For Appadurai (1996, p.118), the quantification of categories produced by the census was connected to colonial administrators' desire to initiate social control or reform in the colonies. The census facilitates the ability to quantify the *other* and to plan policies and actions accordingly. Their visibility in the census allows the *other* to potentially carry political weight, while their invisibility can marginalise them within the *imagined community.* Current changes to the Spanish census for 2021 have abandoned the collection of individual responses by address and moved towards collecting details through existing databases. Resultantly, having "irregular" status or not being present in databases will increase marginality and invisibility, and thus exclusion from state policies and programmes. However, the new system allows for more accurate quantification of the resources used by the population, since it makes cross-comparisons between the databases of the local register, the national health services, school registers, or applications for state benefits. This change in the way national data is collected demonstrates a shift of national anxieties away from the documented status of immigrants to the protection of the welfare of the nation-state.

This chapter analyses a variety of films that, although linked to immigration cinema in their aims, present greater diversity in the production and reception than films explored in the first chapter. The more hegemonic standing of some of the filmmakers in this section combined with higher subsidies for production makes some of these films more commercial in their aims, being positioned in what Triana-Toribio (2014, 2016) names "genre films with aspirations", that is, films that tap into the political and societal issues of Spain within the format of genre narratives. These are also representative of the *cinema of citizens* (Stone, 2018) due to the hegemonic support of the film industry and state funding. Fernando León de Aranoa directs two of the films of this chapter, *Princesas/Princesses* (2005) and *Amador* (2010). As a protégé of well-established Spanish director Elías Querejeta (Faulkner, 2013, p.239), León de Aranoa belongs to the more hegemonic group of filmmakers (Triana Toribio, 2016, p.75). *Princesses* was a success with critics and box office. While *Amador* was less well-received, it nevertheless

had more audiences than the remaining films in this chapter. *Retorno a Hansala/Return to Hansala* (2008) is firmly inscribed in immigration cinema both by its aims and its director, Chus Gutiérrez, who had already attracted film-festival awards with her previous immigration film *Poniente/Setting* (2002). Both *Return to Hansala* and *Un novio para Yasmina/A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (Irene Cardona, 2008) have Moroccan women in a leading role for the first time, making both films significant for their inclusion of an underrepresented immigrant group, but also because of anxieties against Moroccan immigrants following the Atocha bombings of 2004 (also known as 11-M). As the analysis argues, both films create notions of *conviviality* around these characters, yet they also evoke problematic constructions of integration that conflate with notions of *cultural capital* and European modernity. Finally, *Alacrán enamorado/Scorpion in Love* (2013) is directed by Santiago Zannou, a Spaniard of African ancestry, although the original script was written and adapted for film by Carlos Bardem, brother of Javier Bardem. The departures from the novel are relevant for the aims of this chapter because of its negotiation of the *othering* of the main characters and an emphasis on hybridity.

This chapter considers three points of enquiry in the discussion of the case studies. Firstly, considering the census, it approaches the way in which *cultural capital* is used to construct difference, acting as a marker of *otherness* to define the immigrant and racialised *other.* Secondly, it explores how depictions of place create ideas and practices of inclusion and exclusion. Thirdly, it examines encounters to analyse how these films promote solutions for peaceful co-existence. In doing so, the chapter considers how these films portray the *imagined community* of Spain, the strategies of inclusion and exclusion employed, and the negotiations taking place in the community to facilitate a multicultural co-existence.

Princesas / Princesses (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005)

Challenging prejudice through contact and acts of inclusion in the marginalised community.

Princesses is the director's third film in a trilogy that addresses social inequality and marginalisation. It was preceded by *Barrio/Neighbourhood* (1998) and *Los lunes al*

sol/Mondays in the Sun (2002). Fernando León de Aranoa is well known for his "cine social" (Faulkner, 2013, p.240), a Spanish cinematic trend that approaches social issues through realism. *Princesses* was an immediate box office success and won three Goya Awards. Because of its much wider distribution through SOGEPAQ, the film is a favourite in university syllabi and has attracted international scholarly attention. *Princesses* explores the friendship between two sex workers: Caye (Candela Peña), a Spaniard saving for breast surgery, and Zulema (Micaela Nevárez), a Dominican immigrant who needs to earn enough to enable her to send remittances home for her young son. After a brief first encounter in which Caye reprimands Zulema for stealing her clients, Caye finds Zulema injured after a customer's assault in an apartment in Caye's tower block. Caye takes Zulema to the hospital, and this event initiates a friendship that transforms Caye and makes her question her prejudices towards immigrants. The women welcome each other into their personal spaces and become each other's support, sharing a bond of vulnerability and precarity. In the end, Zulema returns home after discovering that she has contracted a severe STD, and Caye donates Zulema her savings. The final scene, in Caye's family home, suggests that Caye is ready to abandon her position of vulnerability by symbolically also returning to her family and revealing her profession.

Princesses has been discussed in much of the scholarship on immigration cinema. Conclusions are divided as to whether the narrative of friendship resolves the differences between Spaniards and the *other*, or whether the film's message is powerful enough to challenge audiences in their prejudice. Ballesteros (2015, p.88) highlights the film's intentions to portray "the shared subordinate and marginal position of Spanish and immigrant women and the solidarity and friendship they build"; while Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2010, p.118) comments on the "new way of understanding the immediacy of everyday encounters by situating friendships and moments of intimacy in the context of migration". In the same vein, Maria van Liew (2012, p.453) emphasizes that the "notion of friendship as secondary to individual protagonism is turned on its head by a story of friendship that produces a reciprocal protagonism through trust, curiosity and direct communication". For some scholars (Sánchez-Conejero, 2007; Quintana, 2008; van Liew, 2012; Black, 2011; Lobo, 2013; Murray, 2014; Vega-Durán, 2016; Stanley, 2019), the story dismantles hierarchies and prejudice to show the

similarities between the Spaniard and the Latin American *other*, successfully forcing audiences to challenge their own preconceptions. For other scholars (Carty, 2009; Zecchi, 2013; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2010; Tal, 2011; Teixido Farré et al., 2012; Corbalán, 2014a; Ballesteros, 2015), this approach is articulated at a superficial level, the film reproduces stereotypes, and symbolically vanishes the *other* through illness and departure. That academic analyses of *Princesses* continue to be published well over a decade after its release speaks of the scholarly interest the film ignites. My reading aligns with this latter group of scholars and affirms that, despite its aims to challenge stereotypes, the film instead reproduces them through Zulema's stereotypical portrayal of Caribbean women. Some of the scholarship interprets Zulema's departure as an impossibility of integration underlining the film. My reading aligns particularly with Carty (2009) in that this impossibility is constructed by official institutions, and not in general by the community. The film not only criticises immigration policies that criminalise the immigrant through "illegal" status, as Carty (2009) asserts, but it also marginally hints at the institutional violence that emerges from the gaps in the system. The film lacks critical engagement with the social structures that increase Zulema's precarity, or the societal and institutional barriers that prevent her from fully participating in the *society of consumers*, in which both Zulema and Caye only operate as *flawed consumers*.

While *Princesses* addresses the social marginalisation of sex workers, Zulema's irregular status and racialised body further marginalise her and increase her precarity. Despite living in the country for almost a year, Zulema's concerns about deportation have prevented her from reporting her sexual aggressor or using the health services. In this way, the film pays attention to how immigration policies create vulnerability for those seeking permanent residence. Unnamed despite being a prominent secondary character, the civil servant who assaults Zulema exploits her desire for regularisation, knowing that her fears and his promise of documentation guarantee her silence about the assaults. Zulema's body is anchored in vulnerability and is a place of conflict. It is pejoratively commented on by Spanish women, is the cause of her rejection by the cohabitants of her apartment, is repeatedly beaten by the civil servant, and at the end is tainted with disease. The physical violence enacted on Zulema's body is never fully shown, but the audience witnesses the immediate aftermath, when Zulema is seen

covered in bruises, bleeding and visibly injured. In not showing the attack, the film emphasises not the acts of violence but their consequences, focusing on Zulema's emotional suffering and her entrapment within a system that does not allow her to escape the abusive situation. Witnessing Zulema's injuries triggers Caye's sympathy and, in this way, the cinematic gaze aims to evoke a similar response from the Spanish audience.

The lack of documentation excludes Zulema from the regular economy and the wider welfare support in society. However, Caye's friendship provides Zulema with *social capital* that enables her partial access. It is Caye who takes her to the hospital and informs her of her rights to use the national health service, and Caye's sister-in-law (unknowing of her profession) offers Zulema a paid guest teaching session delivering sexual education at her school. Through Caye's acquaintance with the local bar owner, Zulema stages photographs of herself as a waitress to send home; and in a truncated moment of hope, one of Caye's friends from the hair salon suggests that she can arrange Zulema's papers through her contacts. In contrast, Zulema offers *cultural capital* (fashion, hair styling techniques) that enriches the lives of the Spaniards but that, ultimately, is later appropriated away from its source. For example, Caye claims to have more clients since Zulema braided her hair. Zulema lends Caye her t-shirt for a date, symbolically increasing Caye's sex appeal with a "Sexy Girl 69" typography. Zulema takes Caye to the Latin American market, where Caye is ecstatic to find her underwear style. The exchanges construct their *cultural* and *social capital* in very different terms. Zulema's *cultural capital* is *embodied* (hair, skin colour, manners, language, fashion), whereas Caye's relates to her *social capital* (the networks in the hair salon and at home) and her knowledge of the field (i.e. Spain). By presenting Zulema in this manner, the film echoes previous representations of Caribbean women in Spanish film as "reassuringly (because familiar) exotic, sexually desirable characters" (Santaolalla, 2010, p.157). For Carty (2009, p.131), the braids symbolise exchange when, towards the end, Zulema teaches the salon owner how to plait. However, this reading implies cultural hybridity devoid of power hierarchies. The salon owner might have abandoned the "principles" that she claimed would prevent her from braiding hair; however, her interest in the hairstyle is purely financial and, as the display sign indicates, she has

started advertising them for 60€. Instead of paying Zulema for her braiding skills, the owner learns the technique and, therefore, can dispose of Zulema's waged labour.

In this context, the braids function as cultural appropriation and echo Alonso Quijano's *coloniality of power* (1997, 1999, 2000), as a condition of colonial dependence that persists beyond the independence of Latin American countries in the form of legacies in the social structures, trading agreements, political alliances, financial dependencies, and dynamics of power between postcolonial countries and their colonisers. Zulema leaves Spain after the Spaniards obtain what they have found of value, that is, the t-shirt, which is gifted to Caye, and the braiding skills, which are passed to the hairdresser. Thus, the film resolves the anxieties over job competition, as Zulema increases the services offered at the salon and the appeal of the Spanish sex workers. However, in doing so, it offers a reading in which the immigrant is only accepted in the *imagined community* through the value they can offer.

Notions of inclusion are also echoed through the progressive incorporation of Zulema in spaces of community and identity, that is, Augé's (1995) *anthropological places.* The film introduces immigrant sex workers from afar, under the Spanish sex workers' gaze from the local hair salon (Peluquería Gloria). In this scene, Caye and the other women talk about the Caribbean women in the square outside. The salon functions as an *anthropological place*, a place where relationships are made, where the Spanish sex workers meet daily to offer their services, chat, and read the magazines. While town squares are also *anthropological place*s, the function of this particular square has changed. The playground is empty and the women meeting on the bench are questioned by the police, indicating some disruption to the square's use as a place of everyday social encounters (Figure 22). As the Spanish women gaze through the window (Figure 23), they use racial slurs and make uninformed comments about Caribbean culture, also aligning with the *neo-racism* that Balibar (2007, p.84) defines as

> a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions

Figure 22. Princesses (2005). POV shot from the beauty salon. [00:10:21]

Figure 23. Princesses (2005). Spanish sex workers' gaze. [00:12:49]

For Balibar (2007), immigration has reshaped racism; racial prejudice is still present but disguised under different signifiers of cultural difference. The Caribbean sex workers outside are animalised, infantilised, and hypersexualised with comments such as "since they arrived, this is the jungle"; "they do not know what documents are"; "they smell

different for a special hormone that they have"; or "they do not wash, for culture, religion or whatever". As noted by Carty (2009, p.130), the Spanish sex workers' prejudice is validated by the media and political discourses and, to justify their statements, the women refer to BBC programming or the speech of the Minister of Economy. As the narrative progresses, Caye introduces Zulema in the salon, first as a topic of conversation, then to teach the owner how to make braids. However, the sequence where Zulema finally inhabits the *anthropological place* of the Spanish women precedes the discovery of her illness and her subsequent departure from Spain, preventing any further integration.

Her disappearance from the Spanish space is made even more poignant after being symbolically invited to the *anthropological places* of the Spanish home and local school. Nevertheless, Zulema is merely a visitor, never fully integrated into these spaces. While Caye is often portrayed visiting her mother's apartment for a family meal or at her own apartment doing routine tasks, Zulema is anchored to *non-places* or is her use of the *anthropological place* is restricted, marking barriers to integration. For example, the apartment where she lives is a "hot bed flat", where different people use the same bed on a rota system and where her belongings are piled on the floor. The impossibility of creating a home of this space is further conveyed by Zulema's having to leave the apartment in the evening and not returning until the morning, as to not coincide with the family with whom she shares the apartment, because they do not want their child to see her due to her appearance and profession. In the context of the film, solidarity and support appear between Spaniards or between the Spaniards and the immigrant, but not between immigrants. While Caye often goes to her mother's home for dinner, Zulema eats rice from a plastic container, sitting alone in an industrial estate on the town's outskirts. While Caye waits for customers' calls in the comfort of her house, Zulema street walks. At the end of the film, resolutions come from returning to their families, whether literally (for Zulema) or symbolically (for Caye). For van Liew (2012, p.456), both characters "go home", although Zulema's departure reasserts the invisibility of the immigrant, since she is no longer in the Spanish space.

Access to places of consumption and pleasure in the film, that is, places representative of *liquid modernity*, only allow for limited inclusion, mostly underscoring the marginality and precarity of the sex workers and Zulema in particular. Until Zulema is invited in, the

hair salon is exclusive to the Spanish sex workers, which allows the women to use the beauty services and avoid the scrutiny of the police patrolling the square. Beyond the local cafés they each frequent, where Zulema and Caye connect with the neighbourhood, the other restaurants and cafés are used as meeting places with clients, which detracts from their function as places of pleasure and consumption and often includes barriers for Zulema and Caye to use them as consumers. When Zulema meets with the civil servant in a café, she requests tap water and does not consume anything. After an assault in a hotel room, Zulema is thrown into the street by the hotel staff. Similarly, while Caye and Zulema leisurely shop in the street market, they are thrown out of a high-street clothes shop because of their appearance. Their use of the places of consumption is either not linked to the act of consumption (e.g. they are there to meet a client), or their enjoyment of the place is truncated. However, there are two instances where they are able to access these spaces. First, when Caye attends a football match with her new boyfriend, and second, when Caye and Zulema go dancing. In both cases, the success depends on the protagonists consciously hiding their status as sex workers, linking their profession to their marginalisation. Zulema's marginality is further increased by her position as an undocumented immigrant *other* and the much smaller fees she charges for her sexual services. While Caye has enough money to get her own apartment, announces her services in the newspaper, pays her bills, and saves for cosmetic surgery; Zulema has to share her bedroom and cannot afford to buy a toy for her son without carefully saving.

The film does not provide any other network of support or friendship for Zulema, whereas Caye is often surrounded by the women in the hairdresser or by family members. The isolation of the immigrant and the comradery of the Spaniards construct notions of community that initially exclude the immigrant *other. I*ntegration is presented as driven by Spanish resolve, since Zulema is the only immigrant sex worker who has any contact with the Spanish ones. In doing so, the film configures the *imagined community* around the Spaniards, suggesting individual responsibility for the integration of the *other.* While the inclusion in the *imagined community* is negotiated and prejudice is resolved, the film only offers *conviviality* as the means for a peaceful coexistence towards the end, after Zulema has been invited to the hair salon.

Nevertheless, this is a possibility that is curtailed by Zulema's disease and her decision to leave.

Princesses aims to prompt a series of sympathetic responses to the characters' suffering, marginalisation, and prejudice. However, in the case of Zulema, her precarity rests not just on her identity and profession as a sex worker, but also as an immigrant in an irregular situation. For Corbalán (2014b, p.558), the friendship shows the characters that "the differences that separate them are less important than the similarities that unite them". The film aligns with many Spanish immigration films in which the contact with the *other* triggers the transformation of the Spaniard. Additionally, the film configures an *imagined community* of the nation that excludes the marginalised. While the film alludes to the gaps in the system that allow for violence to emerge, this violence is anchored in the individual and their moral corruption. Zulema's status as an undocumented immigrant is central to the narrative because it increases her vulnerability and financial precarity beyond that of the other sex workers. The use of place in the film configures further notions of precarity through the differences in the *anthropological places* of the home and also the places that the women usually occupy, creating places of inclusion and exclusion in the *imagined community*. The film emphasizes affinity through *cultural capital,* but it does so through a Eurocentrism that assigns selective value and, in the end, appropriates it. The opportunities to be incorporated into the *imagined community* only arise when hiding their status as sex workers. Otherwise, both Zulema and Caye are constrained to the marginalised and invisible community of the sex workers, in which the Spaniards enjoy a safety that Zulema cannot access on her own.

The transformation of the Spaniard through contact is also a crucial element in the next film for analysis, *Return to Hansala* (2008). Here though, most of this interaction takes place outside of Spain, making the contact not just between individuals but between communities.

Retorno a Hansala/Return to Hansala (Chus Gutiérrez, 2008)

Connecting communities through encounters

Return to Hansala (2008) was shot during the first two months of 2008; thus, the film precedes the announcement of the major financial crisis. Nevertheless, the economy's decline already transpires in the narrative. The narrative approaches the road movie genre with a journey from Spain to Hansala (and back) during which a friendship develops between Leila (Farah Hamed), a Moroccan immigrant who works in the fish market, and Martín (José Luis García Pérez), a funeral-home owner.

The film starts at night with a scene of drowning emphasized by gasps for air and splashes of water. In the morning, Martín attends to the dead bodies washed up on the beach and removes a note with a phone number from one of them, who belongs to Leila, the young man's sister. Inundated by debt and at risk of losing his business, Martín requests €3,000 for repatriation costs and offers to accompany Leila back to her town, so he can find other families who might identify the deceased's clothes and, at the same time, avoid the debt collectors. The two protagonists represent Spain and Morocco, where their friendship "is a metaphor of both cultures, the Muslim and the Western one, which at first mistrust [one another], but upon getting to know each other better, they manage to reach a good relationship"[24]. With the protagonists metaphorically embodying Morocco and Spain, the film criticises the immigrant's criminalisation, the increased risks derived from the border's securitisation, and the neoliberal practices that assign capital value to human lives. Throughout the journey and their stay, Martín is prompted to revaluate his misjudgement of the culture and peoples of Hansala, transforming in the process. The film ends with the potential of business collaboration between Leila and Martín, and an indirect suggestion that it could develop into something more. The film is novel in having as co-protagonist the character of a Moroccan woman, also a characteristic of *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* (2008), discussed in the next case study and released the same year. For Ketz (2016), the presence of Moroccan women as main characters in Spanish culture corresponds to an increase in visibility, incited by a desire to challenge the Islamophobia and renewed maurofobia that emerged after the 2004 bombings.

[24] https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20090324/chus-gutierrez-lleva-cine-drama-pateras-retorno-hansala/252987.shtml

The scholarship on this film focuses on three main aspects: Martín's transformation along the journey, the dissolution of the border between Africa and Spain, and the cinematic construction of Hansala as a pre-modern community. Martín's transformation emerges through contact with the *other*, inciting Spanish audiences also transform through identification with Martín. Much of the scholarship that addresses the Africa-Spain border in this film (Serra, 2016; Corbalán, 2017) interpret it as a fluid entity linking Spain and Morocco to the historical past, while Pérez (2015) interprets the sea as a barrier of life and death, and Noble (2018) asserts that the sea and the beach grant in this film visibility to the migrant. On modernity, the scholarship is more divided. For Pérez (2015), the film constructs a binary between modern Spain and pre-modern Hansala, whereas for Corbalán (2017) and Rabanal (2014), this portrayal is critically deconstructed throughout. My analysis supports the construction of the border as diffused, and the perception of a pre-modern Hansala as one that does not create a hierarchy with the liquid modernity of Spain, but one that can compensate for the deficiencies of the *society of consumers* by encouraging collective enjoyment over individual pleasure. Thus, my reading does not correlate this pre-modernity with a hierarchy of superiority, as Pérez (2015) posits, but with an answer to the issues deriving from globalisation and neoliberalism, where multiculturalism and even a hybrid identity can relieve the strains experienced by the *flawed consumer* by encouraging community support. Hybridity has been explored in the work of Rabanal (2014) and Corbalán (2017), though both do so in relation to the historical past and the links between Spain and Morocco. However, my reading suggests that the bonds are expressed less in historical terms than contemporary, particularly concerning globalisation and the allure of the *society of consumers*. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the recent historical past has influenced the film in its aims to create notions of *conviviality* while underscoring the dangers of the border. The film comes after a series of socio-political events that increased anxieties around Moroccan immigration, such as the 2002 conflict of Perejil Island, the 2004 attacks in Madrid, and long-standing territorial claims. In this context, *Return to Hansala* opens the door to dialogue, to *conviviality* (Gilroy, 2004, 2006) and to an understanding of the complex realities of the neighbouring country.

Return to Hansala stresses the dangers of border crossing but does not emphasize the vulnerability of undocumented status. Leila arrived originally in *patera*, but she now has permanent status, a regular job at the fish market, a support network, and enough money to send remittances to Hansala. While Martín initially assumes a position of superiority towards Leila and Morocco, the journey transforms him. His initial racism is anchored in ignorance and a devaluation of the *other*. For example, he compares his job to Leila's job packing fish, stating that they both do the same for a living, which offends Leila. During the paperwork checks of the bodies at the border, he frustratedly repeats that their van "comes from Spain", assuming those are enough credentials. After their car is stolen on the road, Martín exclaims "this is a country of thieves", which Leila rebuffs firmly, telling him that he is the thief because he trades with dead people. Furthermore, his ignorance of local customs means that he misses mealtimes during Ramadan, and he infuriates border officers by smoking in their office. Yet, after the robbery, Martín and Leila bond over the ordeal. Dispossessed of all his material belongings while also battling his guilt about profiting from the dead, Martín is symbolically reborn after a night in the desert. The following day, having found the car abandoned in the valley, they restart the journey. Martin now shows himself to be curious about the world around him, he wants to learn some pronunciations, and shares jokes with Leila. As they reach Hansala, they lose mobile-phone signal and the actual communication between their cultures starts.

The inclusion of the *other* into the imagined community is portrayed in these films through an affinity of *cultural capital*. While the film provides the audiences with an intimate narrative and depictions of Morocco as a device to provoke sympathy, the film also attempts to prompt identification through affinity. The two characters who are incorporated into the *imagined community* of Spain are Leila and her young brother Saïd (Adam Bounnouacha), with whom Martín develops a close friendship, inviting the audience to sympathise with their circumstances through figurative contact. With Leila, identification is constructed through notions of Europeanness, whereas with Saïd, connection with the audience is made through a shared passion for football and, in particular, the Real Madrid, the capital's leading football team.

Leila's characterisation is grounded in hybridity, where both worlds can be integrated into a third convivial space. Yet, this hybridity is constructed visually as a negotiation of

her cultural customs, and in ways that do not conflict with notions of European superiority. She speaks Spanish fluently, and writes it with beautiful calligraphy; she speaks French at the customs border, and teaches Martín Arabic pronunciation. In Hansala, she covers her hair and follows local customs, while in Spain, she wears her hair loose and uncovered. In Spain, she was ready to have breakfast just as she was called with news of Rashid's death, daylight coming through the window. As soon as she crosses the border, she observes Ramadan, and eats only during the night. While it is unclear whether Ramadan started during their border crossing or whether it had already started when the film opened, the fact that this is not made explicit leaves room for interpretation. This negotiation of tradition by Leila does not mean she does not observe tradition when in Spain, as she calls the local Iman to prepare Rashid's body and respects the customs of the ceremony. Leila's decision to follow certain customs but not others suggests agency and undermines representations of Moroccan women as subjugated, which Flesler (2008, p.152) describes as portrayals that characterise them as "dependent, submissive, uneducated and veiled". However, I suggest that this negotiation of tradition is delineated under notions of Europeanness. In particular, the veil has been the subject of heated debate in Spain and France, where notions of "freedom" are conflated with un-veiling. The veil has become the symbolic obstacle to ideas of *freedom* and *equality* that signify liberal European values. However, at its heart, this is an interpretation of *freedom* that does not allow for freedom of choice, but that asks for its removal. Coury and Ortiz Ceberio (2016, p.218) note that Spain's Europeanisation project "has developed a national discourse that highlights affinities with other European countries more than with other communities with whom Spain also has a shared history, such as Morocco". Ponzanesi (2011, pp.79-80) connects this un-veiling with colonial attitudes that saw women as a site of conflict between tradition and modernisation, one where the un-veiling was a sign of leading "backward colonies into modernity". In negotiating her wearing of the veil, Leila represents Europeanness when in Europe, showing affinity with its values. In this sense, cinematic portrayals of Leila, are novel and challenge stereotypes, but they nevertheless uphold tropes of Europeanness as the superior culture.

