

NATIONAL REPORT

SPAIN

WE: WOR(L)DS WHICH EXCLUDE

Taller de Antropología y Ciencias Sociales Aplicadas

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1. Relevant aspects of the gathered documents

A total of 392 documents have been collected (Table 1): 146 classified as primary documents and 246 as para-texts (Table 2). The primary documents were classified according to the following criteria: (1) to have been issued by a political institution and have been approved by some of the corresponding levels of administration; (2) to have been executed, or constituting the background of other executed measures; (3) to have directly affected the target population or the selected local contexts. The latter criterion allowed us to include among the primary documents also those para-texts produced by the public administration and NGOs that do not meet one of the previous conditions but still have a great impact on the execution of the actions defined by other primary texts. Also, some additional documents have been considered as primary documents, although they do not strictly meet the abovementioned conditions (1 to 3), due to their influence on primary documents. The largest number of primary documents proceeds from the local level (Table 3). These documents specify the action lines defined at higher levels of government and, therefore, represent the bulk of the technical documentation. The documents explicitly targeted to the *gitano* population are the 16% of the total (26% if we also consider those documents that also mention this population). We have identified 60 main topics covered by the documents (Figure 1). With respect to the laps of time covered: documents prior to 2003 were considered, in the particular case that they are still in force or are essential for interpreting other documents selected (Figure 2). Most of the

documents date back to 2009 and 2010, when the greatest efforts for the elimination of the shantytowns constituting our cases of study have been realized.

1.1 Spain: documents produced at state level

A total of 9 primary documents were identified. The agreements, through which the state plans (dealing with the issue of inclusion, housing and *gitanos*) are approved, turn out to be most significant documents, since they shape the subsequent production of primary documents at state, regional and local level. In our analysis we examined two of them and the respective State Plans: the *Plan de Acción para el Desarrollo de la Población Gitana 2010-2012* (PADPG) [Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population] and the *Estrategia Nacional para la Inclusión Social de la Población Gitana 2012-2020* (NRIS) [National Roma Integration Strategy in Spain]. Also two royal decrees related to the recognition of the *gitano* population in Spain has been also considered: the Royal Decree 891/2005 regulating the ‘State Council of the Gitano People’, the Royal Decree 1262/2007 regulating the creation of ‘Council for the Promotion of Equality and Non-Discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin’. Furthermore, six other relevant documents have been analysed, and namely: the *Informe de la Subcomisión, creada en el seno de la Comisión de Política Social y Empleo, para el estudio de la problemática del pueblo gitano* [Report of the Subcommittee, established within the Committee on Social Policy and Employment, for study of the gitano issue] (Cortes Generales 1999); the five biannual *Planes Nacionales de Acción para la Inclusión Social en el Reino de España* (PNAIs) [National Action Plan for the Social Inclusion in the Kingdom of Spain] issued between 2001 and 2010. The documents issued at a state level draw the legislative framework related to the recognition of the *gitano* population, as well as the lines of intervention with this population.

Most of these documents were produced only during the last two years (Figure 3) for two reasons: ethno-cultural differences in Spain have traditionally gained recognition only if associated to a certain territory (this is not the case of the *gitanos*); and the redistributive model in Spain is characterized by the lack of specific positive discriminatory policies. However, this model has not precluded the recent institutional recognition.

With regard to political affiliation, the largest number of documents has been drawn up by the left-wing governments (PSOE) that ruled in Spain between 2003 and 2013. A total of 5 out of 9 primary documents refer both to the *gitano* population and housing (8 if we also include other 3 documents that only name the *gitano* population). With regard to the main topics of the documents, 6 out of 9 documents refer to the necessity of inclusion, development and prevention of marginalization of the '*gitano* population' in Spain. Two documents recognize the *gitano* population as a national minority.

1.2 Andalusia: documents produced at a regional level

The areas considered for this study are located in Andalusia. Since the Junta de Andalucía (the Regional Government of Andalusia) is responsible for the implementation of housing policies in strict collaboration with the local governments, we considered those regional documents directly affecting our cases study, as they were local documents. The rest of the documents issued at a regional level, and affecting the whole region, were properly classified among the regional sources

We identified 12 primary documents of the 80 regional documents gathered. Most of them regulate at a regional level the legislative framework and the general action lines of the plans (dealing with the issue of inclusion, housing and *gitanos*) approved at a state level.

Subsequently, the inter-administrative agreements signed between the regional and local governments (for the coordination of their intervention at a local level) refer to these regional documents.

Some policy texts approved before 2003 were also incorporated to this sample, since they were in force when this study was realized. With respect to the political affiliation, all documents were developed by the left-wing party (PSOE) that ruled the region since its institution in 1982 (Table 8). 9 of the 12 texts analysed are specifically targeted to the '*gitano* population': similarly to the documents produced at a state level, most of the *gitano*-targeted documents are based on a social intervention paradigm: prevention of marginality, social inclusion, models of intervention, etc. Two documents deal with the phenomenon of the shantytowns, and only one