With Saïd, the passion for football functions as an activity of shared enjoyment and a learning tool, as he has learnt Spanish with the radio. Saïd and Martín bond over their

shared hobby, listening to the radio, playing football, and chatting about the Real Madrid. Saïd's ability to speak Spanish and his passion for the capital's team allows Martín to make immediate connections. As with Leila, it is Saïd's engagement with Spain's *cultural capital* that allows friendship with Martín to emerge. When one morning Saïd disappears, both Leila and Martín fear he is attempting to cross in *patera*. Receiving a call from Spain notifying him of new drownings, Martín rushes back to identify the bodies. Although Saïd is not among the drowned youngsters, another deceased youngster is wearing another team's football top, reminding the audiences of the game of chance that *patera* crossing is, and underscoring the almost interchangeability of Saïd and this other young man.

In regard to space, the film constructs a liminal space between Africa and Spain. It is in this third space where the film suggests that the encounter can incite a convivial *imagined community* that embraces the Moroccan *other.* This liminal space is represented symbolically as the sea. Both a border and a point of crossing, the presence of the sea echoes through the narrative and both opens and closes the film. *Return to Hansala* starts with a POV shot of an unknown man gasping for air and being pulled under the water. The scene is fragmented by the credits, which appear intermittently against a black background, cutting the audiovisuals briefly before returning to the drowning. In Pérez's words (2015, p.221), the sun's reflection towards the Spanish shore represents the "El Dorado that he will never reach". The shot descents slowly to the seabed and the diegetic sounds are replaced by instrumental music. The film starts with the sea as a place of division between the here and there, between life and death. However, as with Martín, it is transformed into a place of affinity and connection through the film.

The sea is evoked in a scene in a nearby valley to Hansala. Between towns, Martín, Leila and Saïd stop at a nearby valley that used to be submerged under the sea. Saïd claims that they can find seashells on its surface, expressing notions of change. What is now under the sea, might one day be a mountain. Nevertheless, it also echoes connections between Africa and Spain, as the liquid border only hides the seabed, which, like the valley, connects both lands. This proximity and connection are echoed once again in the closing scene of the film. After Martín collects Leila from the ferry, they stop at the "Mirador del Estrecho", a viewing point in Tarifa that overlooks the Strait of Gibraltar

(Figure 24). The proximity of Spain and Africa is emphasised by the lines of the mountains, which almost mirror each other, and are separated only by a narrow sea, made almost imperceptible by the brightness of the sun on the surface and the grey colours of the sky. Looking across the water, Leila's last words in the film, "Africa is in sight",[25] direct the audience to the horizon.

Figure 24. Return to Hansala (2008). "Se ve África". [01:31:14]

Although Leila is already settled in Spain, the film positions her as the *other* in Martin's eyes. Yet, in Hansala, it is Martín who becomes the *other.* By not providing subtitles and at times not explaining customs through exposition, the film encourages the audience to experience Martín's initial unfamiliarity with local tradition. As Martín gains understanding and undergoes transformation, the audiences are encouraged to transform themselves and challenge their individual and collective prejudices towards Moroccan immigrants.

While Spain is constructed as a space of modernity in the eyes of the habitants of Hansala, the country is depicted as full of contradictions derived from consumption. However, the *society of consumers* is not criticised, only its impact. Gutiérrez points at

[25] "Se ve África". The sentence is a passive reflexive with no grammatical subject. This construction reinforces not the act of seeing by any particular person, but the presence of what can be seen.

Europe's *pull factor* and its responsibility for Africa's situation (2009b, par.8)[26], which imbues Spain with *symbolic capital* as part of the European stronghold and invites audiences to reflect on the possibilities of minimising Africa's precarity. Yet, as part of the *liquid modernity*, Spain is shaped by individualism and consumption, which the film suggests leads to loneliness. Africa is, however, portrayed as a space of community support and meaningful bonds. Without the distractions that the phone brings, Martín immerses himself in the community, learning new words, their ways of greeting one another, and joining in the gatherings. These scenes contrast with Martín's opening appearances in Spain, where he eats alone and refuses a colleague's offer to join him. Furthermore, representations of food consumption in the scenes in Spain are attached to notions of satisfying individual and brief pleasures, never a collective activity. For example, Martín is introduced waking up in his office next to an opened packet of biscuits and left-over crisps. His first on-screen interaction with his daughter is when she requests money for food, though since Martín has left the family home, this food is not shared with him. In Hansala, however, Martín joins the community at mealtimes, helps with collective chores, and even refuses payment after seeing the community's effort to collect it. When Martín meets the smuggler who arranged passage for Leila's deceased brother, he is shocked to learn that he is requesting the €3,000 fee agreed with Leila's dead brother. That the fee is equal to what Martín agreed for repatriating him is a coincidence that is not lost, emphasising the transactions of life and death on the Strait's waters. In the last scene, Martín tells Leila that he might have figured out a way to repatriate the bodies at a much more affordable price, signalling that Martín has evolved away from a position where profit was the main driver of the transaction. Instead, the impoverished circumstances of the Moroccan communities motivate him to find alternative means of keeping his business afloat while also easing the financial strain of the families, acquiring a work ethic that also resolves his guilt. As Rabanal (2014, p.142) suggests, the film alludes to "Spain's responsibility in the humanitarian catastrophe of the pateras".

Culturally different approaches to consumption find expression through a motif of clothes. Clothing assumes significance in various ways in the film, the two more representatives being the clothes of the deceased and the clothes that Martín wears in

26 https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20090324/chus-gutierrez-lleva-cine-drama-pateras-retorno-hansala/252987.shtml

Hansala. The clothes of those who perished in the tragedy are taken to Hansala to find relatives in the neighbouring villages. In contrast, Leila handles them with care as she displays them in nearby markets, speaking of how these clothing items are often the only possessions of those crossing the border, and so are easily identifiable by the families left behind. Hung to dry in the field before the trip, the line of clothes drying in the dark, hanging on the line, is a reminder of the absent and the dangers of border crossing (Figure 25). Martín is initially indifferent to the meanings imbued within the clothes, the last vestiges for the families of their departed loved ones, by handling them without care.

Figure 25. Return to Hansala (2008). The clothes of the deceased. [00:26:30]

The clothes of the deceased take on a symbolic presence, as does Martín's choice of clothing as he becomes integrated into the Hansala community. Before leaving Spain, Martín goes home to pack some items and his wife hands him a sweater for the cold Moroccan nights. When Martín leaves the room, the sweater remains on the bed. On arrival in Hansala, Leila also hands him a sweater, which he immediately accepts. From here on, Martín is seen layering items of clothing likely gifted to him by the community. His refusal of the sweater given to him by his wife back in Spain foresees their permanent disagreement and separation, motivated by his wife's long-term affair.

Accepting clothing from the people of Hansala is a metaphorical allusion to Martin's acceptance of the warmth of the community.

With Spain and Africa embodied in Martín and Leila, the undefined collaboration proposed at the end of the film can minimise the precarity on both sides of the Strait. Leila's knowledge of the area and her language skills are valuable for Martín, whereas he can navigate the bureaucracy to find alternative and cheaper repatriation methods, with a lessened impact on the communities. This offers a resolution to the tensions between the *society of consumers* and the *society of producers*, linking to the responsibility of Europe towards Africa espoused by the director. Without being able to change the realities of Spain or Hansala, the solution to improving people's lives comes through negotiating ways of improving the lives in the community. This notion is at the core of *conviviality*, defined by Gilroy (2004, p.xi) as a "process of cohabitation and interaction" where conflict and difference are overcome through "creative and intuitive capacity among ordinary people, who manage those tensions" (Gilroy, 2006, p.6).

Return to Hansala employs elements of cultural contact and friendship to humanise the *other*, bringing to the audience the realities of some towns and communities in Morocco. In doing so, the film advocates for *conviviality*, where an understanding of the *other* and their circumstances bring negotiations at the individual level that improve the community. With the final scene bringing together the spaces of Spain and Africa in the same shot, the film constructs notions of community that are not territorial and integrate these two spaces as an extended neighbourhood, a reshaped *imagined community* linked by the past. For Ana Corbalán (2017, p.111), the film describes a liminal space in which Africa and Europe's cultures are articulated. In this liminal space, a convivial community can be configured through notions of hybridity, lessening the isolation of the *society of consumers* through community contact and support, and lessening the constraints of the *society of producers* by finding ways to decrease the financial impact of repatriation. While the film does not address the reasons for this precarity, it advocates for intercultural exchanges and *conviviality* as a solution to minimise its impact.

A Boyfriend for Yasmina (2008) was released in the same year as *Return to Hansala* and also features a Moroccan woman as the main character. This film, however, is exclusively set in Spain and engages with the idea of *conviviality* from the outset. The

approaches to conviviality in these two films are different, although both put the Moroccan woman at the centre of the narrative.

Un novio para Yasmina/A Boyfriend for Yasmina (Irene Cardona, 2008)

Manipulating the system to achieve conviviality

A Boyfriend for Yasmina is a light comedy that the press kit summarises as a "summer fable about convenience marriages, social commitment and life as a couple". The plots are diverse and go in different directions, intersecting with Yasmina (Sanaa Alaoui) at some point. Yasmina is in a long-term relationship with Javi (José Antonio Lucía), a policeman in the community. When she informs her brother Abdel (Hicham Malayo) of her intentions to marry the Spaniard, he evicts her from their home. As it happens, Yasmina ends their relationship soon after, after Javi's family act suspicious about her motivations for marrying him. Temporarily homeless, in the community centre where Yasmina attends Spanish lessons, Lola (María Luisa Borruel) offers her accommodation. Driven by Yasmina's desperation to obtain citizenship, Lola decides to find someone willing to agree to an arranged marriage. Her choice, a local grocer (Fermín Núñez), misinterprets the intentions and the date turns awkward. Lola's husband, Jorge (Francisco Olmo), convinces his unemployed and penniless friend, Alfredo (José Luis García Pérez), to become Yasmina's husband in exchange for money. However, Yasmina dislikes Alfredo's values and refuses his overtures, reminding him that the marriage is solely a business transaction. Months later, Yasmina is a Spanish citizen, has a job as an intercultural liaison at the now transformed centre under the local government, and Alfredo works as a janitor in a school. The final scene is an encounter between Alfredo and Yasmina, where the passing of time and a different outlook on life suggests that they are now in a better place to get to know each other and, after all, the planned divorce might not be necessary.

The film avoids constructing binaries, challenging stereotypes of the media and making difference a lifestyle choice. *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* alludes to the challenges of immigration policies regarding citizenship with the lighter tone of the rom-com genre, avoiding all criticism of the structures of power. Instead, the policies are accepted as an

inconvenience, and the community converge to find a way to circumvent the policies. The Spain portrayed in the film is a multicultural and convivial space where when conflict arises, it is mostly due to miscommunication and misunderstandings, which are often either resolved within the community or lead to a figurative expulsion of the individual from this community.

The locations in the film are inscribed in *anthropological spaces* that echo conviviality. Yasmina navigates these places in a journey towards obtaining citizenship and becoming part of the cultural fabric of Spain. The narrative makes obtaining citizenship a necessary step for successful integration into the community. The long wait for regularisation for Moroccan immigrants (ten years) is seen as an obstacle, a hurdle for the community to resolve. While the premise builds around arranging a marriage for permanent rights, the film does not question the practice. Instead, all characters immediately understand the imperative of circumvention and never question the legality of the arranged marriage. As an easy solution to Yasmina's problem, the film immediately adopts a sympathetic position towards decriminalizing irregular status, attenuating the long wait through regular means, and underlining the importance of documentation to participate fully in society. Indeed, Yasmina expresses concerns not for deportation, but for the inability to access better jobs or further education.

Among the main characters and the community centre setting, *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* blurs differences based on culture or race and, instead, makes lifestyle the primary defining factor in creating either tensions or bonds between the characters. For example, in a restaurant, the characters laugh about the number of pork items on the menu, given Yasmina's halal diet and the grocer's vegetarianism. Despite the film poster, which shows Yasmina with a headscarf, Yasmina only wears one loosely for a few seconds in a brief scene of prayer in her bedroom. As with Leila in *Return to Hansala*, the film articulates notions of modernity and feminism that are intertwined with the unveiling of Muslim women. Yasmina is constructed as independent, nonconforming, educated, and un-veiled, a counterpoint to the stereotypes of Moroccan women noted by Flesler (2008, p.152) as "dependent, submissive, uneducated and veiled". When her brother Abdel evicts her for considering marriage to a non-Muslim, Yasmina does not change her decision and leaves the family house. Metaphorically, Yasmina abandons the traditions of her homeland, symbolised in the

family home, to integrate into the Spanish *imagined community.* Other characters in the film who display prejudice are represented as part of the much older generation or behaving within a traditional conservative framework, suggesting that these are out-of-date attitudes of the old Spain.

The film favours settings in *anthropological places*, creating notions of inclusion and community throughout the film. The community centre run by volunteers works as an intersecting space, an allegory of a (desirable) Spain and its *cultural capital*. In this context, the community centre functions as a third space (Bhabha, 1994) where identity is negotiated and transformed. A literal and symbolic place of enunciation, where language classes take place, where cultural products are stored, but also where traditions are enacted. This is where immigrant women attend to learn Spanish and where job adverts are posted on the corridors. This is where Yasmina finds accommodation and where Alfredo finds the contact for his job. It acts as a social hub, a classroom, a venue for wedding receptions, a clothes shop, an advice centre, and even a warehouse to store the local festivities' traditional costumes. As the shopkeeper puts it, in the community centre, 'everyone is a migrant', from the North African students, the Polish shopkeeper, to the Spanish worker who came from a different region. The centre unites all kinds of peoples and backgrounds, more clearly exemplified in Yasmina's wedding reception, attended by the centre's workers, some women from her Spanish class, and even the local councilwoman who performed the ceremony.

A Boyfriend for Yasmina projects notions of Spain anchored in successful *conviviality.* One of the main narrative conflicts in the film occurs between Yasmina and Alfredo. Yasmina quickly reproaches Alfredo for being lazy and self-interested, calling on the privilege that allows him to dismiss the opportunities that come his way. Yasmina informs him that she came to Spain to complete her degree and pursue a PhD "to be useful in society", to which Alfredo snickers, asserting the worthlessness of higher education. Yasmina rebukes this by saying that he disregards education because "everyone can pursue it" in Spain, painting Spain as a land of opportunity. Alfredo and Yasmina both fall into misjudgements and stereotypes during their initial encounters. Alfredo first orientalises her as exotic and dangerous, and Yasmina reduces Alfredo to the figure of the "NiNi", the Spanish version of "NEET" (not in education, employment, or training). Nevertheless, as the film closes, they find commonalities between them,

learn to resolve conflict, and hope for a promising shared future. Towards the end of the film, Yasmina bumps into Alfredo in a school. Because Alfredo criticised the educational system and was long-term unemployed, Yasmina is surprised to find him working as a janitor. Showing a proactive and helpful attitude, Alfredo invites the youngster to join his skills workshops, later stressing to Yasmina the importance of providing vocational skills in education. This transformation moves Yasmina, who apologises for her past attitude and suggests a collaborative project. As in *Return to Hansala*, *conviviality* in these films is driven by living and working together, where the collaboration and cooperation between the immigrant and the Spaniard can help build a better society. In *Return to Hansala*, by helping the Moroccan families recover their loved ones; in *Yasmina*, by offering marginalised youngsters an opportunity to acquire valuable skills. As they both warm to each other, Yasmina suggests that maybe they can ignore the divorce. In closing in this manner, Yasmina is thus twice integrated into Spanish society. First, through citizenship, and second, and into the more intimate fabric of Spanish society, represented in the heteronormative couple. Indeed, conviviality in the film is expressed by negotiating conflict in the community and its resolution. Yasmina rejects Alfredo initially because she considers him lazy and privileged. Alfredo initially dismisses her as disagreeable and cantankerous. Their reunion at the end makes the characters realise that they might have labelled each other too quickly. The ending makes this encounter successful by the honesty of the characters, who sit down to listen to each other for the first time. Recalling Gilroy (2004, 2006) on what makes a convivial space, the initial differences between Yasmina and Alfredo are not a threat to this convivial space because they are rooted in lifestyle.

In contrast, the tensions between Yasmina and Javi are obstructive to *conviviality* for their racial prejudice. Yasmina's dismissal of Javi when he attempts to approach her in the community centre reflects his expulsion from this convivial space. In the context of the film, effective communication is the device that leads to successful encounters and facilitates peaceful coexistence. The film focuses on the consequences of making wrong assumptions and so invites the audiences to challenge their own. For example, Javi's family wrongly assume that Yasmina only wants to marry him for the papers; the grocer thinks that Lola is flirting with him when she invites him for dinner; Alfredo and Jorge are mistaken for the wedding couple at the ceremony, and the viewer is also led to

making wrong assumptions on several occasions. For instance, in one scene, Javi looks for Yasmina at her brother's house, creating tensions with a couple of young men. When Javi tires of waiting and leaves, his police helmet has disappeared from the motorbike, and he accuses the men standing nearby. Earlier scenes had shown young children playing with the helmet, and the scene where Javi returns to the bike shows the young men smiling in the background. As the argument breaks out in the neighbourhood, the camera alternates between Javi, the children and the men, leading the audience to assume one of them is the guilty party. With other community members joining the argument, it turns into a verbal battle of "us versus them" led by some elderly Spanish women and the young Moroccan men. Yasmina and a volunteer stop the argument, which has turned into a heated discussion full of prejudice and assumptions. The volunteer is hit with a broom, and after a brief cut to black the camera fixates on a figure in the background, invisible to all the characters, who is using the helmet as a fruit basket (Figure 26). In doing so, the scene underscores the assumptions made under prejudice, not just of the characters, but of the audience.

Figure 26. A Boyfriend for Yasmina (2008). The missing helmet [01:12:34]

The manipulation of expectations to challenge the audiences' assumptions is once again employed shortly afterwards, when Yasmina carries luggage down the street alongside

her brother and towards the bus stop. In earlier scenes, the brother had evicted Yasmina and accused her of Europeanisation, while a scene in the community centre notes Yasmina's absence from an important meeting, leading the audience to make assumptions about her departure. Cutting to Yasmina and her brother, she leads the way to the bus stop with a sombre expression. As they hug, the bus arrives and obscures the view, still allowing the audiences to see a slim figure boarding the bus. However, as the bus departs, it is Yasmina who is left standing at the bus stop. In doing so, her brother is figuratively expelled from Spain through a voluntary return. In leading the audience through these assumptions and shortly afterwards revealing them as wrong, the film emphasizes how easy it is to form misleading ideas, inviting the audience to confront their own prejudices and assumptions. As misunderstandings are resolved, it is communication that makes possible the successful encounter. It is precisely this communication and the ability to "live together" that is at the heart of *conviviality*. Differences are emphasized as individual, instead of between groups, and even though there is an allusion to institutional obstacles to integration, these are re-negotiated in the community.

A flexible interpretation of the law and its bending for the benefit of the community is also a theme included in *Amador* (León de Aranoa, 2010), a film released during the crisis. However, if in *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* this negotiation aims to integrate the *other*, in *Amador* it targets the financial precarity of the Spanish society.

Amador (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2010)

Attitudes to consumption and financial survival as convivial bond

Amador (2010) is León de Aranoa's fifth long-feature fiction film. After his success with *Barrio/Neighbourhood* (1998), *Los lunes al sol/Mondays in the Sun* (2002), and *Princesas/Princesses* (2005), *Amador* was expected to enjoy a similarly warm reception. However, the film received mixed reviews and was not very popular with audiences. *Amador* tells the story of Marcela (Magaly Solier), a pregnant Peruvian woman with financial pressures who accepts a temporary job as a carer for Amador (Celso Bugallo), an elderly Spanish man confined to his bed. Two weeks into the new job, Amador dies

peacefully in his sleep. Frightened, Marcela runs home and finds that her long-term boyfriend, Nelson, has already used her salary advance for the first instalment towards a new fridge, which he needs for his illicit flower business. As she has not yet revealed her pregnancy to Nelson and is concerned about the debt, Marcela decides to pretend that Amador is still alive, so she can complete the assignment and get paid for the entire month. From here onwards, Marcela uses flowers, fans, and fragrance sprays to mask the smell of decomposition. Amador's daughter, Yolanda (Sonia Almarcha), appears towards the end of the film and asks her to continue to pretend for a bit longer, as Yolanda is receiving the pension payments that are contributing to the extension of their sea-side house. Once her assignment is complete, in the final scenes, Marcela confirms that she is leaving Nelson and has chosen a name for the baby, hinting that it might be "Amador".

Given the popularity of the director and his position as an established filmmaker of Spanish hegemonic cinema, the film has attracted considerable attention from film scholars. Monette (2018) notes that this film contributes to the feminisation of immigration in contemporary Spanish cinema, supporting wider scholarship in this area by Ballesteros (2005), Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2010), Carty (2009, 2010), Flesler and Shepherd (2013), or Gil Araújo and González-Fernández (2014). In this approach, the domesticity of immigrant women in Spanish film is underscored as a trend that also establishes the dynamics of power between the Spaniard and the immigrant (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2010; Murray, 2018; Reuben Muñoz, 2019). Yet, here, the Spaniard and the immigrant are financially dependent on each other: Yolanda cannot complete the renovation without her father's pension, and Marcela cannot pay for the fridge without her wages. Although Yolanda retains the balance of power between the two women by deciding how much Marcela receives and her attendant tasks, the film makes this a co-dependant relationship where the women's financial situation depends on Marcela's decision to continue the lie.

Some of the literature addresses the way in which the film finds points of commonality in the marginality of the characters (Noble, 2018; Calatayud, 2013). In doing so, the film gives visibility to marginalised groups in Spain (Noble, 2018; Black, 2017; Monette, 2018). This is also an approach employed by Aranoa in *Princesses*, the first film analysed in this chapter. Ballesteros (2006) and Noble (2018) point out that this trend is also

present in earlier representations of migrants in Spanish immigration cinema. I continue this perspective also to suggest that the fundamental difference between these previous films and the films emerging within the events of the financial crisis is that these intersections were made initially within marginal groups. In making Yolanda, Amador's daughter, a character also impacted by financial vulnerability, precarity becomes a circumstance affecting not only groups or individuals at the margins, but within all the *imagined community* of Spain.

Marcela and Nelson are not represented in relation to their immigrant status; the film does not directly indicate whether they are undocumented or have obtained citizenship. Nevertheless, the characters have been in Spain for three years. Since Latin American immigrants can apply for citizenship after two years in Spain, the possibility that they are undocumented is not at the forefront. Furthermore, Marcela's concern over her continued deception that Amador is alive is always connected to the loss of her wages, and not to any concerns over bureaucratic involvement.

In contrast to the films with Moroccan immigrants where their customs and culture are referenced to convey either difference or similarity, in *Amador,* the origin and status of Marcela are never fully displayed through her actions. While Latin American characters of the Southern Cone, Mexico, or Cuba are often constructed with explicit references to their places of origin, even if stereotypical, immigrants from other countries of origin are generally more invisible and Andean characters are barely fleshed out. For Monette (2018), this blurring of differences between Latin American characters starts with Spanish immigration policies around naturalisation, which use a single category for "Latin American" immigrants and encompass countries without a Spanish colonial past, such as Brazil. However, Monette (2018, pp.29-30) also argues that this film is different, and that although Marcela's origin is referred to in dialogue vaguely as "my country" or "your land", the film itself expresses notions of Andean identity through the casting and performance of famous Peruvian stars. While contesting that these meanings are widely appreciated by the audiences, Marcela's origin can be inferred in a shot with Marcela's passport (Figure 27).

Figure 27. Amador (2010). Passport, pictures, letter. [00:09:32]

Monette (2018) claims that the film echoes Quechua identity through the performances. However, the characters always speak Spanish, when their Andean origins could suggest that they probably speak also either Quechua or Aymara. That all Peruvian immigrants in the film speak only Spanish, even when in private, suggests an erasure of culture and knowledge at the level of scriptwriting. While Magaly Solier might play Marcela with Andean sensibility, as Monette (2018) suggests, this reading does not come across to all audiences, unfamiliar with the cultural nuances that Monette (2018) lists. Indeed, her origin might not be discernible for some audiences, and even scholarly texts miss it. For example, Calatayud (2013) refers to Marcela as Mexican, Trujillo (2016) as Bolivian, Murray (2018) claims she is Ecuadorian, and Reuben Muñoz (2019, p.1162) affirms that she comes from an "unnamed country in South America". This confusion exposes two aspects. One, that the film does not approach her ethnicity through any element discernible as Peruvian. Two, that the widespread confusion about her nationality in scholarship, which is not anecdotal, suggests pervasive Eurocentrism that allows the erasure and blurring of her identity. In a film where the passport is clearly visible but where there are no other clear markers for audiences not familiar with her Peruvian and Andean identity, providing Marcela with a different nationality implies that certain assumptions had been made to be able to miscategorise her.

The film echoes some of the stereotypes surrounding immigration in the media, particularly concerning job competition and unskilled jobs, a feature also present in

Aranoa's previous film, *Princesses.* The radio to which Marcela listens while at work reports on increasing immigration; Amador's friend and sex worker, Puri (Fanny de Castro), claims that the increase in Latin American immigration has decreased her clientele. However, Puri also asserts that her own hourly rate is higher than Marcela's because her own job requires skills, while Marcela's does not. Responding also to the claim of immigrants stealing jobs, Amador affirms that it is good that immigrants take them because labour itself is unhealthy. Marcela reproaches him for this view in the same way that Yasmina reproaches Alfredo for his thoughts on higher education, that is, that it is his own privilege that makes him see it that way, and that for immigrants, a regular job is not always a possibility. *Amador* approaches themes around labour, immigration, and financial need while blurring (without completely erasing) the *us* vs *them binary*. Instead, and in similar ways to *A Boyfriend for Yasmina*, the film posits differences and similarities as not between groups but between individuals. If in this previous film the community exploit the system to allow Yasmina to acquire citizenship, in *Amador*, the characters of Marcela, Puri, and Yolanda are complicit in a fraudulent act to minimise their precarity. Although Nelson is also acting outside of legality, stealing flowers from the waste company to resell them in the underground economy, his actions are not presented as driven by need, but by individual choices related to lifestyle and consumption. In this sense, the notion of "illegality" is fluid and allows for the audience's sympathy towards the actions of the three women, which are justified by their financial precarity and the short period they intend to continue the farce. By making links between the financial problems of Marcela and Yolanda, one an immigrant living on the outskirts of the city, the other a middle-class woman building an extension, the film emphasises the equalising impact of the financial crisis in Spanish society.

The main places of the film underscore beliefs about financial precarity and marginality that connect the current living experiences of Amador and Marcela. Their domestic spaces are presented as out-of-date and in need of improvement, using both the *mise-en-scene* and the dialogue to convey this neglect. While Puri insists this to be a consequence of Yolanda's lack of care towards her father and her desire to build a home, Yolanda's version states that her income and savings were invested in the sea-side home, after her father had long dreamed of a sea view. While Cruzado Rodríguez (2015) also interprets Yolanda's motives as self-interest, the scholar makes this claim on

the basis of the calmness with which Yolanda asks Marcela to continue the farce. However, unbeknown to Marcela, Yolanda had already discovered the death and even visited a few times, as the candy wrappers that Marcela had been finding in the flat belonged to Yolanda's husband. Yolanda's reaction to her father's death is thus off-screen and two weeks earlier than this request. In this context, Yolanda's calm reminiscing of her father's love of the sea and her desire to complete the house "because he did not like things unfinished" speaks of their fond relationship. Thus, the film echoes the pursuit of pleasure and consumption in a *society of consumers* and the precarity that the financial crash brought to the *flawed consumer.* With Marcela finishing Amador's puzzle of the sea and Yolanda completing the extension, both women symbolically complete Amador's unfinished projects.

Connecting the places of the home, the bus becomes the means of transport between Marcela's and Amador's homes and also the place where Marcela ponders her life choices and further mobility. At the start of the film, Marcela writes a goodbye letter to Nelson and goes to the bus stop with her suitcase. While waiting, she faints and is taken to the hospital. Returning home, Marcela tears the letter into little pieces and keeps it in a box (Figure 27, above). The bus stop represents here the path that she does not take because of uncertainty. After discovering Amador's death, Marcela runs to the bus stop and sits down, visibly anxious, letting the first bus pass without stopping, undecided of her next move. When she finally arrives home, Nelson has purchased a new fridge with a store loan and has spent all her wages. Making the decision to continue to go to work, Marcela returns to Amador's apartment. The sky through the window is clear, and a sticker with a pregnant woman can be seen behind her head (Figure 28), visually reminding the audience of Marcela's worries over the pregnancy. In using the *non-place* of the bus, the scenes underscore the mobile status of her situation, that is, staying with Nelson or leaving.

Figure 28. Amador (2010). Pregnancy sign on the window [00:42:36]

The bus window is used on two other occasions, this time in front of Marcela and almost in line with her gaze, as if labelling the path in front of her. Occupying the same frame as Marcela, the words "salida de emergencia" (emergency exit) are clearly seen on the right side of the screen, each time accompanied by increasing clouds in the sky (Figure 29), which Amador joked were God's way to hide from embarrassment.

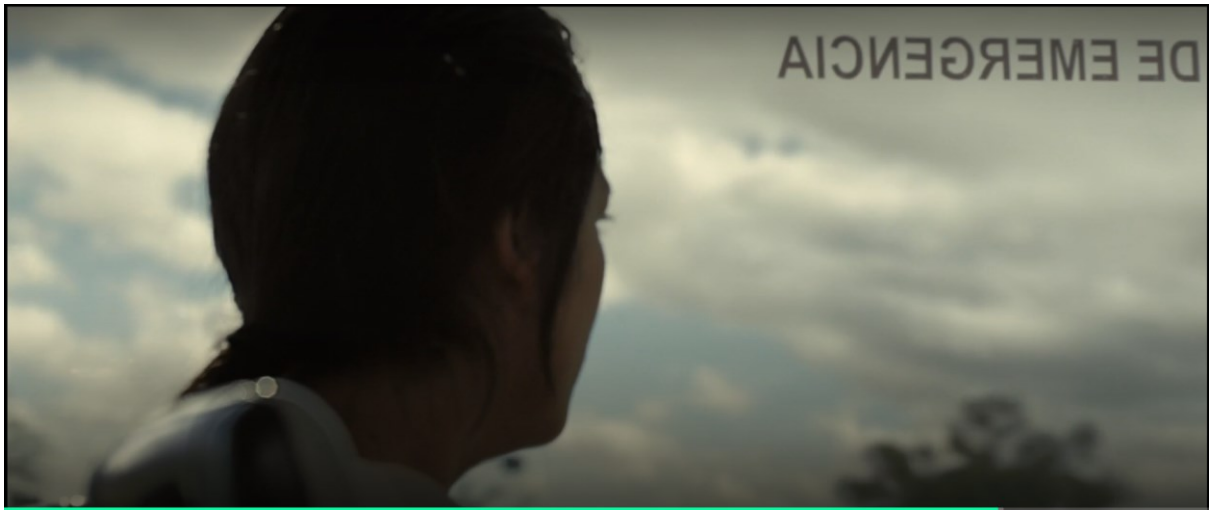

Figure 29. Amador (2010). Emergency exit. [01:31:36]

The shots alluding to an exit emphasize Marcela's tribulations around Nelson and the loneliness she experiences, accentuated by pensive and silent close-ups. On both occasions, these shots follow sequences that show increasing emotional distance from

Nelson. By acting on her life and taking steps towards her happiness, the clouds that had been accumulating in the sky finally disappear.

The film's closing scene happens in the open space of a park, sitting alongside Puri on a bench, clear skies above (Figure 30). This is the first green and open space in the film, exuding life and in marked contrast to the solitary wildflower that opens the film. The use of place reinforces Marcela's transformation from a lonely life to one in the community, from a mobile one without hopes of settlement with Nelson, to one where she can act on her desire to have a family; from the *non-place* of the bus to the *anthropological place* of the neighbourhood's park. As Puri asks the closing question of "Do you know his name yet?", Marcela smiles and nods, encouraging the audience to assume that the baby will have Amador's name, thus completing a circle of life already foreseen by Amador himself. Talking to Marcela's bump, he assures the unborn baby that he is leaving a space for him in Spain, for Spain is full, and he, Amador, needs to go before the baby arrives (Figure 31). The film suggests that in taking control of her life choices, Marcela escapes a life of loneliness and regret, the clouds no longer visible, her baby representing the new Spanish citizen. In this manner, *Amador* allows for Marcela's integration into the Spanish space and, thus, she is not confined "to perpetual outsider status" (Murray, 2018, p.151). However, this integration is mediated through Amador's blessing and the space he leaves upon his death. For Calatayud (2013, p.75), this ending indicates that the Spain in crisis can only recover by starting anew. While the circle of life and death is present in the film, I suggest that the film articulates the political messages of the time, which encouraged collective support, individual responsibility, and austerity as a solution to the crisis, a reading that is further developed in the next section. This understanding of precarity during the crisis as a unifying element between the Spaniard and the *other* is also present in *Scorpion in Love* (2013), at the end of this chapter.

Figure 30. Amador (2010) Closing scene. Do you know his name yet? [01:43:11]

Figure 31. Amador (2010). Your mum will save you my place. [00:32:12]

Amador constructs a *convivial* space where financial strains unite the community in their precarity and motivate the characters to support each other, even if not always within the limits of legality. Marcela's actions to disguise Amador's death are presented in the context of financial dependency on Nelson, an unplanned pregnancy, and household debt. Yolanda's appeal that she continue with the pretence is rooted in an overly stretched budget, her initial desire to give Amador a room with a sea view, and the possibility of not completing the house if payments are not made. Puri's conformity with the situation is connected to a decline in customers and Marcela's request to continue coming to Amador's house as usual, for which Puri was receiving a small fee as companionship services. In the narratives of the three women, their increased precarity

has appeared unexpectedly due to events outside their control. In contrast, Nelson's precarity is presented as a consequence of his own life choices. For example, when looking for a new fridge, he chooses one on finance with extra features such as a beeping door alert. Despite being behind on three months of rent, he buys the fridge without consulting Marcela as soon as they receive her first wage. He rarely spends time at home, going to parties or drinking downstairs with the flower sellers, to whom he also gives nights off to socialise, losing income as a result. Moreover, in his search for the individual pleasure that the *society of consumers* encourages, Nelson has an affair with one of the younger flower sellers, who is also their friend's daughter and potentially underage. In contrast, Marcela often wears the same clothes, worries about their debt, and settles the fridge's invoice at the first opportunity. Her willingness to work despite being instructed to rest by the doctor depicts her, in the context of the crisis, as a hard-working citizen willing to make sacrifices. While Nelson is as much a *flawed consumer* as Marcela, their attitudes differ in that Marcela approaches their financial position with a plan to settle debt, whereas Nelson is preoccupied only with immediate pleasures. Binaries of "immigration" and "Spaniards" are, thus, avoided, and instead, the film highlights differences between those working together to ease their precariousness and those contributing to it.

Co-operation in planning and working towards a goal is further represented through the element of the jigsaw puzzle of the sea[27] that Amador works to complete. As Marcela questions whether completing the puzzle is a good use of time because one could just buy the picture, Amador speaks of the journey to complete it, and the difference that it makes to select and put the pieces in place oneself. Amador speaks of the value of hard work and choice, while devaluing the act of purchasing the picture as a lesser option. When Amador passes away, Marcela completes the puzzle, which soon becomes a symbol of her own life. For example, she finds a torn picture in her bin and takes it to Amador's house. With Marcela holding a piece against the unfinished puzzle, the photograph becomes a piece in the puzzle of her life (Figure 32). When she puts the picture together later that night, Marcela discovers that Nelson has been having an affair with the youngest of the flower sellers (Figure 33). Towards the end of the film,

[27] For an in-depth study of the sea in *Amador* and its connections to the (in)visibility of the immigrant, see Noble (2015, 2018).

Marcela takes out of her keepsake box the goodbye letter that she had torn at the start of the film (Figure 27, above) and leaves it on the table for Nelson to piece together. In doing so, Marcela exerts agency over her own life and leaves Nelson to complete his own puzzle. In her last scene in Amador's house, Marcela stands next to the puzzle, now framed and hung on the wall, honouring Amador's vision of life and ready to complete her own (Figure 31).

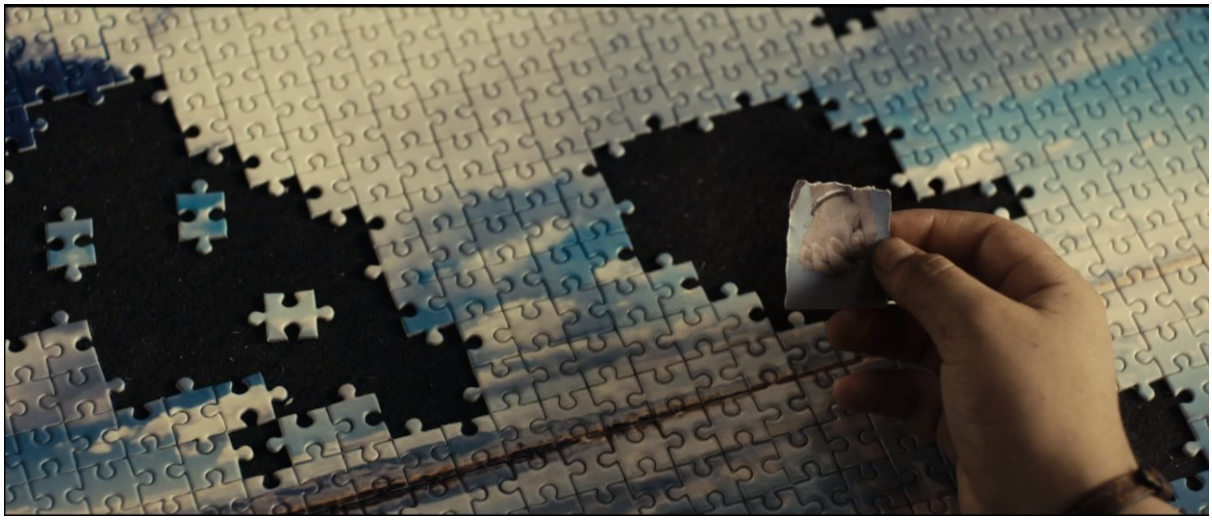

Figure 32. Amador (2010) Puzzle of life. [01:29:56]

Figure 33. Amador (2010). Nelson's picture. [01:31:20]

Figure 34. Amador (2010). Amador's puzzle, completed. [01:45:20]

The film evokes a meritocracy that values determination and working towards a goal, avoiding the patterns of consumption and individualism that the society of consumers encourages. United in their financial precarity, it is sympathy and *conviviality* that allow for networks of support to emerge through encounters, even if unlikely in principle (i.e. Marcela as an immigrant, Puri as a sex worker, Yolanda as Amador's middle-class daughter). Binaries of immigration versus Spaniards are here blurred. With an emphasis on ideas of community support, work ethic, and responsible consumption, the new Spain that the film configures is a convivial space of diverse nature fighting a way out of the crisis.

The blurring of differences between the Spaniard and the racialised *other* is a crucial feature of the next case study, *Scorpion in Love* (2013).

Alacrán enamorado / Scorpion in Love (Santiago Zannou, 2013)

Manipulating racism for financial gains. The convivial solution

Based on a novel and script by Carlos Bardem, this is Santiago Zannou's second fiction film. Zannou had won a Goya Award with *El truco del manco/The One-Handed Trick* (2008), in which he explored issues around the diversity of the inner city, marginalisation, and *conviviality*. Following this success, this second film attracted over a million euros in national film grants and much publicity, encouraged by the casting of

not just Carlos Bardem (Carlomonte), but also of his brother Javier Bardem (Solís) and of Álex González (Julián), who came from national success on the TV screens and had recently taken a role in *X-Men: First Class* (2011). The film addresses issues of racism, prejudice and violence from the opening credits, with a narrative where Julián overcomes his racial prejudice as he pursues a boxing career and a romantic relationship. Part of a group of Nazi ideology, Julián trains in the local gym during the day and assaults immigrants under the instructions of Solís during the night. While it is the group who enact this violence, the film makes Solís, a neoliberal lawyer with investments in the community, responsible as the initiator. The gym owner expels the Nazi sympathisers after they show animosity towards one of the boxers of African ancestry. However, Julián returns to apologise and is allowed to continue training. There, he meets Alyssa, a receptionist of African ancestry with whom he starts a romantic relationship. As Solís and the Nazi group put pressure on Julián to enact their values, and the gym managers make it clear that these ideas are not acceptable, Julián battles internally and starts to distance himself from the Nazi group. After a few incidents and misjudgements, Julián renounces any association with the Nazi sympathisers, becomes a successful boxer, and develops friendships and romance in the gym.

The film alludes not only to the recent rise in far-right extremism in Spain, but also to the manipulation of disaffected groups for financial profit. The script was co-written in collaboration between Bardem and Zannou. As Zannou himself recounts, the subject of the film and his own identity put extra pressure on getting the film right. The film differs from the novel, with the producers and directors admitting that the adaptation process caused very heated arguments between Zannou and Bardem, resulting in 27 different versions of the script. Javier Barden[28] affirmed that distancing the film from the novel helped make the story more contemporary, which underscores how some of the themes had become obsolete in the six years that separated the film and the novel. In the original text, Alyssa is a Latin American woman of African ancestry who is sold to a prostitution ring and had been living undocumented in Spain for three years. The novel explores the vulnerability previously addressed in *Princesses* regarding the violence that results from the regularisation policies and the gaps that leave immigrants open to

28 https://vimeo.com/61246610

exploitation. The film, however, removes all this background and constructs Alyssa as a person of African ancestry, but only in terms of her skin colour, without referring to her documented or undocumented status, her exact origin, or the sex work of the novel. The choice of actor contributes to this construction of the black Spaniard, as Judith Diakhate (Alyssa) was born in Madrid and her accent is a Spanish one. For Zannou, this was an important element, as he stated in an interview that "he was tired of not seeing mixed-race (characters) in Spanish films" (Zannou, 2013).[29] Carlos Bardem confirmed that this was a contentious element in the adaptation process, as the novel positioned the characters in uncontested ways as undocumented Latin American immigrants in marginalised positions. In contrast, Zannou was interested in approaching issues around Black Spanish citizens, as this kind of prejudice was one experienced himself.

The group of Nazi followers also distances the film from the novel, which depicts the violence as originating from Francoist supporters. Instead, the film makes more prominent the symbols of Nazi Germany. In doing so, the film opens to global audiences by transforming particular Spanish anxieties into ones more translatable to a global context. Solís' character also acquires a more global identity. Whereas the novel characterises him as a prestigious lawyer and editor of revisionist books (Bardem, 2010), the film makes him a businessman of broader reach and influence, with more specific goals to increase the value of the neighbourhood by expelling immigration, and establish a Trust in the derelict building of a church he is transforming. In this way, the film alludes to the rise in extreme far-right ideologies in post-crisis Spain, connects it to a more global context, and raises concerns over the ideological manipulation of the disaffected for material gain.

This film has received little attention in film scholarship, in contrast to other works by Zannou with a more personal lens, such as *El truco del manco/The One-Handed Trick* (2008), for which the work of Elena and Martín Morán (2015) is particularly illuminating. Labayen and Ortega (2013) approach this film in relation to the stardom of Javier Bardem, and therefore the racialised *other* is outside their scope. De Francheschi (2015) engages briefly with Zannou's work in a discussion of diasporic works of African heritage filmmakers, though the article is more a systematic review than a critical discussion, and

29 https://lagranilusion.cinesrenoir.com/santiago-a-zannou-redimir-a-un-nazi-siendo-un-director-negro-es-divertido/

the themes are not fully explored. Similarly, Gómez Tarín and Rubio Alcover (2013) engage in a brief summary of the film concerning portrayals of different treatment regarding class, and a double morality in society. The film, thus, is understudied in academia.

Scorpion in Love constructs an *imagined community* where the racialised *other* is embodied in characters of African ancestry. Within the film, their status as Spanish integrates them into the *imagined community*, while the racial prejudice they experience constructs notions of the deplorable Spaniard. Through the narrative, it is the Nazi sympathisers who are characterised as the undesirable internal *other*, often being expelled from the places they occupy. The group is evicted from the gym due to their racist ideology; they are also expelled from the bus after verbally abusing a passenger, and Julián's closest friend is driven away from the gym's door. In contrast, Julián is able to occupy more *anthropological places* progressively throughout his transformation.

The opening scenes connect different spaces of violence, starting with Julián in the boxing ring proclaiming that "no one can defeat us but our choices", which gives a glimpse of his journey before taking the viewer in a flashback narrative to the starting point. During the opening credits scene, Solis is on a church pulpit (Figure 35), delivering a hate speech on immigration and presenting himself as the solution. Solís introduces himself as a repressed voice of a traditional Spain, stating that "the immigrants are a threat" and that they have kept silent so far because "embracing the *other* is modern" and for fear of "being called a fascist", which in the Spanish context is popularly associated to Francoist ideology. Indeed, the fear of being associated with the dictatorship had been a deterrent for many far-right discourses. Yet, in *Scorpion in Love*, Solís exposes this idea and refutes it under a simple "We are the good ones". Over an L-cut, his voice is then transported to Julián's bedroom, which cross-cuts with the speech (Figure 35). Here, Julián gets dressed as Solís' speech turns to "we clean our house, we clean our country, Spain, and we clean Europe. Blood and Pride! Of course! Race and fatherland!". As his audience declares and repeats these last words, the shot cuts to an exploding display window. A montage of an attack on an immigrant business introduces the credits and connects the group's violence to Solís' declarations. Using orange-pink tones over the violent scenes (Figure 36), the editing adds an element of estrangement

that presents this violence as unnatural. Solís' surroundings infused with blue tones echo his manipulative coldness, the ochres in Julian's bedroom express his inner anger (Figure 36), and the initial opening shot uses crisp natural tones to emphasize Julián's sweat and blood, but also a perceived natural state, as in devoid of anger, after his transformation has taken place. The cinematography here creates different spaces of violence. From the boxing ring as a legitimate space for violence, to Solís's incitation of racial hate, to the attack on the immigrants, passing through Julián's house, which is a place of domestic abuse and violence, as the film unveils later.

*Figure 35. Scorpion in Love (*2013). Solís in the opening scene. Inciting violence. [00:02:04]

Figure 36. Scorpion in Love (2013). Julián getting ready for the attack. [00:04:00]

Figure 37. Scorpion in Love (2013). Attack during the opening credits. [00:04:27]

A leader with oratory skills, Solís receives payments from the local community to remove the immigrants from their doorsteps. The film adds influence on Solís' character and suggests he is also an investor, as the audience sees him transform an old church into the "Ezra Pound Foundation", taking its name from the modernist poet and fascist supporter. In its metaphorical destruction of the *anthropological place* of the church and replacing it with a Trust of unclear aims, the film suggests a replacement of morals for economic capital. During the inauguration, the images projected over the wall emphasize the destruction of the old church and its rebirth as a symbol of *liquid modernity* (Figure 38). Superimposing this image with a shot of Luís (Miguel Ángel Silvestre), Julián's friend, the scene links the incited violence with Solís' financial investments (Figure 39). As Solís tells Julián during the inauguration, "your misery has helped us to be here today, to build all this", underscoring the manipulation of the disaffected youth for financial aims.

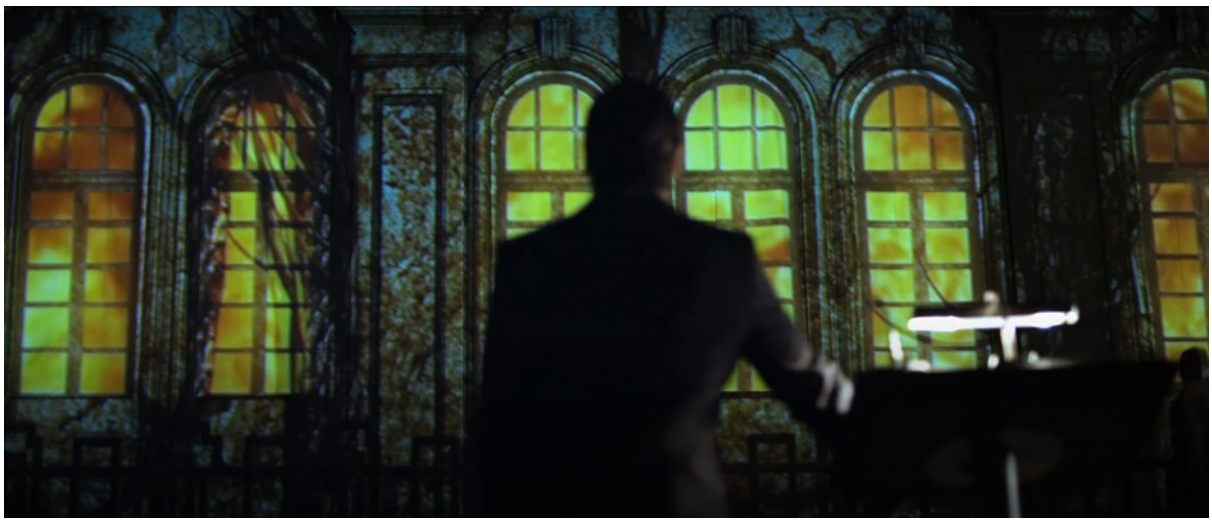

Figure 38. Scorpion in Love (2013). Solís and projector. Symbolically destroying the church [01:21:02]

Figure 39. Scorpion in Love (2013). Building hate for profit. [01:40:05]

With the Spanish financial crisis in the background of the production process, the film accentuates the precarity of all those marginalised in society and creates points of intersection between the racialised *other* and the Nazi-sympathiser groups. The film connects the youngsters' Nazi ideology to problematic households, disgruntled attitudes towards society, low incomes, and unemployment. In this context, the contact with the *other* opens up the potential for understanding and sympathy, bringing eventually *convivial* relationships based on the willingness to resolve conflict, eliminate tensions derived from racial difference, and find common ground in the shared experiences.

The film underscores the financial struggles of those in marginalised positions, both of the racialised *other* and the Nazi group, signalling that both are affected by the same precarity. This notion is encapsulated in Alyssa's reproach of Julián after he assaults her housemate in a confrontation. Before evicting Julián from her apartment, Alyssa highlights their similarities by stating that they are both in low-income and precarious jobs. Having been invited to Alyssa's home, he is evicted because of this behaviour. Nevertheless, his redemptive transformation has already begun. In the following scene, he abandons the Nazi group on the street. Wandering the streets alone, Julián goes to a photo booth to take pictures for his gym membership card, which Alyssa had been requesting for a while. The shot is taken from the POV of the booth's camera, emphasizing Julián's medium shot within the wide dark frame (Figure 40). After a moment, the shot cuts to a close-up with Julián crying as the machine starts to take consecutive pictures. The photo booth provides an encounter with himself. Julián is forced to gaze upon his image, marking in the narrative his first transformation, of internal realisation and shame.

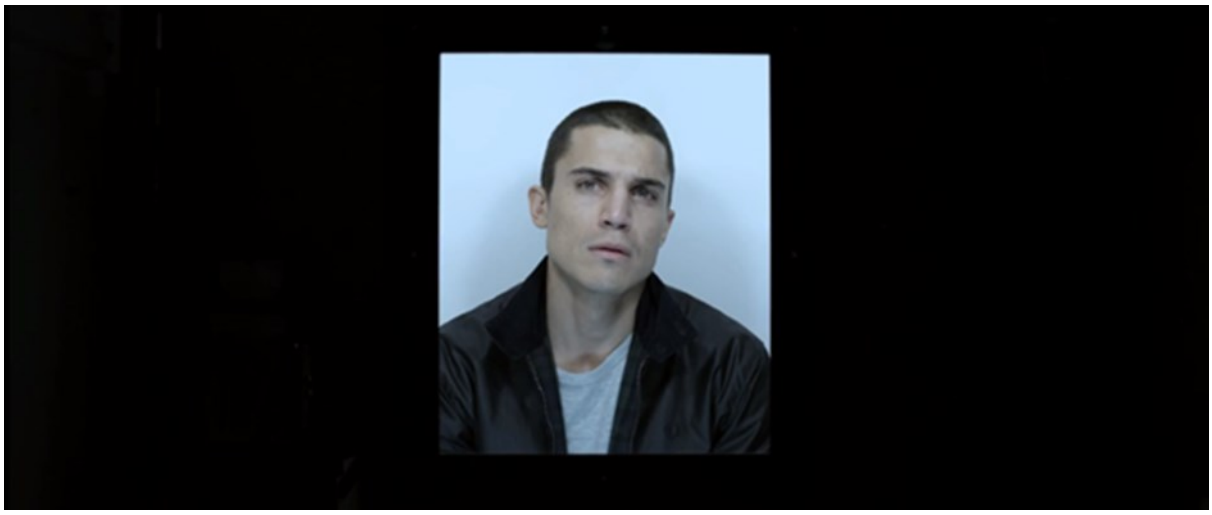

Figure 40. Scorpion in Love (2013). Photo booth (camera POV). [01:03:38]

After reconciling, Julián and Alyssa plan a new romantic encounter. However, Julián, this time, refuses to go to either one's house and suggests a hotel room, a *non-place* instead. The room provides the couple figuratively with a blank space to start over. The white sheets, the simple décor and a change in lighting contribute to meanings of rebirth in their relationship. Asking if he would like to father a child with her (Figure 41), he answers enthusiastically before adding that his child would not be a Nazi. The

lighting changes then from ochre tones to bright whiter tones (Figure 42), marking Julian's redemption and removing the warm light that introduced him in the film. To make this change more evident, in the next scene, Julián covers his Nazi tattoos with black ink in the shape of scorpion claws. If his first transformation was of private self-awareness, this transformation is a public one that declares his refusal of Nazi ideology. The film advocates for second chances and clean slates, a narrative leitmotif of the film that also applies to Carlomonte, with a self-acceptance narrative tied to his acceptance of Julián.

Figure 41. Scorpion in Love (2013). Would you have a mixed-race child with me? [01:13:12]

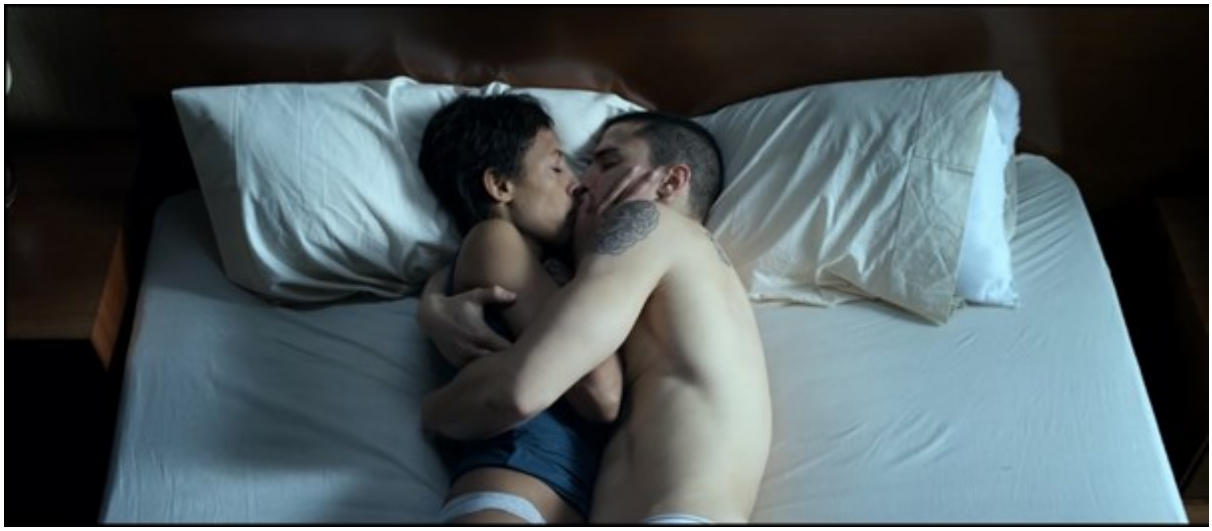

Figure 42. Scorpion in Love (2013). Julián's transformation [01:13:15]

The film approaches the violence of the Nazi group in numerous scenes, from physical assaults on people, to the destruction of property, to verbal violence and threats. However, by portraying racial violence as enacted solely by groups of xenophobic and racist far-right ideology, the film (and the novel) simplify other issues, such as institutional violence, microaggressions, and bias. This is not a new depiction, however, as this is also the kind of violence portrayed in the films *Taxi* (1996), *Bwana* (1996), *Salvajes/Savages* (Molinero, 2001), *Rapados/Skinheads* (Parrado, 2004), *Diario de un Skin/Diary of a Skinhead* (Rispa, 2005), or *La venta del paraíso/The Sale of Paradise* (Ruiz Barrachina, 2012). These films displace racism onto types of violence enacted by peripheral groups not accepted in the wider society and with which the majority of the audiences do not identify, constructing narratives of racism that are already disavowed in Spanish society and that, thus, do not fully challenge the audiences to confront their own prejudice. At the time of the film's release, Ángel Rivero (2013)[30], whose research explores nationalism and ideology, affirmed in a newspaper interview for *El Diario* that extremism in Spain was a minor occurrence, suggesting that Spain's obsession with extreme far-right groups responds to a desire to find and denounce fascist behaviours. However, this issue is addressed at the margins because of its displacement to far-right violence presented as foreign. Juan Carlos Monedero explains in that same article that "to be tolerant with fascism, as it happened in the 30s, is to allow it to grow". Following Rivero's and Monedero's depictions of the extreme far-right and anxieties over the Francoist past, the film can be read as advocating for the transformation of old Spain through encounters with the *other*, in a theme of renovation through symbolic rebirths. In the final proof of his transformation, after the assault on Alyssa by Luis, the members of the gym rush to cover up what has happened as a way to prevent Julián's retaliation. Nevertheless, Julián realises the truth and meets Luis at the Trust's inauguration. In contrast with earlier scenes, however, Julián remains calm, avoids violence, and only confronts Solís and Luis to tell them he knows the truth.

Julián's transformation suggests a progressive involvement in the community and the adoption of convivial modes of interaction. He is the only one to regain membership after being expelled from the gym, he is able to occupy the more personal spaces of

30 https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/neonazis-madrid-fascismo_1_5836066.html

Alyssa and Carlomonte, joining their community, and he finally becomes one of the star boxers for the community gym. If Julián kept his distance at work from non-white characters towards the start of the film, towards the end, he is having lunch and chatting with them. If at the start he resorts to violence to solve his problems and frustrations, at the end, he resorts to dialogue and the application of moral convictions. Within Julián's transformation, the violence is redirected to sociably condoned violence in the confines of the boxing ring, the racial prejudice is relinquished, and a common precarity bonds Julián with his co-workers regardless of race. The film, thus, constructs visions of a Spain where racial prejudice can be overcome through *conviviality* and where the leitmotif of second chances, running through different narrative strands, asserts that it is never too late to change. In doing so, the film invites the audiences also to transform themselves.

The films discussed in this chapter represent encounters between the Spaniard and the *other* in Spain. These encounters and their potential for success configure ideas of interaction in the *imagined community* and offer avenues of inclusion in the Spanish space. In approaching films from before, during and after the crisis, the analysis posits that there have been changes in the narratives and portrayals that echo the anxieties and desires of Spain in each period, contributing to our understanding of the transformations taking place in Spain after the financial crisis. *Princesses* imagines Spain as a land of opportunity that excludes the marginalised, either because of their undocumented immigrant status or their line of work, which renders the characters vulnerable to prejudice and rejection. While *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* continues to assert Spain as a land of opportunity where undocumented status is an obstacle to inclusion, *Return to Hansala* already depicts the worsening financial conditions of Spain. In this latter film, precarity is not immediately associated with undocumented status or illegality. Instead, the precarity of the characters derives from their financial situation and their ability to participate in the *society of consumers*. This shift expresses transformations in the way in which Spain is imagined, from a wealthy European country concerned over the control of the borders of Fortress Europe, to a country impacted negatively by globalisation and consumption. In this context, *conviviality* appears as the solution to minimise precarity. While this idea of *conviviality* is not new in immigration cinema, what changes after the start of the financial crisis is the focus on

financial precarity in Spanish society beyond marginalised groups. Thus, Martín as a funeral house owner in *Return to Hansala,* Yolanda as a middle-class woman building a second house in *Amador*, and the business owners looking for Solís' help in *Scorpion in Love* create an *imagined community* affected by the processes of globalisation and the increasing pressures for consumption and solvency.

The spaces of the film construct a Spain negotiating the inclusion of both the immigrant and the racialised *other* via their inclusion in *anthropological places*, that is, places of community and identity, such as the home, the community centres, or the community gym. The films minimise ideas of modernity or land of opportunities connected to Spain, emphasising instead a Spain impacted by the consequences of globalisation, where the *society of consumers* increase the precarity of the *flawed consumer* and creates points of intersection between the experiences of the immigrant, the racialised *other*, and the Spaniard impacted by the financial crisis.

Further notions of inclusion or exclusion are articulated in these films through *cultural capital*, often aligning with notions of Europeanness. In *Princesses*, Zulema is *othered* and excluded because of the way that the Spaniards perceive her customs and her racialised body. Yet, inclusion is made possible when this *cultural capital* offers value to the Spanish sex workers. In this manner, the film follows some of the media discourses that emphasise the value of immigration for the Spanish economy, focusing predominantly on economic migration. *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* employs a convivial and almost cosmopolitan interaction between characters, integrating Yasmina in the Spanish *imagined community* from the outset. Yet, this inclusion comes with depictions of *cultural capital* that do not create tensions with notions of Europeanness, such as limiting the use of the veil to the private space of the bedroom. This is also a feature in *Return to Hansala,* where Leila negotiates customs differently depending on whether she is in Spain or Morocco. However, in *Amador* and *Scorpion in Love,* the documented status of the immigrant or racialised *other* loses significance to the point of becoming invisible. In these more recent films, inclusion in the community is driven by understanding each other's precarity and active efforts to minimise it for the benefit of the community. I suggest that this characterisation demonstrates a shift from concerns about border control towards anxieties derived from the increasing precarity led by globalisation.

Chapter 5. Exhibiting Identity Post-Crisis.

"Coloniser's daughter?" asks Iniko, "Farmworker. It is not the same", replies Clarence in her father's defence. The exchange takes place between the Equatorial Guinean and Spanish co-protagonists in *Palmeras en la nieve/ Palm Trees in the Snow* (Fernando González Molina, 2015), the box-office hit based on the homonymous novel. With this dialogue, the film encapsulates some of the processes taking place in contemporary Spain, that is, the interrogation of the past and its revision, which reimagine Spain's identity in the process.

This chapter considers Anderson's notion of the museum, his third tool for nation-building, looking in particular at how nation is constructed post-crisis in films that, while engaging with the immigrant or racialised *other* at the core of the narrative, are not considered representative of immigration cinema nor follow its aims. That is, films that do not aim to incite sympathy in the audiences towards the immigrant or racialised *other*, nor to denounce prejudice, or advocate for multicultural co-existence. With this approach, this chapter interrogates whether the post-crisis themes and portrayals emerging in the films of previous chapters are articulating the same ideas as the films of this chapter, which have more commercial aims and are not concerned about resolving tensions over immigration.

The case studies in this chapter express notions of global significance through depictions of territorial control, whether in terms of historical colonialism in Africa or effective surveillance of the Southern European border. This approach interconnects the notions of the *limited* dimension of nation and the *sovereignty* enacted on it. They assert Spain's belonging to the group of European powers through a shared European colonial past and through contemporary cooperation at a supranational level, creating a linear history of influence and collaboration with the Western European powers that emerged post-World War II. This belonging is reinforced through expressions of Europeanness, particularly in regard to the ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity that modelled the goals of Spain after the end of the Francoist regime. This approach addresses the notion of *imagined community* in relation to participation in a supranational identity, which is associated with cooperation within international

networks of political and economical significance, thus evoking ideas of *sovereignty.* Finally, these films revisit events of the recent and historical past in narratives of discovery of the truth, reflecting the concerns of contemporary Spain regarding the recovery of historical memory, or positing sacrifice, unity, and consensus as part of the resolutions. These films address notions of *sovereignty* anchored in either security or territorial control in a narrative where discovering the truth becomes part of the main premise. Thus, these films explore issues on the configuration and effective control of the nation's territory (*limited*), questions of identity that are often articulated in relation to the *other* (*imagined community*), and displays of power or success under international gaze (*sovereignty*). Focusing on the films *Palmeras en la nieve/Palm Trees in the Snow* (González Molina, 2015), *Neckan* (Tapias, 2014), *No habrá paz para los malvados/No Rest for the Wicked* (Urbizu,2011) and *El Niño/The Kid* (Monzón, 2014), this chapter suggests that the financial crisis (2008-2012) heightened anxieties over globalisation and the loss of *sovereignty* of the nation-states. In this context, the films in this chapter depict a Spain trying to resolve the loss of credentials as a wealthy and upcoming influential country in the global minority, defending its position within Europe through a reassertion of Europeanness that preludes democracy and the European Union; the embodiment of the European ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity; and its value in defending Spain and Europe from global threats.

The museum: Assembling the past, displaying the present, projecting the future.

For Anderson (1991, pp.180-182), the museum and monumental archaeology made the state appear as the guardian of tradition in colonial states. For Anderson (1991), the national museum represents a space to preserve culture and identity, but also one that constructs a particular hegemonic narrative of nation through the selection and curation of what is displayed. For Whitehead and co-authors (2016, p.26), the national museum is "an essential part of expressing their statehood and evidencing their claim for recognition both internal and external", imagining the nation and presenting particular claims about the relationships between people, place, and culture. Whitehead and co-authors (2016, p.27) assert that the museum can illustrate, on the one hand, the diversity of the nation; on the other hand, "facilitate an understanding of

the interconnected relationship between that nation and the wider world". Thus, the museum can focus inwards and articulate meanings about the *imagined community* of the nation and its diversity. It can also focus outwards and project notions of significance related to the nation's position in the wider world. This projection of global significance is important to the argument of this chapter. The films in this chapter project global significance and articulate the diversity of Spain. The case studies focus on two different sets of films: two films portraying the recent colonial historical past in Africa, and two films portraying the contemporary struggles against global crime.

In depicting the recent colonial past, these films imagine the foundations of what will become contemporary democratic Spain, bringing a historical linearity that Anderson (1991) connects to the museum's function. The films *Palm Trees in the Snow* (2015) and *Neckan* (2014) reconnect the Spanish audiences with a collective memory that had been partially lost, as the role of Spain in the African colonies had been rarely depicted since Spain's withdrawal from the territories. It was not until the 1990s that Spanish film followed trends that looked back to the Francoist past, although mainly within the limits of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The African colonies were rarely depicted after the re-instauration of democracy, with just a handful of examples of limited success. As mentioned previously in this thesis, until very recently, there had also been notable criticism in regard to the amnesia of Spanish filmmakers to address the African colonies (Labanyi, 2001; Santaolalla, 2002; Elena, 2010; Bayre and Valenciano-Mañé, 2014). In exploring films of colonial themes, this chapter interrogates the way in which these portrayals construct particular versions of history that support notions of global significance, Europeanness, and conviviality. Because these films are located within the Francoist period but also at the verge of colonial independence, the narratives address moments of transformations in the nation that are connected to the loss of *sovereignty* of these territories. I posit that these films reassert the Europeanness of Spain and its active role in supranational politics by displaying participation in international agreements and negotiations, moving this cooperation from the benchmark of EU membership and further into the past. The narratives of a European shared colonial past, the withdrawal from the colonies, and a role in meetings with the NATO and European representatives in Brussels, all work towards asserting Spain within Europe as a long-standing partner in international affairs.

The films *No Rest for the Wicked* (2011) and *The Kid* (2014) depict contemporary Spain in the context of the global threats of terrorism, global crime, and drug smuggling. These films display Spain actively cooperating to remove global threats affecting both Spain and Europe successfully. While many of these threats use the Spanish border for their criminal activities, the characters leading these threads are European, even if *othered* through their ethnic origin or ancestry. In portraying the leaders at the top of the criminal organisations as European, the films suggest a reading where the threats come from within and affect all of Europe, diminishing any responsibility linked to an ineffective Spanish control of the border. The obstacles for an efficient removal of these threats rest in a small number of individuals, who are either corrupt or knowingly hinder the process with bureaucracy. Yet, removing these individuals or alternative courses of action makes the protagonists succeed in their goals and interrupt criminal activities. Although successful in this pursuit, the endings suggest that new criminal networks will occupy the place of those who were stopped, reinforcing the notion of insecurity that Bauman (2006, 2007, 2011) connects to *liquid modernity*. One element to note in the way in which the immigrant or racialised *other* is portrayed in these films of more commercial aims, is that they are disproportionally linked to the criminal activities depicted and the leaders of these networks are usually non-Spaniards. In contrast, in the immigration films *Evelyn* (2012) and *Black Diamonds* (2013), these activities were anchored to Spanish characters.

Contemporary Expressions of Sovereignty in the Nation-State.

Because notions of national *sovereignty* have evolved since the work of Anderson (1991), I turn to other scholars to discuss the enactment of *sovereignty* in the twentieth-first century. These scholars connect globalisation with a crisis of the nation-state's *sovereignty*, exploring its impact on territorial sovereignty, the control of the national economies, and the security of the nation-state. On the question of the territory, Bordoni (Bauman and Bordoni, 2014, p.28) indicates that European nation-states have limited sovereignty after opening their borders, which has made "security, defence of privilege, identity, recognition and cultural traditions" uncertain and unreliable. For Appadurai (1996, p.21), the *sovereignty* of the nation-state has moved

away from concerns over territorial sovereignty to focus on power, justice and self-determination. This issue of the diminished importance of territorial sovereignty is also a point suggested by Sassen (2007), who posits that it has been partially negotiated through institutional denationalisation and privatised intermediary institutional arrangements, which force the nation-state to engage in the processes of globalisation (2007, pp.41, 53). Earlier in his work, Bauman (1998, p.61) had already claimed that the Cold War had brought allyships between nations, where the global scene became "the theatre of coexistence and competition between *groups of states*, rather than between the states themselves". Not only is the nation-state under pressure to participate in global processes, but in contemporary globalised times, the country's wealth is measured by "the country's attractiveness to coolly mercenary forces of global capital" (Bauman, 2000, p.185). With the financial and territorial *sovereignties* curtailed by globalisation, security is one of the areas where, according to Bauman (1998, 2014), the nation-state can at least be seen as having some authority. The insecurity and uncertainty linked to globalisation have encouraged governments in nation-states to focus on threats that allow for performances of *sovereignty*, that is, threats against which the government can be seen acting. For Bauman (1998, p.120), this question of the orderly state and its sovereignty has been reduced to "the task of fighting crime". The emphasis on security and uncertainty becomes the main focus of the nation-state as a measurable indicator of national sovereignty, one where the nations find "local solutions to globally generated problems" (Bauman, 2014, p.22).

In these more commercial films, which do not aim to challenge the media stereotypes, nor to depict the plights of the immigrant or racialised *other*, the characters embodying this *otherness* are depicted in ways that aid the characterisation of the leading Spanish characters. That is, they are the object of attraction of the Spaniard, they act as a counterpoint that underscores the qualities of the Spanish characters, or are the source of the danger against which the Spaniard fights. This dangerous *other* is associated not only with non-European immigration from Latin America and North Africa, but also with European characters from Germany, Great Britain, and Eastern Europe. In doing so, these films express notions of an enemy within, one encouraged by the freedom of mobility within the European borders, and relativises the importance of controlling the external European boundary. In the films depicting contemporary Spain, the *other*

embodies concerns over the increased mobility of globalisation, threats to identity through *cultural capital* that is deemed incompatible with Europeanness, or the challenges to preventing and intercepting criminal activities derived from the freedom of movement within the Schengen area.

The films in this section respond to some of the consequences of globalisation to rearticulate *sovereignty* in the post-crisis context. On the loss of territorial sovereignty, the films in this chapter convey acceptance over this diminished *sovereignty* in favour of increasing influence in supranational networks. On the loss of wealth configuring Spain as an attractive country for global financial actors, precarity is constructed as a temporary consequence of globalisation that can be relieved through cooperation and the expulsion of individuals driven by excess or greed. On the security threats, Spain is portrayed as a valuable partner successfully fighting against the global threats of terrorism and transnational crime. Notions of sacrifice permeate these film narratives, where the greater good becomes more important than individual desires. With this approach, the films in this chapter display ideas of power, cooperation, and influence, both in the past and present. Thus, they convey ideas of *sovereignty* connected to globalisation that intersect with the notions of the *limited imagined community*.

This chapter echoes the museum and its function to display notions of identity, history, and connections with other countries. It approaches depictions of space to discuss notions of *sovereignty* linked to the loss of territorial control in favour of ideas of cooperation and supranational agreements. It engages with representations and tensions of identity derived from contact with the *other* and discusses the association of Europeanness as an essential marker of Spanish identity. Finally, it approaches ideas of discovery and memory, suggesting that these films allow readings that advocate, at the same time, for investigating the truth and also for unity and consensus afterwards. I propose that these readings offer solutions to the debates over the interrogation of the Culture of the Transition (CT) and the arguments arising from debates over the Law of Historical Memory (2007) or its amendments. The films support the investigation of the past and make the acquisition of knowledge the ultimate goal, without further reparation or actions, often followed by acceptance and personal sacrifice for the nation's greater good.

Recuperating Historical Memory. Territorial Loss for Supranational Influence and Sacrifice as the Path to Consensus.

Against a backdrop of financial recovery and political crisis, the release of two fiction films set in colonial Africa (*Palm Trees in the Snow* and *Neckan*) offer readings not only of the past but also of contemporary Spain. They not only revisit the colonial past and recover historical memory, but they simultaneously invoke ideas of forgiveness, unity, and acceptance that apply to both the film's narrative and the political context of the period of production. These films explore themes that connect the colonial past and contemporary Spain, delineating calls for Convivencia and outlining versions of *Hispanotropicalism* that re-position Spain alongside other colonial (European) powers. Far from critically questioning the colonial rule, these films position Spain as a benign colonial power, they suggest acknowledging the past as the sole form of reparation, and advocate for *conviviality* and forgiveness. I contend that by exploring colonialism in these terms, the films express notions of national identity articulated through the *other* that anchor Spain to the global space and Europe, re-positioning a belonging to Europe that had been associated in contemporary times to EU membership, shifted here towards the shared past of colonial pursuits and supranational negotiations. In doing so, these two films, *Palm Trees in the Snow* and *Neckan*, depict a nation whose borders extended to Africa, whose past brings connections with France, Germany and the UK as fellow colonisers; and who was in a position of power that is voluntarily withdrawn in favour of gaining influence at another level. I contend that these elements support a reconstruction of Spanish national identity that seeks to articulate notions of significance in the global context through a colonial past, at the same time that they explore comfortable resolutions to trauma and corruption through forgiveness and *conviviality*.

Palmeras en la nieve/Palm Trees in the Snow (Fernando González Molina, 2015).

Hispanotropicalism and equality in Equatorial Guinea.

Palm Trees in the Snow is an adaptation of the homonymous novel Luz Gabás (2012), a bestseller in Spain that also led to the film's box office success. With over 2.5m

spectators, it also took home two minor Goya awards. The casting of Mario Casas and Adriana Ugarte, representative of the young stars of contemporary Spanish screens, attracted audiences and provided their roles with a kind of hegemonic Spanish identity. The narrative is set in Equatorial Guinea and splits into two timelines, one set in the last 15 years of Spanish colonial rule, and another set in contemporary times. In the present, Clarence (Adriana Ugarte) travels to Bioko to investigate the identity of a Bubi woman who appears in a picture with her children and had received money transfers. In the past, Clarence's uncle, Kilian (Mario Casas), arrives in Bioko to join in the plantation his father and his brother, Jacobo (Alain Hernández). As the story develops, Clarence learns that the woman in the picture is Bisila (Berta Vázquez), one of the Bubi nurses of the colony, with whom Kilian had a romantic relationship. While the film initially leads the audiences to infer that the child in the picture might be Kilian's, the events reveal that Bisila became pregnant after a sexual assault by three men, including Jacobo, leaving the father's identity unresolved. After independence, Kilian returns to Spain alone and Bisila remains in Bioko with her two sons, unable to follow him with the children. At the end, Clarence uncovers her family's past, Bisila's sons travel to Spain, and Bisila walks into the deep sea to symbolically reunite with Kilian in death.

Colmenero (2018) situates this film in the context of a recovery of historical memory that justifies the colonial expansion and defends its legitimacy. This is also an issue for Martínez-Sáez (2016), who contends that the Spanish imperialism permeating the film aligns the audiences with the Spanish coloniser and hinders any critical reading of the period. For Álvarez Chillida (2016), the film avoids engaging with the more complicated history of Equatorial Guinea. While the films assert the identity of Spain as European with a shared history of colonial past, the depiction of this colonialism in terms of development and stability is not one favoured by European film industries of recent times. Thomas Elsaesser (2019) indicates that, since the 1990s, Europe itself has been going through a narrative of decline that carries the disappearance of the *heroic narrative*, a circumstance that has decreased the tales of empire and colonisation. Elsaesser (2019, p.10) contends that

> Now that we know how much this heroic narrative was also based on imperialism, slavery and colonialism, on exploitation and exclusion, not everyone is quite so proud of it, while others are in collective denial, trying to revive national exceptionalism.

Spanish film, thus, fits in the collective denial to which Elsaesser (2019) alludes and resolves the narrative of decline through Hispanotropicalism, a kind of Spanish exceptionalism that asserts that Spanish colonialism was gentler than that of other European countries. Spanish colonialism is depicted as benign and with high levels of freedom, equality and fraternity. The film constructs a historical memory of Spain that reasserts Europeanness, but it shapes it with Spanish exceptionalism.

The film reasserts difference between Spain and Equatorial Guinea through depictions of place that configure the African country in terms of beauty, warmth, and a place where the emotions of the Spaniards are heightened. It is, thus, a transformative place for the Spaniard, who benefits from the contact with the *other.* This idea is conveyed from the start in the title, by combining the palm trees of hot climates with the snow of the North East region of Spain that sets the location of the Spanish hometown. The natural spaces of Equatorial Guinea are contrasted to the cold landscape surrounding the Spanish manor, conveying notions of warmth and fertility that are further embodied in the character of Bisila. The natural landscape of Equatorial Guinea is depicted within an imperialist gaze, aligning with May Louise Pratt's (2008, p.118) discussion on portrayals of the landscape of the colonies, that is, "a nature that dwarf humans, commands their being, arouses their passions, defies their powers of perception". Shortly after arriving in Equatorial Guinea, the sight of Bisila by a stream captivates Kilian (Figure 43). Her sudden disappearance when he gazes away for a moment constructs her, in the work of Martínez-Sáez (2016, p.32), as a timid animal that runs away.

Figure 43. Palm Trees in the Snow (2015). Kilian sees Bisila for the first time. [00:21:29]

The establishing shots emphasise the length and size of the plantations. Its natural spaces arouse and incite the passions of the Spaniards, such as in the above scene by the stream, the characters' encounters on the beach, or the dances around the fire. The beach provides refuge and intimacy to the characters, configured as a place of sexual encounters both for Bisila and Kilian in the past, and for Clarence and Bisila's son, Iniko (Djedje Apali), in the present. It is also where Bisila and Kilian marry in a private ceremony under the custom of "ribalá ré ríholé", a marriage for love not recognised by the law but that symbolically bonds the contracting parties. At the end, and knowing of Killian's death, Bisila disappears into the sea to metaphorically reunite with Killian in death.

Since most of the narrative takes place in Equatorial Guinea, the spaces of Spain are barely portrayed, being reduced to occasional scenes in the manor that belongs to Killian's family. The house is depicted as big, cold, full of trinkets and paintings that speak of centuries of history. The key lighting, ample spaces, and the old decor underscore solitude notions and echo a world that has disappeared. A big family tree presides the corridor, covering at least three centuries of ancestors. In the same way that the stories of Killian and Bisila are near the end, the house and the land are being sold to a Ski Resort. From a place of history to a place of leisure and consumption, the house is representative of an old Spain that moves into the future. In the end, the space is briefly renewed with the presence of Iniko and Laha (Michael Batista), who close the film with a visit to the house. Bisila's sons' travel to Spain configures a new welcoming

Spain: hospitable and free of the secrets and shame of the past. The sun comes through the windows, and the camera pauses on the big family tree presiding the corridor. Spain is configured as a space where renewal and transformation occur, one where the conflict of the past is resolved in favour of a new convivial space.

Although the scenes in Spain are exclusively located around the big manor, Laha studies in Spain to become an engineer and travels back to Equatorial Guinea after the end of term. With Laha intending to return and contribute to the development of his country, the film suggests that improving the economic and technological development of Equatorial Guinea is a responsibility of the local population and that effort and education are the paths to attain this goal, while continuing to attach notions of knowledge and technological development to Spain.

Connotations around space are also encapsulated in the naming of the characters. "Clarence" conjures Port Clarence, the British base in Bioko devised to deter the human trade. Her name is unusual in Spain,[31] conferring her with notions of Europeanness derived from her anglicised name. In Bioko, Bisila is also named after a local geographical feature, being the name of the highest mountain in Equatorial Guinea but also of the monument to an African Virgin Mary. In this way, Bisila is further associated with notions of femininity connected to sacrifice, motherhood and restraint. This portrayal aligns with the "nurturing native", which Pratt (2008, p.94) recognises in sentimental travel writing. "Killian", while not connected to a particular geographical area, also evokes notions of Europeanness. Its Celtic origin makes it also an unlikely one, since during Francoist Spain the civil register only allowed names included in the calendar of Saints. With these names, Bisila is associated with the conquered land and femininity, while Clarence and Killian evoke a Spanishness intersecting with Europe.

This Europeanness is also underscored through actions related to the notions of equality. Both Clarence and Killian speak of equality between the Equatorial Guinean people and the Spaniards. Clarence asserts this supposed equality with the quote opening this chapter, where she categorises colonisers and colonised as mere workers in different positions of labour. Killian joins the local population in the extenuating

[31] The INE (National Institute of Statistics) does not show results for "Clarence", with a message indicating that either there are no residents with that name, or there are fewer than 20 for the national total.

plantation work affirming that he is “one more among them” (Figure 44) and that it helps him sleep.

Figure 44. Palm Trees in the Snow (2015). Killian works on the plantation. [02:21:09]

The trope of the subjugated woman also reiterates the contemporary Spanish woman as liberated, embodying notions of freedom that contrast her to both the women of Equatorial Guinea and the Spanish women of the past. For Colmenero (2018, pp.451-452), “the hegemonic discourses about western modernity consider the freedom of the women as a fundamental factor”, and in depicting Clarence as a liberated woman, the film asserts the contemporary modernity of Spain. However, the Spanish women of the colonial past are presented as inhibited and controlled, yet longing for this liberation, as represented in Julia, who complains about the gendered double standards of casual sexual encounters. In depicting Julia’s wish as a reality for Clarence, the film reinforces the idea of transformation from repression to freedom that followed after Franco, which is at the core of contemporary Spanish national identities. In comparison, among the locals, Bisila appears as the virtuous healer trapped in a culture that she respects but which constrains her (Martínez-Sáez, 2016, p.34). In opposition to this representation and constructing a Virgin-Whore dichotomy among the African characters, other local women are constructed as hypersexual women who work as prostitutes. Decades into the future, Bisila’s life is not significantly different. She has not remarried and has raised her sons alone. The changes experienced in Spain are not mirrored in Equatorial Guinea, which further emphasises Spain's transformation since colonial times and Francoist Spain.

If Clarence and Killian stand as aspirational role models of the Spaniard, Bisila represents the colony. Shortly after arriving, Killian is entranced by the sight of Bisila (Figure 43, above) and her presence after that makes him gaze in fascination. Despite marrying a Bubi leader, Bisila longs for Killian. They make love hidden in the night and teach each other their local languages, inciting readings of cultural exchange and equal standing between them. When Killian travels to Spain for his sister's health, Bisila is sexually assaulted by Jacobo and his friends, an Englishman and a Portuguese man. Without Killian, Bisila is unprotected. Bisila's husband seeks revenge against the three men. The other two European colonisers appear hanged from a tree and Jacobo is attacked by Mosi, who is shot dead in the confrontation. Arriving in the middle of the shooting and having just discovered the events of Bisila's assault, Killian confronts Jacobo and instructs him to leave for Spain, immediately and permanently, since he can "start his life over".

Reparations for the violence of the past are never made, and only the discovery of the events is sought by Clarence. In the context of contemporary Spain, the film offers a reading where the recovery of the memory of the past is configured as the only goal, without inciting any further amends beyond the convivial relationship suggested at the end. The atrocities committed in Equatorial Guinea are pinpointed to individuals and the film idealises colonial relations, presenting them in a discourse of common experience around romantic love and labour. As argued by Colmenero (2018, p.453), the story "encourages a false interpretation of the colonialism as an equalitarian and symbiotic relationship, as if the colonizer and the colonized would have found themselves in different yet comparable situations, even parallel ones". The absence of a critical depiction of the colonial process also emphasizes the discourse of equality, expressed through the relationship of Kilian with the locals. To support the ideas of equality and fraternity that Killian evokes, the film elides the forced Spanish education and conversion to Christianity that happened in this colony, commenting instead on the locals' superstitions and associating violence with cultural practices. However, the film also shows some deference to the traditions and customs of the *other* with the depiction of Bisila's wedding to Mosi, her later mourning, and local dances and celebrations.

In investigating the past, Clarence cannot rely on the testimonies of the living witnesses. When Clarence asks an elderly Julia about a Bubi woman and her children, Julia refuses to elaborate and directs Clarence to Killian. However, Killian has dementia and his memories are unreliable. With one survivor unable to tell the story of the past, and another refusing to delve into these memories, the trip to Bioko is seen as the only way to obtain the lost knowledge. In doing this, the film suggests readings that allude to the rediscovery of historical memory taking place in Spain. With one testimony being withheld, and another unreliable because of a flawed memory, it is the task of the new generation to seek the truth. When Clarence discovers this truth, she cries in distress and apologises to Bisila for what happened. However, no further reparations are made. Clarence returns to Spain and although Killian is still alive, there is no suggestion of bringing Bisila to meet him. The money transfers of the past are not reinstated. Learning the truth is, thus, the only objective of Clarence's investigation and what brings relief. Upon arrival in Spain, Clarence rushes to Killian's side, now critically ill, and sings to him a Bubi song taught by Bisila, prompting him to reminisce in joy. The song becomes a trigger of memory but also of reconciliation with the past. It is the new generation who fills the gaps and, in doing so, brings comfort to its victims and facilitates a conclusion.

Palm Trees in the Snow displays Spain as a gentler coloniser within the confines of Hispanotropicalism, epitomised in Killian's character. It depicts a history of Spanish influence and power in the colonial territory through the family tree of Killian's family and their management of a plantation. The role of Spain in the territory declares its efficient management of the production compared to the locals' ability, configuring ideas of Eurocentrism in this hierarchy. The withdrawal from the country is portrayed as unavoidable, following the withdrawal of France and Germany from occupied African territories. While the fight for independence from the locals is depicted as of increasing violence, the surge in protests pro-independence and the Spaniards' resistance to leaving the colony is depicted as a difference of opinion that grows to unsustainable levels, where the locals are encouraged to understand the Spaniards' love for the colony and their desire to remain. Indeed, the film positions Kilian, Bisila and Julia as neutral characters in this process, even rescuing an emerging political leader despite the risks.

Spain is constructed as a European colonial power and equated to other European countries in the African territory through the presence of characters from England or Portugal. When these other powers leave the colonies, Spain follows as a natural consequence of the changing times. These are times when *sovereignty* is starting to be enacted at the supranational level, in the form of participation in international agreements and organisations. With these portrayals and despite the circumstances of Francoist Spain, the nation is configured as in a process of transformation, one that aligns Spain to other European powers through a shared historical past, and one that associates benign colonialism with Spain. At the same time, the film recovers a period of history not well known in contemporary Spain. The use of an investigative plot allows the audiences to discover this history through the main contemporary Spaniard character, Clarence. Knowing the truth of the events becomes the main motivator, for which Clarence cannot rely on the accounts around her. In this context, the film alludes to Spanish anxieties over the recovery of historical memory and the interrogation of the cultures of the transition, which originated debates over the risks of investigating the past as potential to open old wounds and generate conflict. In the film, the new generations find ways to conviviality after the past is revealed, a verbal apology is made, and the surviving main characters die, leaving the conflict in the memories of the past. This discovery of the past and the self is also a feature in the next case study.

Neckan (Gonzalo Tapia, 2014)

The truth is for those who seek it. Revenge and pact of forgetting in the Spanish Protectorate.

Neckan takes place in the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco shortly before Spanish withdrawal. In the film, Santiago (Pablo Rivero) is the adoptive son of an influential lawyer who had been a minister under Franco. After receiving a family picture and a cryptic letter, Santiago travels from Spain to Tétouan in search of the family. Manipulated by El Alemán ("the German", Hermann Bonnín), Santiago discovers that the parents, a Republican Spanish teacher and an Arab Jewish woman, were murdered at the onset of the Spanish Civil War. Foreseeing a change in leadership, mercenaries in Tétouan kidnapped and executed several people aligned with the values of the Republic

and a Masonic lodge, to which Santiago's parents belonged. The children, however, survived and were given to other families the night of the murder. Santiago discovers that he is the boy in the picture and that he has a sister, Ángela (Natalia Plasencia), who still leaves in the same house with her Moroccan adoptive father, unaware of her origins. In configuring the society of this period as religiously diverse and co-existing in peace until the start of the war, the film constructs notions of convivencia in the Spanish Protectorate. With the association of the murders with a rogue militia of Hitler sympathisers, the film displaces the responsibility of the attacks onto a group in the margins, not representative of Francoist Spain, nor the Republican side, avoiding associating the murders with any of the sides in the Spanish Civil War.

Neckan (2014) had problems with distribution and minimal box office. Registered with a release date of 2014, the film was firstly screened in film festivals in 2015, not receiving a wider distribution until 2017. In contrast to *Palm Trees in the Snow*, which has received some interest in scholarly work, *Neckan* has not been explored in any known academic publication. Nevertheless, its narrative of a Spanish colonial period in Africa and the investigative thread make of *Neckan* a valuable film for comparison to *Palm Trees in the Snow*. I posit that in the context of the loss of *sovereignty* derived from the Spanish Protectorate's loss, the film suggests that this is the result of changing times, where international and supranational co-operation is more valuable than retaining influence in the colonies. As *Palm Trees in the Snow*, *Neckan* offers readings where discovering the truth is the main objective, which once revealed can be left to rest and, in the interest of avoiding further conflict, the characters agree to remain silent in a pact of forgetting for a greater good.

The Protectorate is depicted as a convivial place only disrupted by the actions of the Europeans and the individual revenge of a survivor of the executions. *Neckan* opens with the urban landscape of Tétouan, the capital of the Spanish Protectorate. Having received many Sephardi Jews and Moriscos during the expulsion of the 15th and 16th centuries, the city encompasses different architecture styles and cultures, being still home to small Christian and Sephardi communities among a majority of Arab Muslims. The spaces of the film convey this multicultural diversity, echoing notions of

Convivencia throughout. Benaboud (2008)[32] asserts that this diversity of cultural elements has led to Tétouan's World Heritage status, emphasizing the diverse communities that have influenced the city's culture. In the opening scene, an establishing shot takes the viewer to the top of the Medina Mosque, followed by Spanish colonial buildings, and finally the cemetery. The film takes the viewer through the small artisanal markets in the Medina, the touristic Gran Hotel, the Spanish barracks, the Spanish school, and the Moroccan holy city of Chaouen. In doing so, *Neckan* emphasizes the multicultural composition of Tétouan. While there are posters about Moroccan independence, the town is peaceful, and there is no unrest. In the context of contemporary Spain and the tensions surrounding the contested cities of Ceuta and Melilla, this portrayal of a peaceful and convivial life asserts a historical Spanish-Moroccan co-existence and eliminates conflict.

The main antagonist is El Alemán, who, despite leading Santiago to uncover the truth, is motivated by financial gains and is constructed as an individual of dubious morality, making him the target of revenge at the end of the film. El Alemán expresses disappointment for the withdrawal of control in the Protectorate, asserts that Franco's leadership was stronger when aligned with fascism, and suggests that Spain has lost its strength in trying to appease its "American friends". His motivations in helping Santiago are purely personal, as to unsettle the life of his old business partner, who is Ángela's adoptive father. El Alemán is involved in local crime and is depicted as a morally corrupt man surrounded by underage Moroccan boys for unspecified company. His duplicitous nature is conveyed in his introductory scene, where the door of the café creates a mirror image (Figure 45).

[32] https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-4644

Figure 45. Neckan (2014). Introduction of El Alemán [00:10:45]

El Alemán dies in the final scenes while he is luring a boy into the shadows of the street. Instead, he is surprised by a mysterious figure who mutters "Neckan Adonai" ("Revenge, my lord") in his ear while slashing his throat, an inscription that appears on a wall after the 1936 executions. The film suggests that this man is Santiago's biological uncle, Jacob Ben Allas (Abdelatif Hwidar), who is presumed to be the only survivor of the execution in 1936. This mysterious character appears as a silent figure around the town of Tétouan. His stern expression, quiet demeanour, and unclear motives make the character an untrustworthy figure (Figure 46). When Santiago is robbed on the street on his first attempt to follow him, the audience is initially left to wonder whether the enigmatic character is hindering Santiago's investigation, whether he is Jacob Ben Allas, or whether he is instead working for El Alemán. However, the film never gives any opportunity for this character to develop, remaining in the margins of the story as a threatening figure. Watching him from his hotel room, Santiago sees him sharpening a knife and staring back at Santiago's room before once more disappearing into the streets. With these brief scenes, the character acquires connotations associated with the "Moor", that is, untrustworthy, violent, and threatening (Flesler, 2008).

Figure 46. Neckan (2014). Mysterious local man, suggested to be Jacob Ben Allas, Santiago's uncle. [01:22:25]

Allusions to Spain are made sparingly. El Alemán speaks of his disappointment at what he sees as a softening of Francoist Spain after the regime distances itself from fascist ideology, withdraws from the Protectorate, and initiates negotiations with international powers such as the US. Since Santiago's father not only had been an influential figure under Franco, but is also involved in negotiations with Europe, Francoist Spain is not configured as a space of conflict. Nevertheless, it is a space of secrets, half-truths designed to avoid conflict and maintain the status quo. The Spanish space is limited to the dark flat of Santiago's parents, which contrasts with the brightness of the Moroccan spaces. In doing so, the Spain that the adoptive parents represent, that which silenced the sins of the past, is presented as repressive. Light and shadows, covering and uncovering are themes visually represented in the film's *mise-en-scene* through curtains, blinds, drying sheets, and hidden hatches. At the end, El Alemán is killed in the shadows and Santiago visits in bright daylight the place where the killings took place, staring pensively at the words "Neckan Adonai" carved on the stone (Figure 47). After a beat, Santiago turns his back to it and continues his trip back to Spain. In this context, the film advocates for reconciliation and acceptance through acknowledgement, but also for letting the past rest to achieve peaceful living. Both *Palm Trees in the Snow* and *Neckan* uncover the fathers' sins, but their resolution is acceptance and compassion.

Figure 47. Neckan (2014). Santiago visits the inscription before leaving for Spain. [01:28:18]

As with *Palm Trees in the Snow*, the characters' Christian names add layers of meaning by expressing symbolically connotations of Convivencia that overlap with the Spanish-Arab-Jewish ancestry of Santiago and Ángela, and the Masonic connections of their biological family. Santiago is the patron Saint of Spain and a symbol of Spanish Catholicism, while "Ángela" connects with "angel". The name of the protagonist reinforces his Spanishness despite his maternal Arab and Jewish ancestry. This is an element also used in *¡Harka!* (Arévalo, 1941), where Martin-Márquez (2008, p.210) notes that the nickname of "matamoros" (moor-killer) for the Saint Santiago also evokes the reconquest and assigns normative Spanishness to the protagonist. Here, Santiago symbolises Spain and convivencia through his mixed ancestry and Christian upbringing. As the character who resolves to avoid conflict by not revealing the truth to Ángela, Santiago embodies notions of personal sacrifice, acceptance and consensus, having agreed to remain silent to avoid conflict in his family. This decision has significant implications for Ángela, who had expressed her desire to leave Morocco and travel the world, but as the only daughter of her Moroccan father, she was unable to do so unless through marriage.

Ángela is portrayed as a suppressed woman who dreams of travelling and attending parties. While she dreams of freedom and equality, she is trapped in a patriarchal

conservative structure that conflicts with her aspirations of modernity. She wears trousers and '50s swing dresses, she takes the initiative to kiss Santiago, and invites him to remove his clothes to join her in the swimming pool (Figure 48). Nevertheless, most of these transgressions are performed in private. She drinks wine and smokes behind his back, hides her Parisian bikini from her father, and buys music and alcohol from Spain. After complaining to Santiago that she will never be allowed to leave Tétouan unless a man takes her away, his silence at the end of the film makes her fate even more poignant. Ángela evokes the literary trope of the *mora cautiva* (captive Moor woman), often a Christian captive in need of rescue. Keeping her behaviours private in the context of the patriarchal societies of Francoist Spain and Morocco, Ángela represents the repressed woman longing for the transformations that Europe and modernity could bring.

Figure 48. Neckan (2014). Ángela in her Parisian bikini. [00:37:17]

The film articulates criticism of the Cultures of the Transition, such as the "pact of forgetting" and the tacit agreement not to investigate the past or to respect the amnesty laws of Francoist Spain. Santiago's father represents this desire to keep the truth in the past, whereas Santiago makes his own agreement with Ángela's father, also in the context of avoiding conflict. However, the difference is that Santiago wants to know this truth and confronts those around him, whereas Ángela is not aware of any

secrets and does not question her origins. The truth, thus, is for those who seek it and, once known, relieves the individual from a burden of uncertainty.

Palm Trees in the Snow and *Neckan* approach the colonial period of Spain in the African continent at the brink of independence. This articulation of the colonial past aligns with trends in Spanish cultures that interrogate the collective memory. In doing so, they construct a benign version of Spanish colonialism that avoids engaging critically with the structures of power and the systemic racism that perpetuates them. Instead, any reparations are kept at the level of acknowledging (the Spanish version of) the past, forgiveness as the path to the future. The trope of Convivencia is depicted as a successful co-existence not only for the colonies, but also by extension for contemporary Spain. In this context, reasserting the Europeanness of Spain emphasises a discourse of national unity under supranational identity. The presence in these films of European characters aligns the Spaniards with other colonisers, presenting the European countries as alike but where the (hegemonic) Spaniard demonstrates a higher moral ground. These fictions of the recent colonial period allow for an identification of Spain with European colonial powers. Yet, the trope of Hispanotropicalism also allows for exceptionalism, where Spain is presented as more sympathetic and morally superior. While films about Spanish colonialism in Latin America, such as *También la lluvia/Even the Rain* (Bollaín, 2010), explore the violence of colonialism, *Palm Trees* and *Neckan* construct a kind of benign colonialism that supposedly benefited the African territories, which enter periods of instability and violence upon independence.

With *Palm Trees* covering a colonial period between 1953-1968, and *Neckan* a few days in April 1956, the narratives are anchored in times of political change where Spain withdrew from the colonies under international pressure, a desire to participate in the EEC, and appease the UN. The films reimagine the Spanish past and connect it to European colonialism but also the European project of unity that would become the EEC/EU. In doing so, *Palm Trees* and *Neckan* reassert intersections of Spanishness and Europeanness by delineating a shared historical past. Europeanness is not expressed in terms of *becoming* part of the EU, as narratives of modernisation or liberation had expressed previously, but in terms of *belonging* to the group of European powers with international influence, alluding to historical similarities with France, Germany and the

UK and, in this way, separating itself from newer EU members. This approach echoes ideas of global significance and cooperation that also permeate the next section.

The Films of Contemporary Global Threats.

The films depicting the fight against contemporary global threats construct notions of *sovereignty* related to the control and securitisation of the national space. For Castells (2010b, pp.210-211), global crime directly threatens state *sovereignty,* and it is often associated with immigration:

> State sovereignty, already battered by the processes of globalization and identification, is directly threatened by flexible networks of crime that bypass controls (…). Furthermore, since immigrant networks are often used by organized crime to penetrate societies, the excessive, and unjust, association between immigration and crime triggers xenophobic feelings in public opinion, undermining the tolerance and capacity of coexistence that our increasingly multi-ethnic societies desperately need.

In this context, Castells (2010a, p.358) affirms that the "control of the nation-state, one way or the other, becomes just one means among others to assert power". In depicting successful narratives against the global threats of international terrorism and global crime, the films in this section assert notions of power and *sovereignty.*

Although national terrorism was a threat for much of the '80s and the '90s in Spain, narratives of international terrorism in fiction film have been limited, as Veres (2013) notes. The author contends that Spanish film has approached the topic from a historicist point of view, retelling events around the Basque separatist group ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna). More fictionalised narratives have been rare and more frequent in the new millennium.

For Baudrillard (2003, par.1, par.15), terrorism is the "contemporary partner of globalization", where terrorism acts as an "act of humiliation responding to another humiliation". The Atocha attack was read by some as a reaction to the involvement of the then President José María Aznar in the Iraq War (Sinkkonen, 2016, p.332). While the

government of Aznar insisted that ETA was responsible for the attack, the news media pointed at Al-Qaeda. The refusal to consider Al-Qaeda the guilty party, and the potential to lose leads while they were arguing with the press, increased criticism against Aznar's government. With national elections held shortly afterwards, Aznar's party lost the vote, and the new government withdrew the troops from Iraq. If the act of terrorism is, thus, a reactive act of humiliation, that *No Rest for the Wicked* stops this act from happening, prevents national humiliation and asserts the cooperative value of Spain in the War of Terror. In contrast, the portrayal of a Spain fighting drug trafficking has a long tradition. Stone (2019) indicates that during Francoist Spain the thriller genre (Spanish film noir) allowed the cinema of the Regime to convey moral lessons about their use, and frequently the criminal activities were associated with notions of foreignness. During the transition, the "cine quinqui" (delinquent films) depicted the social reality of marginalised areas of the city, often portraying regular drug taking and drug transactions (Whittaker, 2020; del Pozo, 2015, 2020). Marañón (2020) argues that although the "quinqui film" declined at the end of the 80s, it has made a comeback in the new millennium with aims of a more global reach that approaches popular genres and co-productions, although del Pozo (2015) also declares that drugs in Spanish cinema have been addressed more significantly in the context of addiction and consumption. For Cascajosa Virino (2018), the inclusion of more exportable themes of global crime and drug trafficking are a consequence of a desire to reach more international audiences after the financial crash.

In portraying Spain as fighting against global insecurity, the films of global threats emphasise Spain's value as an ally and call for improved supranational cooperation. In these films, the figure of the immigrant or the racialised *other* is at the centre of the tensions between their inclusion in the *imagined community* and the fears that their presence evokes. For Castells (2010b, p.361), globalisation has triggered "defensive reactions around the world, often organized around the principles of national and territorial identity". In the context of European integration and supranational identities, Castells (2010b, p.362) affirms that ethnic diversity has increased fears over loss of national identity and the sense of insecurity that these fears promote:

> The utilization of this insecurity by political demagogues (…) amplifies the expression of cultural nationalism throughout the political system

> and the mass media. The linkage, in the public mind, between crime, violence, terrorism, and ethnic minorities/foreigners/the other, leads to a dramatic surge in European xenophobia, just at the high point of European universalism.

For Boyd (2007), Hollywood films depicting the war against drugs function in a similar way by portraying narratives where the protection of the nation means an increase in securitisation. In this context, both *No Rest for the Wicked* and *The Kid* construct a Spain affected by the dangers of globalisation, but their successful resolutions suggest Spain's capability to fight against these threats. While the authorities are flawed by either bureaucracy or corruption, the Spaniard at the bottom of the hierarchy puts the clues together to succeed. It is their network of contacts, their increased surveillance, and their persistence that makes them reach their goal. The films configure a Spain that once again reasserts its value as Guardian of Fortress Europe, but that in the face of globalisation does so with an emphasis on international collaborations.

No habrá paz para los malvados/No Rest for the Wicked (Enrique Urbizu, 2011)

The enemy within. An appeal for more efficient processes and further collaboration.

No Rest for the Wicked (2011) is a thriller with western tones that reimagines the 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, looking at the circumstances and the failures that facilitated it, and with a main character that stops it from happening. Santos Trinidad (José Coronado) is here a policeman who has fallen from grace. One night, in drunken rage, he ends up shooting three people at a strip club. Trying to eliminate the surviving witness, Trinidad follows the tracks and stumbles onto the path of the terrorist cell. As he follows these clues, he tries to elude the authorities and hide his implication in the triple murder at the club. At the end, Trinidad faces the terrorist group and prevents the attack in the nick of time, killing all the terrorists and being mortally wounded.

Scholars note the correlation of its narrative with the events of the Atocha bombings in 2004, as a film that addresses the terrorist attacks in the context of global threats. Paul Julian Smith (2017, p.131) indicates that the film follows US trends but with local concerns. Particularly, for Smith, the film goes beyond the terrorist attack to express

national concerns. For example, the economic crisis is reflected indirectly through the main character's positioning against the landscape (Figure 49), providing contrast between the wastelands, the skyscrapers in the distance as symbolic of the building bubble, and the casting of José Coronado as Santos Trinidad, and actor who had been a "dashing leading man" and is now "battered and grizzled" (Smith, 2017, p.13).

Figure 49. No Rest for the Wicked (2011). Trinidad burning the evidence in the outskirts. [00:14:31]

Silva Echeto (2013, p.22), Díaz (2012, pp.120-121) and Rodríguez (2016, p.139) connect the film not only to the global threats and the financial crisis, but also to the failures of the Transition, where the film reflects a contrast between the globalised world in which Spain is inscribed and the inefficiency of the governmental institutions. For these scholars, the film expresses a warning regarding the arbitrary nature of violence in a globalised world and the role of luck in its prevention, suggesting that Spain is not prepared against these global threats. I suggest that the films advocate for improved (supra)national collaboration, but that the successful resolution makes an argument for the capability of Spain as a partner against global threats, if the obstacles posed by inefficient individuals are removed. This unpreparedness is also explored by Norton (2014, p.177), who indicates that the film "emphasizes the problems of communication that plague Spanish state security agencies and thus allow terrorist activity to go undetected, while at the same time criticizing the ineffectiveness of the state in the face of capitalist forces". What Norton (2014) also highlights is how the film reimagines Spanish identity by depicting it as a borderland, a contested territory that rejects

hybridity and reasserts a kind of hegemonic identity of whiteness and Spanish ancestry. Questioned about the stereotypes and prejudice that the film seems to convey, Urbizu rejects this claim during a Q&A published in *El País*[33] and indicates that the "worst characters" have Spanish nationality, such as the character of El Ceutí (born in Ceuta), the antagonist of the film. However, this character is *othered* through his racialised appearance, his origins in the Spanish enclave of Africa, his use of Arabic, his role in converting his Spanish wife to Islam, and the isolation from her family imposed on her after marriage.

The majority of scholarship on *No Rest for the Wicked* explores elements of auteurship and the thriller genre in recent Spanish cinema in relation to concerns over corruption and evil (Díaz, 2012; Sánchez Zapatero and Marcos Ramos, 2014; Luque Carreras, 2015; MP Rodríguez, 2016; MS Rodríguez, 2017; Rico, 2016; González, 2017; Cascajosa Virino, 2018; López-Lerma, 2018; López-Martínez, 2021). Another body of research has discussed the transmedia meanings deriving from the presence of its cast and themes in a parallel TV series (Martínez-Alcañiz; 2017), the portrayal of international terrorism (Veres, 2013; Girbés, 2017), or the portrayal of immigration in fiction film (Norton, 2014; Marcos Ramos, 2014, 2020). Of these, the work of Norton (2014) presents important points for this chapter in relation to the portrayal of immigration, while Ramos (2014) offers insightful points derived from screenwriters' reflections on the construction of immigrant characters in commercial film. For Marcos Ramos (2014), the desire of the producers to encourage Spanish audiences to identify with the characters leads to the relegation of immigrant characters to the background, while also reporting on a lack of immigrant filmmakers or actors that could challenge this aspect of the production process. His study concludes that research processes influenced by the news media lead to the presence of many stereotypes in scripts. At the same time, the commercial interests of the film often make any realist characterisation suffer as a consequence, giving preference to clichés for both Spanish and immigrant characters. Norton (2014) also engages with the stereotyping of the immigrant, particularly concerning the association of immigration with threats, as well as noting the impossibility of controlling the border or preventing terrorist attacks. For the author (2014, p.185), the hybridity of Spain is portrayed in negative terms and the removal of

[33] https://elpais.com/cultura/2012/02/20/actualidad/1329753600_1329762443.html

"any characters that suggest hybridity reinforces an antiquated view of a hegemonic Spanish national identity". While the portrayal of hybridity does indeed associate these characters with danger, I suggest that these connotations are constructed within the main character's point of view, the anti-hero Santos Trinidad (José Coronado), who represents a Spain in crisis, decadent, full of prejudice and in need of renewal. Trinidad is only in contact with the marginalised and criminal groups in society, which leads to an over-association of criminality and *otherness* within the narrative. However, under his gaze, the audiences also witness immigrants enjoying their afternoon in the square, laughing and chatting in groups, affectionate couples, and regular workers doing their day's work. The death of Trinidad at the end of the film removes from the Spanish space the behaviours embodied by this character, that is, the mistrust against the *other* and his moral corruption.

Trinidad stares at the racialised *other* and remains isolated from the rest of the community. If the *other* is chatting in a group, Trinidad is silent and alone; if the *other* is romantically involved with another character, Trinidad is lonely and rejected. In response to whether he is still dating a "morenita"[34], he immediately replies that "I am loved by no one". Trinidad is out of place in a Spain that is changing. With his death, his prejudice is also evicted from the Spanish space. Although the main characters bringing conflict are connected to notions of *otherness*, some characters racialised as *others* are instead victims of Trinidad, such as the initial triple murder, which is partially condoned in the film because two of the victims were associated with crime. This scene sets the impulsive unreliability of Trinidad, and the plot constructs him as a troubled character with a past to hide, an unspoken conflict with his old partner, and an estranged family of whom only objects of memory remain. Within the first minutes of the film and looking for a place to continue his drinking, Trinidad arrives at a strip club at closing time. In the interaction with the waitress, Trinidad asks about her nationality due to her accent and scoffs at her answer of "Spanish". The diegetic music sings "mentirosa" (liar), echoing Trinidad's contempt for her reply. After refusing him a drink, Trinidad shows his police credentials and the owner agrees to serve him a drink. With a sudden change in demeanour, the owner's friendly approach triggers an aggressive response in

[34] The term is ambiguous, it can refer both to a brunette but also to a darker-skinned woman. The viewer never gets more information.

Trinidad, who shoots the waitress, the owner, and his guard. A witness escapes the club, and Trinidad looks for clues among the possessions of the deceased. It is revealed that the owner was a Colombian drug lord and human trafficker, and that the guard was a "Sicario" (Colombian hitman) with a Belgian passport. In attributing a Belgian nationality to the hitman, the film avoids suggesting that it is the postcolonial relationship with Spain that allows networks of global crime from Latin America to enter Europe. The threats, thus, do not necessarily enter Europe through the Spanish border, but instead reach Spain because of their access to Europe. In this context, the "enemy within" is a consequence of globalisation and the erasure of the internal supranational borders derived from the Schengen area, not Spain's failure to protect its external borders. The ability to travel and escape surveillance in a globalised world is further suggested in dialogue. For example, the Colombian owner of the dance club frequently travels to Italy, and El Ceutí is said to have travelled to the UK, Afghanistan and Yemen.

These connections between globalised countries present a Spain that is fully participating in the processes of globalisation and, consequently, is also vulnerable to its threats. *No Rest for the Wicked* constructs Spain in relation to global significance from the onset, via the news on the TV in the background of the opening scene. Here, the TV speaks of three events. First, the increased risk derived from the enrichment of uranium within the Islamic Republic. Second, of a fictional G-20 summit happening in Madrid that same week. And third, of entertainment news related to the Carnival of the Canary Islands and a Real Madrid football match. In doing so, the film addresses dangers derived from globalisation, attaches political significance to Spain as a host and participant in the G-20, and displays *cultural capital* that attracts international interest. This connection to the global is further emphasised via genre conventions associated with the Spaghetti Western. The opening shot pauses on a slot machine depicting props of the western genre, such as cowboy hats, sheriff badges, a saloon, or money bags. A long shot allows the viewer to see Santos Trinidad playing in this slot machine, his face is still unseen. Without revealing his identity, the first shots concentrate on Trinidad playing and drinking whisky before a close-up of his cowboy boots takes the audience to the bar, where he orders another drink, and his face is finally revealed. Throughout the film, Trinidad is characterised as the lone anti-hero of the spaghetti western, an outsider and an outlaw, who nevertheless saves the town.

The spaces of the film emphasize the difficulties of reducing these threats via a variety of *non-places* that underscore the mobility of threats. Trinidad is constantly on the chase, with many scenes taking place driving around the city and its outskirts, including warehouses, empty houses in the countryside, empty flats in the inner city, the Atocha train station, and a shopping centre. In the few *anthropological places* that Trinidad visits, he is depicted as out of place, not using the space as a place of community. At a square where he stops, Trinidad gazes at the immigrant groups chatting. Sat next to him, an old homeless man drinks wine from a carton and creates visual parallelisms with Trinidad, both with long hair, touching their beards, isolated from the encounters taking place around them (Figure 50).

Figure 50. No Rest for the Wicked (2011). Trinidad in the square. [00:23:55]

In doing so, the scene reinforces the withdrawal of Santos Trinidad from society and his own *othering* within it. Similar notions of the outsider are constructed in the nightclub, where he observes the people dancing on the dance floor while looking for an informer. When he visits the parents' home of Paloma, a Spanish woman married to El Ceutí, he does not introduce himself and invents a pretext, as he is officially investigating missing people. Sneaking into the Cultural Association of Tangiers, Trinidad does not announce his presence. In all these places, Trinidad is an outsider that never participates in the *anthropological places* he visits.

The visit to the Spanish domestic space of Paloma's parents reveals an enemy within. El Ceutí is described as from a very good family and kind, who, however, changed as soon as he married. As the parents reveal, El Ceutí cut their relationship, left for London with Paloma, and transformed her into a symbolic oppressed woman. This is expressed through exposition with Paloma's lack of means of communication and her parents' rejection of her veil, who lament to Trinidad that "all my life, I taught her to be free", suggesting that her choice to wear a veil is an antithesis to freedom. In this way, the film also echoes the trope of the *captive Moor woman* that *Neckan* expressed, the kidnapped Christian, captive, hidden, and in need of rescue. While Urbizu claims that the film does not demonise immigration because the violence is enacted by Spanish people (Trinidad, Ceutí), the fact that El Ceutí is clearly *othered*, despite his Spanish citizenship, connects the hybridity of the immigrant to a dangerous potential for harm.

The constant references to global places reinforce notions of a Spain inscribed in the global minority and impacted by the mobility that globalisation creates. The backdrop of the G-20 contributes to firmly positioning Spain in the context of globalisation and financial growth. Despite being a film released during the financial crisis, the film does not echo the issues derived from it. Instead, Trinidad embodies a moral crisis, one derived from a traumatic past, a fight between close friends and partners, and a personal sacrifice. Trinidad constitutes a symbol of the old Spain that needs to be renewed. The continuous mention of the G-20, the leaders of influential nation-states visiting Spain, or the embassies that need protection from anti-globalisation protesters constantly remind viewers of these connections and their political significance. The Spanish embassies abroad are also places of influence and contact with the *other*. For example, Trinidad's past is tied to Colombia, where he lost his police partner in a shooting. With suggestions that Trinidad was involved in this shooting and that his partner might have been a corrupt cop, the film makes Trinidad the carrier of a traumatic secret that has set his life in disarray. He wears a wedding ring and his apartment displays a picture of himself and his daughter, of whom the audience knows nothing. The blinds are always down and he drinks in the darkness toying with his gun. Even though this is his personal *anthropological place*, the place is void of other human connections, and there is no enjoyment of the place. The Spain of the film is expressed as a country suffering from the impact of globalisation and modernity, that is, the

fragmentation of the Spanish family, the porosity of the borders due to increased mobility, and the threats of global crime represented not only in the terrorist cells but also in the drug-and-human-trafficking networks. As one of the characters states, Spain is "a colander", where the drugs that before entered through Galicia from Latin America are now entering from Morocco and, from there, to the rest of Europe. By killing not only the terrorist cell but also the Colombian smugglers that were continuing their illicit businesses with impunity, Trinidad stops both criminal activities and reasserts the securitisation of the Spanish space.

In *No Rest for the Wicked*, the border is not seen but imagined via the presence of the *other* and the ability to move across countries undetected. That El Ceutí is not in London anymore and has returned to Spain is situated in the context of an international struggle to follow his tracks. The Spanish police comment on his travels to Afghanistan and Yemen, lamenting the fact that transferring his file from one department to another had facilitated losing his trail. This porosity is not exclusive to the Spanish border, and the movements of those involved in the criminal activities expand to Italy, Morocco, Colombia, or Belgium. By expanding the threats beyond the Spanish border and configuring permeability both ways, the films reassert the importance of international collaboration to secure the European space. In this alliance, it is the Spaniard who solves the final clue that allows for the threat to be contained. In this context, the films offer a reading where Spain becomes a valuable ally in the struggles against global threats.

While the bureaucracy of the system is also criticised due to its slow processes, the ultimate obstacles to effective cooperation are a consequence of individuals. El Ceutí's file was transferred from the unit investigating terrorism to the unit investigating narcotraffic, but after its dismissal, the file was never returned to the previous unit and red flags were missed. The information is not shared, and the files in the system are full of typos, so much so that the viewer is incited to think that they have been inputted carelessly and in a rush. However, the film points at individuals when looking at the inefficacy of the system. Although the processes are overly bureaucratic and create obstacles, it is ultimately the actions of individuals what impedes the course of justice. While Trinidad solves the puzzle by working outside these channels, the two other main characters working on the case, Judge Chacón (Helena Miquel) and officer Leiva (Juanjo

Artero), are constructed as justice-driven officials hindered by the inefficiency of others. In this manner, the film posits hope in the system and the structures of power, only if they turn to effective communication and share the information that they hold. *No Rest for the Wicked* articulates concerns over the management of the past and the inaccuracies of what is known, which had emerged with the debate over the Law of Historical Memory, and sets the tone for a message that a year later would develop fully in the context of the 15-M movement and the interrogation of the cultures of the Transition.

Although the Atocha attacks inspire the film, the target in the film is the shopping centre Islazul. Upon stopping the threat, the images of the centre that close the film are of a supermarket, a cinema, retail shops, and an indoor children's fair. As Trinidad stops anyone with access to the trigger, these places fill up with people and the camera reminds the viewer of the bombs still in the fire extinguishers. In closing with the indoor playground, the film creates hope for the future but also uncertainty. Another element that the film changes from the bombings is that the narrative is set in 2010, instead of offering an alternative version to the 2004 events. While the month and day of the planned event coincide with the Atocha attack, 11th of March (11-M), the year is a piece of information that misleads the viewer continuously. The computer files provide different dates if calculated by the suspects' date of birth and age, positioning the viewer in 2006, 2007 and 2009. Paloma's apartment has been empty for two years and has a 2007 wall calendar, while her parents' house has a 2010 one. This is the same date on the Interpol report, but a video where the terrorists have filmed a propagandistic message, sets the date on April 2009. While it might be a continuity issue, I posit that it is an intentional way to mislead the audience, bringing the idea that this is an event that could happen at any time, one that has been stopped in the confines of the film, but that it is ever-present as a possibility. Other elements in the film echo the events of the 11-M without mentioning it but inciting the audience to recall the actual event, leading the viewer to make assumptions about the plot. The TV in the opening scene (which narrated the possession of Uranium by the Islamic State, the preparations for the G-20, the Carnival festivities, and a Real Madrid match) invites the spectator to assume that one of these events is the target of the attack. The constant allusion on screen and in dialogue to the G-20, with Trinidad even in stakeout

by the Italian embassy, directs the viewer's expectations towards this event. As the investigation continues, other places of big gatherings are suggested as potentially relevant in the plot, such as the Airport and the stadium of the Real Madrid, both appearing in a GPS and mentioned in dialogue. The place of the actual 2004 attacks, Atocha, also appears echoed at different points throughout. First, in the few first minutes of the film in the address of a missing girl, who lives on Atocha street. Second, with a train station visible from a window from which Trinidad peeks, in the hotel room of the "Sicario". Third, as a visual reference at Judge Chacón's office, where the train tracks are echoed throughout three paintings on the wall (Figure 55). And finally, when Trinidad chases some of the suspects through Atocha station towards the end of the film.

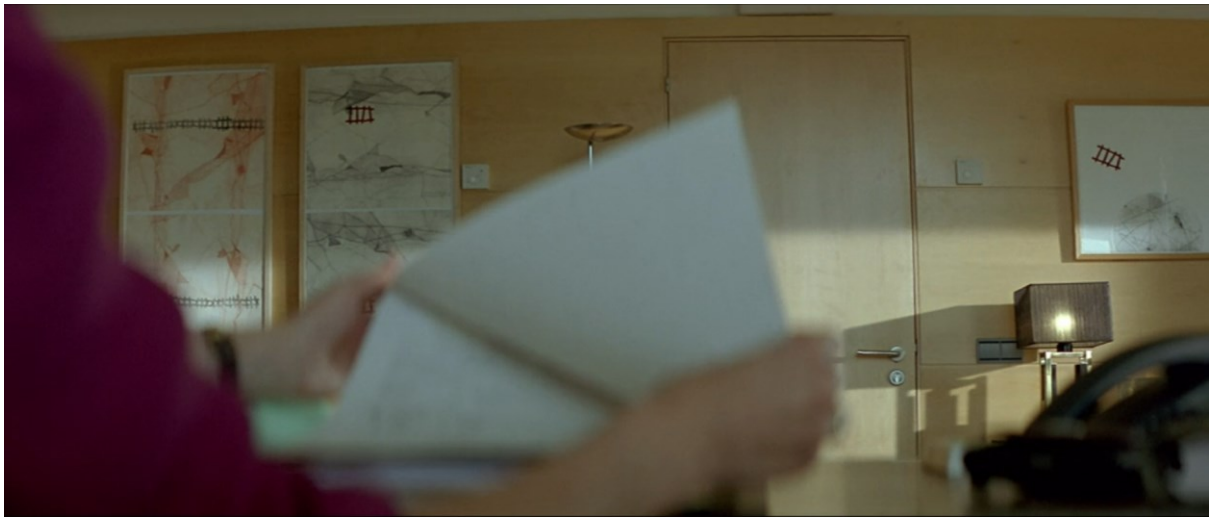

Figure 51. No Rest for the Wicked (2011). Judge Chacón's office. Train tracks on wall. [00:55:27]

These are elements that remind the viewer of the real event while reimagining a completely different one. As the fictional attack is finally confirmed to be in the shopping centre, all other potential targets are misleading. In doing so, the film creates an alternative line of events, both concerning the year of the attack and the place in which it is set to occur, which lead the audience through different possibilities and, ultimately, asserts the role of chance and the need to be prepared at any point. In dealing with the trauma of the 11-M, the film reimagines a different ending and line of events, creating different circumstances for a different ending, and allowing the audiences to echo the events without reliving the ordeal. The cathartic ending, where the terrorist cell is obliterated, serves to bring retribution and resolution. However, in

the film, no one gets to know how close this near-miss was. Chacón and Leiva arrive at the scene after Trinidad has died, and although he holds in his hand the mobile phone that could have set off the bombs, it is retrieved from his hand with a puzzled look. The film posits that the threats of the global are ever-present. Urbizu's film, thus, calls for further collaboration and effectivity, one that brings closer connections between countries and speeds the sharing of information at national and international levels, since Interpol delivers the more reliable information in the film. Whereas the Spanish units delay sending the files, or these documents contain multiple mistakes, the Interpol file is absent of the typos and age inaccuracies of the Spanish ones. However, the threat has been contained, even if by unorthodox means. Now that Santos Trinidad has disappeared from the Spanish space, all that remains is the hope for the future, represented in the children and families walking through the film's final montage. It is only through better communication and transparency that future threats can be contained. The next film in the case studies is less critical regarding the efficiency of the authorities in regard to security, yet individual corruption also hinders the investigation and the film asserts the value of supranational cooperation.

El Niño/The Kid (Daniel Monzón, 2014)

Ever-present threats in the Strait. Supra-national collaboration against global crime.

The Kid is a thriller engaging with drug smuggling into Europe. The narrative starts with two different plots that intersect. In one, police officer Jesús (Luis Tosar) attempts to intercept a consignment of drugs arranged by the criminal networks operating in the Strait of Gibraltar, led by a character known as El Inglés (the Englishman, Ian McShane) in collaboration with Eastern European groups. In the other, El Niño (Jesús Castro) convinces his friend El Compi (Jesús Carroza) to smuggle cannabis across the Strait to earn cash quickly and set up a beach bar. They approach Halil (Said Chatiby), a youngster whose uncle Rachid (Moussa Maaskri) leads operations from Morocco to Spain. The youngsters' first assignment is to take a consignment, but they are discovered by Jesús. Instead of throwing the drugs overboard, as Rachid instructed them if they were caught, El Niño proceeds to run away and initiates a dangerous persecution that ends with one of Jesús' colleagues seriously injured. While El Niño

escapes, he discovers that the assignment was a decoy to allow for the actual consignment to reach Spain. Infuriated and defying Rachid's control of the drug rings, he agrees with Halil to smuggle hashish across the Strait using his jet ski. To do so, they enlist the help of Halil's sister, Amina (Mariam Bachir), with whom El Niño initiates a romantic relationship. At the end, Jesús and his team discover a colleague is a mole for the Englishmen, stop the consignment, and arrest El Niño. Halil escapes the authorities, El Compi joins the Guardia Civil, and Amina visits El Niño in prison to tell him she will wait for him.

The film follows trends in Spanish cinema also found in *No Rest for the Wicked*, such as the use of the thriller genre, the approach of international themes anchored in the national, depictions of global crime linked to the *other*, and an articulation of globalisation that anchor Spain to the global minority but also the increased precarity that it brings. *The Kid* focuses on criminal drug networks, also reflecting issues of corruption within official institutions as a consequence of the tensions between financial precarity and the pressures of the *society of consumers*. While the film was very successful at the box office, the body of research is more modest, with most scholarship addressing it in the context of the crime genre. Paul Julian Smith (2017, p.132) approaches the film alongside *No Rest for the Wicked* to discuss the shifts in hegemonic Spanish national cinema and the use of popular genres. Rodríguez Ortega (2018) also approaches this film by exploring genre as a channel for addressing corruption in the context of neoliberal transnational practices. While both scholars discuss the film in relation to global crime and the porosity of the border, their analyses focus on the use of genre for a critique of political corruption derived from globalisation and a problematic Transition. My analysis expands from these positions to engage with how the tensions between the national, the *other* and the global construct notions of Spain. In doing so, I contend that the film anchors Spain to the global minority. The film constructs notions of significance in the context of the fight against global threats, its position on the southern European border, and forgiveness as a resolution to trauma.

In *The Kid*, spaces related to mobility and the border are also prominent and, once again, a Spaniard secures the Spanish space by stopping the criminal activities. The sea, the port, Gibraltar, and the border in Ceuta are prominent spaces in the film. The sea opens the film, with an image of a shipping port and text on-screen locating the view as

"Strait of Gibraltar. UK, Spain and Morocco seen from the port of Algeciras". In doing so, the film's opening establishes the spatial connections between these three points. The proximity of Africa is immediately underscored with on-screen text, connoting that this closeness is a factor in the entry of illegal drugs (Figure 52).

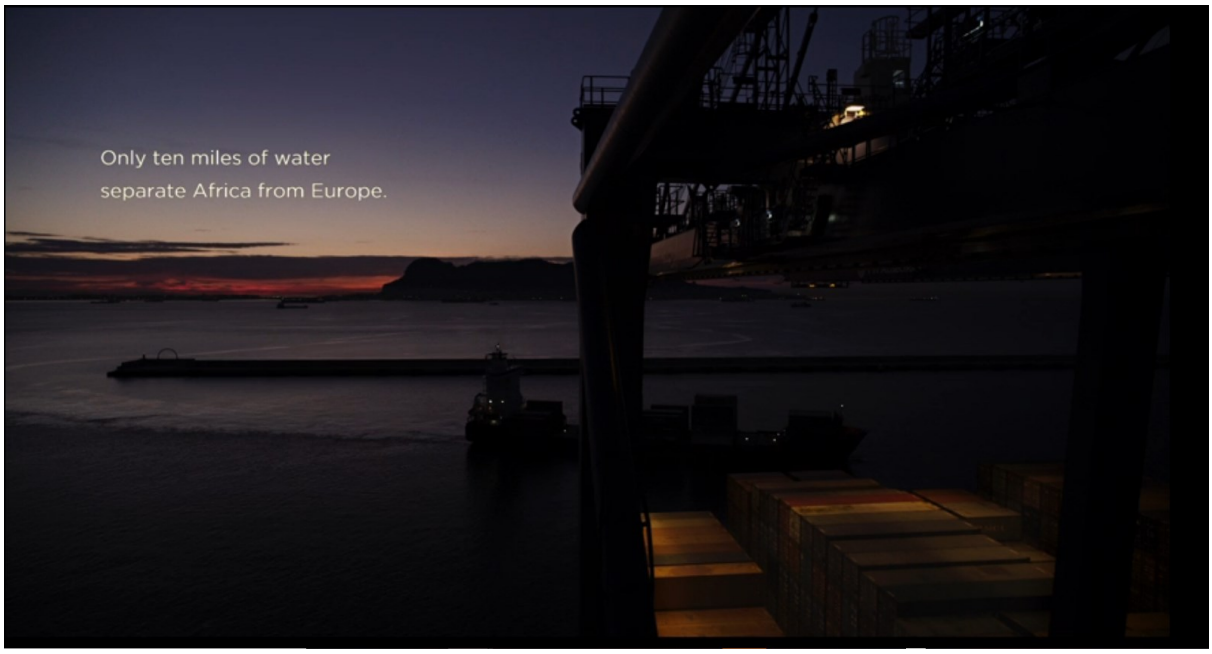

Figure 52. *The Kid* (2014). Opening scene [00:00:43]

The image of the with the African coast in the horizon reminds the viewer of Africa's proximity and the porosity of the border, which continue to be emphasized through the following scenes. Jesús and Eva, the Spanish police officers, enter Gibraltar looking for the Englishman, who is identified as one of the leaders organising the consignments from Europe. Despite their efforts, clues have been planted to mislead them into opening the wrong container at the port, and they miss the shipment. If the border control at the port is inefficient at this stage, it is not because of the incompetence of the Spanish authorities, but because of the collaborations between global criminal networks and corrupt officials. Sergio, one of the police officers, had been alerting the Englishman in exchange for money, while bribery of the officers patrolling the border seems to be an everyday occurrence for Rashid. The porosity of the border is not linked to its management and surveillance, but is a consequence of the better organisation and influence of criminal networks. When Jesús receives more support from Interpol and isolates the corrupt official, the operation is successful. Although this signals the end of this operation, the following day the town wakes up to new leadership in the

criminal groups. The Englishman appears beheaded, presumably by Albanians, and a telephone voice-over in code suggests the operations are continuing. As El Niño and Compi declare in the first scenes, if they do not smuggle drugs, "someone else will", the drug smuggling operation continues because the demand drives it.

The film presents Spain as a valuable partner against global crime, where not only Spain but also Gibraltar have the responsibility to contain these threats because of their position on the southern European border. In the context of renewed territorial claims over Gibraltar in the two years prior to the film's release, *The Kid* aligns with the Spanish national allegation that the status of Gibraltar requires specific measures against global crime. The porosity of the border is bidirectional, however, and is not only associated with drug smuggling into Spain, as goods are also smuggled out from Ceuta into Morocco. It is here where the audience is introduced to Amina, Halil's sister, who makes money as a porter for essential and luxury products. As the newspaper *El País* reported, this trade "represents more than 50% of what Ceuta imports from Peninsular Spain"[35]. By showing smuggling activities going to and out of Spain, the film underscores the mobility of people and goods across the border due to globalisation and demand.

Monzón indicates that the story of *The Kid* is based on actual events and interviews with the police and drug hauliers[36]. Nevertheless, this is not a biopic, and the exact events are fictional. It echoes anxieties around the contested territories of Gibraltar, Ceuta and Perejil Island, all of which are depicted in the film in connection to the drug smuggling activities. Whereas in the '80s and '90s the entry of drug smuggling was on the North West coast of Galicia, the new millennium saw an increase in smuggling activities in the Strait, a point that is also made through exposition in *No Rest for the Wicked*. As del Valle Gálvez (2013) reports for the Instituto Real El Cano, with mounting tensions since the change in governments in 2010-2011, a diplomatic crisis in the summer of 2013 between Spain and the UK broke after Gibraltar created an artificial reef in waters claimed by Spain. Part of the countermeasures considered by the government, included "[r]einforcing inspections at the frontier in order to prevent smuggling, money laundering and illicit trafficking" (del Valle, 2013, p.140), bringing to the forefront concerns over the role of Gibraltar in the border and moving beyond the issues of

[35] https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2019/12/10/inenglish/1575972423_610599.html
[36] https://www.rtve.es/radio/20140901/daniel-monzon-nino-revelamos-cosas-gente-ni-se-imagina/1003461.shtml

fishing waters and environmental protection that had pervaded other claims to date. In doing so, the porosity of the border becomes not just a Spanish issue, but a European one. Since then, numerous news reports have echoed these concerns with articles on the drug rings in Gibraltar, the use of this artificial reef in the smuggling activities, or the role of British nationals living in Gibraltar in the narcotraffic.

The area of the Strait is not only a focal point concerning *sovereignty*, but also an area in which the control of the border and the sea is expressed in terms of influence and power. Advanced technology is displayed in *The Kid* through the investigation. The Spanish authorities are seen using the surveillance system SIVE, intercepting phone calls, and suddenly appearing from within the darkness with the helicopter. In contrast, the Moroccan Navy Coast Guard is described as a big ship clearly visibly from a distance, with military men who "shoot first and ask later". In this way, and since the film ends with the retrieval of a big cargo of drugs, Spain's management of the border is constructed with notions of efficacy and modernity. The inclusion in the narrative of the Interpol to help track containers or the emphasis on Gibraltar as a place for head of operations make the border control a European issue, where Spain leads the way in technology and resources. In this manner, the film expresses the value of Spain as a partner in the War on Drugs, thus, reasserting its *symbolic capital*.

Modernity is also expressed in terms of Europeanness. Like other case studies in this thesis, *The Kid* expresses notions regarding the trope of women's liberation in the context of European culture. Halil describes his sister Amina as troublesome because she got divorced and her attitude would never get her a husband in Morocco. In specifying the geographical space, the film makes her behaviours incompatible only with Morocco. On the day they meet, Amina argues with Halil, removes her headscarf in defiance, and leaves. On their first date, and immediately after she gets off the bus, Amina removes her headscarf, puts on jeans and packs away her original clothes, aligning her visually with ideas of European fashion (Figures 53 and 54).

Figure 53. The Kid (2014). Amina before changing clothes. [01:02:09]

Figure 54. The Kid (2014). Amina has changed clothes. [01:02:26]

While Amina evokes once more the trope of the "mora cautiva" (captive moor woman), Halil echoes the prejudice that Flesler (2008) associates with the contemporary Moroccan man. The anxieties of the "moor" are expressed in dialogue against Halil, to whom the characters refer on a few occasions as "moro" (Moor) and not "marroquí" (Moroccan). In the scene where Halil is introduced, Niño and Compi stare at him through the café window and have the following dialogue:

[COMPI] That's him.
[NIÑO] Him? What are you saying? That guy is a Moor.
[COMPI] No, not at all.
[NIÑO] I am telling you, I am looking at him.
[COMPI] No, he is not a Moor, he's Spanish, he showed me the other day his ID in a club, sniffing a line. They sneak over when they are little, and because they cannot deport them, they put them in a school, and after a while, they become Spanish.

The dialogue conjures the concerns over Spanish nationality as something that can be acquired administratively. The narrative of sneaking over from Morocco to Spain connects with the figure of the Moor and the 711 AD invasion, which literary versions retell with a plot of manipulation and stealth. These are signifiers also associated with the Army of Africa at the start of the Spanish Civil War, when Franco transported thousands of Spanish-Moroccan soldiers into the Peninsula. In both cases, the entry of the troops into Spain is recorded as unexpected and concealed. However, it must be noted that this is the view of these specific characters, the young and impulsive Niño and Compi, whom Halil at some point mocks for using the term.

As with other films in this chapter, *The Kid* starts with an identity search, in this case, the identity of those leading the drug trafficking network. As the narrative progresses, a second investigative thread emerges when Jesús becomes suspicious that the information is being passed to the criminal group. At the risk of damaging his friendship with Sergio, Jesús proceeds to select the information he shares with him and investigates Sergio's accounts. As it is later revealed, Sergio is accepting bribes to help fund his daughter's university fees in the US, which could not be covered with the salary of a Spanish officer. The pressures incited by the competitive market, the *symbolic capital* of the North American universities, and the impossibility of earning that much money, make Sergio accept the transactions in exchange for the locations that they are going to raid. The pressures of *liquid modernity* to consume, seek individual pleasure, and acquire fashionable products overlaps with the increased global mobility of peoples, services, and products. Sergio's daughter attends a university abroad for the increased *cultural capital* that it offers; the drug trafficking does not stop with the removal of the Englishman because it is driven by demand; the porters on the Ceuta-Morocco border carry twice their weight in luxury goods to meet the demand of the

buyers, and El Niño and El Compi want to open a beach hut because the tourists from central Europe have "plenty of dough".

Border-crossing appears as a regular activity, impossible to monitor thoroughly, despite the technological advances. El Niño opens the film crossing the sea as personal challenge, grabbing a rock from Africa's coast as memento and returning afterwards. The smuggling activities from Morocco use decoys and bribery to pass undetected, and the big consignments enter the Spanish port hidden in one of the thousands of shipping containers. While globalisation has facilitated this mobility, the collaboration between supranational agencies and security systems is what ultimately makes the investigation a success. Sergio and El Niño are arrested, and the shipment is intercepted. Yet, as the final crane shot takes the viewer through the shipping port, a phone call heard as voice-over hints at a new delivery being planned, confirming Jesús' statement that when they catch some criminals, other ones come to take their place.

This chapter opened with Clarence redefining Spanish colonisation of Africa as no more than labour, imagining it as benign colonialism and erasing the imposition of language and Christianity in Equatorial Guinea. Choosing a narrative of romance and embodied in the characters of Kilian and Clarence, the ideal Spaniard is constructed as curious and tolerant towards the *other*, attracted by their difference. Their characterisation aligns with the European ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity; against which the *other* is configured. The 2015 films of colonial themes construct Spain on a par with other European colonisers, both in relation to their occupations and their withdrawals, which are depicted as part of a changing world. Nevertheless, these narratives are shaped by the notions of Convivencia and *Hispanotropicalism*, configuring a Spanish exceptionalism that circumvents responsibility towards the impact of (modern) slavery, exploitation, and territorial control of the colonies. The films about global threats, *No Rest for the Wicked* and *The Kid*, configure a different response to the narratives of decline. For Elsaesser (2019, p.13), a "trauma" of confrontation and accommodation with Islam is being revived with different signs, that is:

> of immigration rather than military conquest; of coexistence rather than crusade; of human trafficking, drugs and the prostitution of women, rather than spices, silk and trade; of homegrown Diaspora radicalism rather than exotic, tourist 'Orientalism'.

Both have antagonists connected to North Africa, aligning with Elsaesser's "trauma". Yet, they also inscribe these characters within global criminal networks with non-Spanish European leaders. By portraying it in this manner, global crime is not associated with a Spain in crisis nor with a Spain unable to control its border, but is instead a symptom of globalisation that affects all of Europe and requires close collaboration to intercept. The chapter has delineated the way in which these films contribute to the configuration of a Spain anchored in Europe and other global actors. The films reflect a *symbolic capital* of strategic partnership due to Spain's position on the southern border, its technological resources, and its determination to eradicate these dangers. According to Bauman (2016, p.14) securitisation

> consists in shifting anxiety from problems that governments are incapable of handling (or are not keen on trying to handle) to problems that governments can be seen – daily and on thousands of screens – to be eagerly and (sometimes) successfully tackling.

In successfully stopping the immediate threats, these films relieve these anxieties from the Spanish space, even if temporarily, and construct an image of Spain ready to fight these global threats. Consumption appears as the driving force behind the smuggling activities, or as the target of terrorism, while notions of Europeanness in many of them are also expressed through the symbolic portrayal of the modern European woman.

In all the films in this chapter, an identity search leads to a discovery of the truth. In *Palm Trees in the Snow*, Clarence travels to Equatorial Guinea to learn of her family's past, revealing decades-old secrets. In *Neckan*, Santiago travels to Tétouan to learn about his biological parents and reveals a tragedy of the past. In *No Rest for the Wicked*, missing-persons officer Santos sets to find the identity of a witness and discovers a terrorist plot. In *The Kid*, police officer Jesús aims to identify the members of the drug smuggling network and seize a big drug consignment entering Spain, discovering a mole within the police force in the process. I suggest that these themes connect with some of the main concerns in contemporary Spain: in the context of the recuperation of historical memory, the depiction of a hidden past; in the context of corruption scandals among top politicians in the last decade, the expulsion of (moral) corruption through

arrest, expulsion, or death; in the context of the interrogation of the Culture of the Transition, narrative resolutions connected to sacrifice and consensus that, however, allow for the prior acquirement of the truth. The films of this chapter configure Spain as a valuable ally against the global criminal networks, portray multicultural diversity in ambivalent terms, and condemn inefficiency or corruption within the institutional bodies. At the end, once the truth is revealed, very little else needs to be done and in most cases there is no necessary reparation, the characters return to their usual spaces (*Neckan, Palm Trees in the Snow*), the complete truth is revealed only to the protagonist (*Neckan*, *No Rest for the Wicked*), and underlining messages of resumption of life permeates the resolutions in all films. In conjunction, these elements enunciate ideas of nation that are anchored not only in Europeanness but also in the global. In doing so, the strains of globalisation are not a consequence of Spain's lousy management or wrong decisions but threats affecting all of Europe. By stopping or delaying the impact of these threats, Spain is configured as an important partner in the fight against global crime, and thus, *symbolic capital* is repaired.

The depiction of the border in the films of this chapter associates it with porosity and increased mobility. The immigrant films of the previous chapters reflected changes in the way that the border was configured, which after the start of the crisis loses significance in connection to irregular border-crossing and the associated meanings of undocumented status. The films of this chapter also reflect these notions of increasing mobility and depictions of the physical border are not focused on irregular immigrant entry. However, in this chapter, the more commercial films of global threats do signal anxieties over the (supra)national borders in connection to the threats of terrorism and global crime, in which the immigrant and racialised *other* are part of these criminal networks alongside the non-Spanish European *other*. The control of the border and the European space is here linked to cooperation between nation-states. In regard to the films of colonial themes, considerations of the border are absent, but the Spanish space is constructed in terms of transformations linked to the loss of sovereignty in the colonies in exchange for a more political role in the supranational organisations. The films of this chapter, thus, imagine a Spain of influence at par with other European countries and give it a cooperative role against the global threats, transforming notions

of *sovereignty* connected to the control and delimitation of the border into ideas of supranational influence and securitisation.

The *imagined community* reflected in the films of this chapter connote ideas of multicultural co-existence that are disrupted by morally corrupt individuals and criminal networks. This is also a theme in post-crisis immigration films of previous chapters, where the immigrant suffer exploitation resulting from the drive for consumption and pleasure, characteristic of *liquid modernity*. However, whereas in the immigrant films the people at the top of these networks were Spaniards, in the films of this chapter, they are often associated with notions of *otherness*. In all of them, an investigation leads to the search for the truth. This is the ultimate goal in films of colonial themes, whereas in films of global threats, this truth leads to stopping immediate threats. Violence and (moral) corruption are present in all these films as part of the societies they represent, whether enacted by the *other* or Spaniards. Similarly, whereas in the films of previous chapters the narrative makes a case for *conviviality* to decrease the precarity of the immigrant, in the films in this chapter, the potential for peaceful co-existence is offered at the level of romantic encounters.

Overall, the films of this chapter contribute to configuring a post-crisis Spain where the notions of the *limited, sovereign, imagined community* are intertwined with expressions of globalisation. That is, an increased mobility that decentralises the border in relation to immigration but that centralises it in connection to the increase of global threats; a shift of notions of *sovereignty* where power and influence are displayed as supranational collaboration and where the securitisation of the nation is co-dependent from the securitisation of Europe; and a display of the community in terms of hybridity and multiculturalism, which might be embraced at individual level but which rises anxieties in the community.

Conclusion

The films that emerged after the crisis hit try to resolve the tensions between reimagining a Spain that is embedded in this Europeanness, which functions as a marker of *symbolic capital,* and reconciling this image with the fissures that the crisis incited in relation to the image of a wealthy Spain boosting its political influence in the world. Within these tensions, the figure of the *other* becomes a narrative device that helps define the *self*. For Ahmed (2000, p.100), the definition of nation *"*requires the proximity of 'strangers' within that space, whether or not that proximity is deemed threatening (monoculturalism) or is welcomed (multiculturalism)". And in the same way that it is through the narratives of "welcoming" or "expelling" the *other* that the "stranger" is produced (Ahmed, 2000, p.14), the self, the nation, is also imagined. This thesis has explored how Spanish fiction film (2005-2015) with narratives around the presence of the *other* imagine (and reimagine) the Spanish nation, looking in particular at how the identity crisis brought by the financial crash and its aftermath has reshaped the filmic expressions of the *limited, sovereign, imagined community.* This question is crucial for understanding contemporary films that approach the *other*, as much of the recent scholarship on the portrayal of immigration in fiction Spanish film focuses on films pre-crisis and these shifts are not fully explored.

The analysis chapters have been divided thematically around the journey, the encounter, and memory. These elements align with Anderson's (1991) notions of the map, census, and museum, which constitute three nation-building tools in his work. That is, the configuration of the border and the *other*, the portrayal of the *imagined community* and the welcoming or expelling behaviours to which Ahmed (2000) refers above, and expressions of *sovereignty* and *symbolic capital* through displays of significance, whether rooted in a shared historical past, whether securing the country and the (supra)national border, or whether asserting the value of Spain as a partner against global threats.

Chapter 1 contextualised the recent history of Spain that contributed to the redefinition of Spain post-Franco, including the narrative of success derived from European membership and financial growth. This chapter reviews the tensions derived from encounters between Spain and Africa, and Spain and Latin America, considering how

they affect portrayals and narratives about the Latin American, North African and Sub-Saharan *other.* I intertwine the conceptual and theoretical framework with these events to better establish the way in which these events have shaped national identity, setting the foundations for the case studies. In Chapter 2, I examine scholarship on contemporary film about the (immigrant) *other* and establish that there is a limited body of research engaging with portrayals of immigration after the crisis. My thesis, thus, expands the existing scholarship and brings a focused study of portrayals of the immigrant *other* that also enquiries how nation is projected in these films.

The remaining three chapters explore the case studies in connection to narratives of journeys, encounters, or displays of sovereignty. In Chapter 3, I analysed narratives of journeys. I determined that the pre-crisis narratives focus on the hardship of the journey and create a *meritocracy of pain* that is usually anchored to notions of illegal border crossing from Africa. I proposed that these narratives contributed to constructing notions of Spain as part of Fortress Europe, underscoring the impact that the hardening of the border and immigration policies have had in increasing the vulnerability of the (immigrant) *other*. Nevertheless, the pain and suffering represented throughout the film also construct a reading about the *pull* of Spain, which is imagined as a wealthy and modern European country. After the crisis, this *pull* disappears as something that motivates the immigrant to initiate the journey. Instead, the *other* is manipulated into believing this narrative of wealth, configuring it as a mirage, bringing nothing but deception. This deception is precisely what makes Hassan leave for Morocco, with a journey of return that denies Spain as a land of opportunity. While films pre-crisis often focus on the journey as the most precarious part of the immigrant's experience in their travel to Spain, the films post-2008 into Spain make the journey a pleasant experience from both Africa and Latin America, focusing instead on the precarity encountered in Spain. This precarity is a consequence of deceptions that incite the immigrant to invest all the money, properties, or even human lives for the dream of a wealthier future. The narrative, in this manner, expresses anxieties derived from the precarity inflicted by the malpractices of the preferred bonds fraud, where dishonesty and the promise of a financial reward led to the loss of savings of millions of Spaniards.

The narratives around manipulation, dishonest recruitment, and the precarious situation that derives from them echo these anxieties but with stories of extreme vulnerability, embodied in the young and naïve *other*. These later journeys highlighted a Spain anchored in Europe and the global minority, benefiting from the mobility of people and goods, but also open to the security threats that this mobility introduces. Instead of aligning with media narratives of the criminality of the immigrant, these immigration films position Spaniards in the criminal networks that lure the migrants to Spain under false promises. By doing so, films after the crisis underline the transformation of Spain into a *flawed* promised land, which retains Europeanness as *pull factor* but where the opportunities of the financial boom have diminished. Furthermore, films before the crisis evoked a Spain firmly set in the *society of consumers* where immigrants often transited through *non-places* and *places of expulsion* for an opportunity to reach the Spanish shores. After the crisis, the narrative fractures and either incorporates mobility *out* of Spain, highlighting the *push factor* of the crisis, or brings into play networks projecting this version of a Spain of opportunities that conflicts with the reality.

In Chapter 4, I approached encounters in the community through narratives of friendship and romance between Spaniards and the *other*. I found that, as with the narratives in Chapter 3, the pre-crisis films emphasise notions of illegality, this time through immigration policies that left the immigrant *other* vulnerable to abuse. The films of 2008, *A Boyfriend for Yasmina* and *Return to Hansala*, express the symptoms of an imminent crisis derived from globalisation in the *society of consumers*. While Spain is still shaped as a space of modernity and progress, the *flawed consumer* is not configured in terms of vulnerability linked to illegality, as *Princesses* did. As films aiming to challenge the stereotypes in the media of the Moroccan *other* post-11-M, their narratives offer readings of *conviviality* that alleviate the precarity of both Spaniards and immigrants. The solutions are anchored in finding legal shortcuts and business opportunities that improve the wellbeing of the community. I assert that the *flawed consumer* continues to create narratives of similarity between the Spaniard and the *other* in films post-crisis, emphasizing a kind of conviviality that configures the idea of "good citizen" as the one who contributes to minimising the vulnerability of others (in general) or, at least, the one who does not contribute to it. The status of the *other* is not

relevant in these later narratives, and in the case of *Scorpion in Love,* this element is entirely missing. The emphasis is on the *imagined community*, where notions of *conviviality* collide with notions of understanding each other's precarity. Films in this and Chapter 5 offer readings where the Moroccan Muslim woman is included in the *imagined community* through negotiation of her religious customs and traditions, often in ways that align with ideas of Europeanness connected to the values of freedom and equality, and that are epitomised in the un-veiling of the Muslim woman.

In Chapter 5, I engaged with notions of *sovereignty* in films post-crisis. The chapter analysed narratives of the past through films of colonial themes, and narratives of contemporary Spain and global threats. In all these films, an investigation leads the plot. The idea of revealing a hidden truth is at the core of these films, either through the recovery of a historical memory that had been lost, or through the investigation of criminal networks working in the shadows. In this manner, these films echo current debates over the recovery of Spain's historical memory and the interrogation of the culture of the transition (CT). In the colonial films, this leads to the discovery of the Spaniards' family past, emphasizing notions of *conviviality* and benign colonialism, erasing the colonial violence or connecting it to the influence of a European *other*. In doing so, the films underscore Europeanness through a shared colonial past, yet at the same time explore Spanish exceptionalism via *Hispanotropicalism*, the re-construction of this past as one of collaboration, and notions derived from Convivencia. In the films of global threats, this Europeanness is evoked through notions of collaboration and a shared border, where Spain is configured as a valuable partner in the fight against the global threats of terrorism and global crime. In both, the temporary threat is stopped yet the dangers are not entirely eliminated, which calls for further collaboration, the purge of internal corruption, and effective sharing of information. In the context of the interrogation of the Culture of the Transition and the recovery of historical memory, these films offer readings where the discovery of the truth is at the heart of their resolutions and only then can be the matter laid to rest. I assert that the films of this chapter configure Spain as a valuable ally against the global criminal networks, portray multicultural diversity in ambivalent terms, and condemn inefficiency or corruption within the institutional bodies.

The chapters work together to suggest that the pre-crisis films are anchored in ideas of Spain as a land of opportunity, where the *pull* factor incites the *other* to endure suffering in the hopes of reaching the Spanish space or being integrated into the Spanish community. Here, the border is both physical and symbolic, represented in the Mediterranean Sea or in the immigration policies. With an emphasis on securitisation connected first to the anxieties of Fortress Europe and later of globalisation, the precarity of the immigrant *other* is often increased in films pre-crisis through their undocumented status. As globalisation and an incipient financial crisis become more noticeable, the narratives begin to shift from these notions of illegality, and the documented status of the immigrant loses significance. As the Spaniard becomes the *flawed consumer*, narratives where Spain is configured as a promised land start to decline. Notions of Europeanness in immigration films are here anchored to multicultural *conviviality*, where the European ideal of equality and fraternity is articulated in relation to a shared condition of precarity. In this precarity, the films offer readings of the "good citizen", who approaches their precarity and that of others with a relief plan, or who understands this precarity as a bonding element of equality and can in this way leave prejudiced positions. While in the films discussed this *conviviality* resolves tensions and improves the everyday life of the characters, its use as a key feature in narrative resolutions risks over-simplifying solutions to conflict in the multicultural community. In this context, successful co-living is associated with individual responsibility, whereas the institutional structures and policies that facilitate institutional violence and prejudice are simply seen as obstacles to navigate. In the same way that the financial and political situation of the depicted foreign countries is never fully connected to the impact of (post)colonialism or external debt; the precarity and vulnerability of the immigrant in Spain is never fully connected to the legacy of colonial prejudice and the unequal configuration of immigration policies. Instead, many of these films turn prejudice into an individual behaviour for which *conviviality* seems to appear as the solution. In doing so, the films focus on individual actions and transformations but exempts the (supra)governmental institutions from the same level of responsibility and change.

This work advances research on Spanish immigration cinema and cinema of crisis, but it will also interest scholars working on European and national cinemas. While I focused

the analysis on the largest non-European immigrant groups in Spain, numerous films include different non-national *others*, such as European immigration to Spain. Similarly, in recent times there has been a significant number of documentary films exploring the hardships of emigration or the impact of Spanish colonialism, particularly concerning the Spanish Sahara. Recent Spanish film has turned towards Africa, and there is a considerable number of recent films with commercial aims that approach the African *other*, particularly with narratives of Spaniards travelling to African countries. This is the case, for example, of *El cuaderno de Sara/Sarah's Notebook* (López Amado, 2017), *El viaje de Marta/Staff Only* (Ballús, 2019) or *Adú* (Calvo, 2020).

Finally, films and TV series about the historical memory of Spain have increased considerably in the new millennium. Whilst the desire to revisit and understand the past was not entirely new, with many films about the Civil War in the twentieth century, what was new at the turn of the millennium was the nostalgic tone with which some of these stories were being revisited and the popular media genres in which they were being told, such as in the middle-brow nostalgic TV series *Cuéntame cómo pasó/Remember When* (2001-), or the daily soap *Amar in tiempos revueltos/Love in Difficult Times* (2005-2012). On film, narratives on the Civil War, more prevalent during the twentieth century, have been slowly displaced by films addressing Francoist Spain and the transition, often with themes of identity search, secrets to be revealed, and hideouts. These are the themes present in, for example, *Los girasoles ciegos/The Blind Sunflowers* (Cuerda, 2008), *Balada triste de trompeta/The Last Circus* (de la Iglesia, 2010), *La isla minima/Marshland* (Rodríguez, 2014), and the more recent *La trinchera infinita/The Endless Trench* (Garaño, Goneaga and Arregi, 2019) or *Mientras dure la guerra/While at War* (Amenabar, 2019). Narratives of global threats have also increased with the new millennium, following also global trends on the fight against global crime and narcotraffic. These are the themes in, for example, *El Príncipe* (2014-2016), *Fariña/Cocaine Coast* (2018), *Vivir sin permiso/Unauthorized Living* (2019-), *La unidad/The Unit* (2020), or the docuseries *La Línea/Shadow of Narco* (2020), which focuses on drug trafficking activities in the Strait.

During the research, certain trends connected to corruption and *subjective violence* started to emerge, where immigration films pre-crisis concentrated corruption and violence on individuals, yet immigration films after the crisis often made this corruption

a collective behaviour. This could provide a starting point for a nuanced analysis of *subjective violence* and corruption, particularly in the context of the ongoing corruption cases in Spain. Another element identified in the course of this thesis and worthy of attention in further research is the disparity of portrayals of Latin American immigration in contemporary Spanish film. The immigration films included in this thesis show a trend towards narratives of African immigration and hybrid African ancestry, and thus they include fewer Latin American characters than initially expected. However, it was observed that in the films approached before a final selection was made, the portrayals and narratives of Latin American immigration often connect notions of whiteness and Europeanness to Argentinean or Southern Cone characters, notions of naivety and simplicity to characters from indigenous communities, and notions of fun and pleasure to those from the Caribbean region. These preconceptions can be traced back to ideas of race formed during the invasion and conquest of the Americas, for which the work of Wade (2009, 2014, 2015) can be illuminating. Although these portrayals are not new to the period of this study, research in this area could elucidate further nuances and reveal contemporary constructions of race on Spanish screens. While not explored in this thesis, the research also found a limited portrayal of immigrant nuclear families settled in Spain, with only *Dear Bamako* depicting a young family within the main characters.

Overall, this thesis has determined transformations in cinematic portrayals and narratives of the (immigrant) *other* that articulate also changes in the way that Spain is imagined as a consequence of the events surrounding the financial crisis (2008-2012). The crisis heightened anxieties over globalisation and the influence of Spain in the world, which in many of the selected films is expressed through an increase of precarity that impacts not only the (immigrant) *other* but also the wider Spanish society. Concerns over the increased mobility of globalisation have shifted the attention from the illegal border-crossing in *patera* to the flow of peoples and products for consumption across visible and invisible borders. Against the threats fomented by globalisation, the films construct readings where supranational cooperation and individual sacrifice for the greater good provide solutions. The financial crisis has incited discourses of solidarity that create points of affinity based on a shared precarious experience. These cinematic trends contribute to redefinitions of the nation in terms of significance and Europeanness, where the previous markers of wealth and opportunity

lose relevance against notions such as cooperation and conviviality. Towards the end of *Black Diamonds* and shortly after being given a new opportunity to play football in Estonia, Moussa indicates that "we have to demonstrate our worth". Nevertheless, as it turns out, this worth is performed in the context of team cooperation to improve the skills and progress of a young star. After the financial crisis hit, Spanish film of the *other* displays notions of worth anchored in solidarity and cooperation, an *imagined community* supporting each other in their precarity, and a participation in the globalisation processes that emphasise mobility, modernity, and supranational belonging.

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SGR, Avalis de Catalunya SGR, Catalan Films & TV, Filmoteca Española, Generalitat de Catalunya - Institut Català de les Indústries Culturals (ICIC), ICF Institut Català de Finances, Regal Entertainment, Televisió de Catalunya (TV3), and Televisión Española (TVE).

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La unidad/The Unit. (2020). Created by Dani de la Torre, and Alberto Marini. Spain: Movistar+, and Vaca Films.

La venta del paraíso/The Sale of Paradise. (2012). Directed by Emilio Ruiz Barrachina. Spain: Imagine Producciones, and Ircania Producciones.

Las 13 rosas/13 Roses. (2007). Directed by Emilio Martínez Lázaro. Spain, and Italy. Enrique Cerezo Producciones Cinematográficas S.A., and Pedro Costa Producciones Cinematográficas.

Las cartas de Alou/Letters from Alou. (1990). Directed by Montxo Armendáriz. Spain: Elías Querejeta Producciones Cinematográficas, Televisión Española (TVE).

Libertarias/Freedomfighters. (1996). Directed by Vicente Aranda. Spain, Italy, and Belgium: Academy Pictures, Canal+ España, Era Films, Lolafilms, Sociedad General de Televisión (Sogetel), Sogepaq, and Televisión Española (TVE).

Los girasoles ciegos/The Blind Sunflowers. (2008). Directed by Jose Luis Cuerda. Spain: Estudios Organizativos y Proyectos Cinematográficos S.L., Producciones A Modiño, Producciones Labarouta, and Sogecine.

Los hijos del viento/Children of the Wind. (1995). Directed by Fernando Merinero. Spain: El Mecanismo Encantado.

Los lunes al sol/Mondays in the Sun. (2002). Directed by Fernando León de Aranoa. Spain, France, Italy: Sogepaq, Elías Querejeta Producciones Cinematográficas, Mediapro, Quo Vadis Cinéma, Eyescreen S.r.l., Televisión de Galicia (TVG) S.A., Vía Digital, Antena 3 Televisión, Eurimages, Continental Producciones, and Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA).

Lugares comunes/Common Ground. (2002). Directed by Adolfo Aristarain. Spain, and Argentina: Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales (INCAA), Instituto de Crédito Oficial (ICO), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), Pablo Larguia Producciones, Shazam S.A., Televisión Española (TVE), Tornasol Films, and Vía Digital.

Malas temporadas/Hard Times. (2005). Directed by Manuel Martín Cuenca. Spain: Iberrota Films.

Martín (Hache)/Martin (Hache). Directed by Adolfo Aristarain. (1997). Spain, and Argentina: A.V.H. San Luis, Adolfo Aristarain, Canal+ España, Televisión Española (TVE), and Tornasol Films.

Masala. (2006). Directed by Salvador Calvo. Spain: Estudios Picasso, Flamenco Films, and Telecinco Cinema.

Menos que cero/Less than Zero. (1996). Directed by Ernesto Tellería. Spain: Ikusmen producciones cinematográficas, and Creativos asociados de radio y televisión S.A.

Mientras dure la guerra/While at War. (2019). Directed by Alejandro Amenábar. Spain, and Argentina: Mod Producciones, Movistar+, Himenóptero, K&S Films, Ayuntamento de Salamanca, Gobierno de España, Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales (INCAA), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), MDLG-A.I.E., Telefónica Audiovisual Digital, and Universidade Pontificia de Salamanca.

Nadie hablará de nosotras cuando hayamos muerto/Nobody Will Speak of Us When We're Dead. (1995). Directed by Agustín Díaz Yanes. Spain, México, and France: Canal+ España, Creativos Asociados de Radio y Televisión (CARTEL), Flamenco Films, Sogepaq, and Xaloc.

Naufragio/Wreckage. (2010). Directed by Pedro Aguilera. Spain, and Germany: Alokatu S.L., Riva Filmproduktion, and ZDF/Arte.

Neckan. (2014). Directed by Gonzalo Tapia. Spain, and Morocco: Gaia Audiovisuals S.L., Loto Films, Acacia Films S. L., and 2oblefilo Producciones.

No habrá paz para los malvados/No Rest for the Wicked. (2011). Directed by Enrique Urbizu. Spain: AXN, Audiovisual Aval SGR, Canal+ España, Generalitat Valenciana, Instituto de Crédito Oficial (ICO), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), Lazonafilms, Manto Films, Mogambo, and Telecinco Cinema.

Ocho apellidos vascos / Spanish Affair. (2014). Directed by Emilio Martínez Lázaro. Spain: Lazonafilms, Kowalski Films, Snow Films, and Telecinco Cinema.

Pá Negre / Black Bread. (2010). Directed by Agustí Villaronga. Spain: Massa d'Or Produccions, and Televisió de Catalunya (TV3).

Palmeras en la nieve/Palm Trees in the Snow. (2015). Directed by Fernando González Molina. Spain: Nostromo Pictures, Atresmedia Cine, Atresmedia, Cosmopolitan TV, Crea SGR, Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), Movistar+, Natixis Coficiné (as Natixis Coficine), Palmeras en la Nieve, Telefonica Studios, and Warner Bros.

Peor imposible. ¿Qué puede fallar?/ It can't be any worse. What can go wrong?/The Best is Yet to Come (2001). Directed by David Blanco and José Semprún. Spain: Morena Films, and Fish People Limited.

Perdiendo el norte/Off Course. (2015). Directed by Nacho G. Velilla. Spain: Producciones Aparte, Aragón Televisión (as Aragón TV), Atresmedia Cine, Atresmedia, Audiovisual Aval SGR, Canal+ España, Instituto de Crédito Oficial (ICO), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), and Telefonica Studios.

Poniente/ Setting. (2002). Directed by Chus Gutiérrez. Amboto Audiovisual S.L. (co-production), Antena 3 Televisión, Euskal Irrati Telebista (EiTB), Junta de Andalucía, Olmo Films S.L., Sociedad Kino Visión, Vía Digital, and Yahoo! España.

Princesas/Princesses. (2005). Directed by Fernando León de Aranoa. Spain: Reposado Producciones, Mediapro, Antena 3 Televisión, and Canal+ España.

Querida Bamako/Dear Bamako. (2007). Directed by Omer Oké and Txarly Llorente. Spain: Abra Prod.

Rapados/Skinheads. (2004). Directed by Román Parrado. Spain: Euskal Irrati Telebista (EiTB), TVA Canarias, Televisió de Catalunya (TV3), and Televisión de Galicia (TVG) S.A.

Retorno a Hansala/Return to Hansala. (2008). Directed by Chus Gutiérrez. Spain: Maestranza Films, and Muac Films.

Roma/Rome. (2004). Directed by Adolfo Aristarain. Argentina, and Spain: Tesela Producciones Cinematográficas, Aristarain P.C., and Estudios Flomenbaun.

Saïd. (1998). Directed by Llorenç Soler. Spain: Centre Promotor de la Imatge (CPI) S.A., Institut del Cinema Català (ICC), Televisió de Catalunya (TV3), and Televisión Española (TVE).

Salvajes/Savages Directed by Carlos Molinero. (2001). Spain: Brothers and Sisters S.L., Canal+ España, Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), Línea Sur, Passion Walls, and Televisión Española (TVE).

Susanna. (1996). Directed by Antonio Chavarrías. Spain: Oberón Cinematográfica.

También la lluvia/Even the Rain. (2010). Directed by Icíar Bollaín. Spain, Mexico, and France: AXN, Alebrije Cine y Video, Canal+ España, Canal+, Consellería de Cultura e Turismo, Eurimages, Haut et Court, Instituto de Crédito Oficial (ICO), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA), Londra Films P&D (Production Services), Mandarin Films (as Mandarin Cinéma), Morena Films, Natixis Coficiné, También la lluvia, Televisión Española (TVE), and Vaca Films.

Taxi. (1996). Directed by Carlos Saura. Spain: Canal+ España, Producciones Cinematográficas Filmart S.L., Saura Films, TF1 Films Production, Televisión Española (TVE), and Yelmo Films.

Tierra y Libertad/Land and Freedom. (1995). Directed by Ken Loach. UK, Spain, Germany, Italy, and France: ARD Degeto Film, BIM Distribuzione, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), British Screen Productions, Canal+ España, Canal+, Diaphana Films, Eurimages, European Co-production Fund, Filmstiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Messidor Films, Parallax Pictures, Polygram Filmed Entertainment, Road Movies Dritte Produktionen, Televisión Española (TVE), and Working Title Films.

Truman. (2015). Directed by Cesc Gay. Spain, and Argentina: Audiovisual Aval SGR, BD Cine, Canal+ España, Fox, Generalitat de Catalunya - Departament de Cultura, Impossible Films, Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales (INCAA), Instituto de Crédito Oficial (ICO), Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes

Audiovisuales (ICAA), Kramer & Sigman Films, Programa Ibermedia, Televisió de Catalunya (TV3), Televisión Española (TVE), and Televisión Federal (Telefe).

Un asunto privado/A Private Affair. (1995). Directed by Imanol Arias. Spain, Portugal, and Argentina: Aleph Producciones S.A., and Laurenfilm.

Un Franco, 14 pesetas/Crossing the Border. (2006). Directed by Carlos Iglesias. Spain: Adivina Producciones S.L.

Un novio para Yasmina/A Boyfriend for Yasmina. (2008). Directed by Irene Cardona. Spain, and Morocco: Tangerine Cinema Services, and Tragaluz Estudio de Artes Escénicas S.L.

Vivir sin permiso/Unauthorized Living Directed by. (2018-). Created by Aitor Gabilondo. Spain: Alea Media, Ficción Producciones, and Mediaset España.

X-Men: First Class. (2011). Directed by Matthew Vaughn. US, and UK: Twentieth Century Fox, Marvel Entertainment, Dune Entertainment, Bad Hat Harry Productions, Donners' Company, Ingenious Media, Big Screen Productions, Ingenious Film Partners, Dune Entertainment III, Genre Films.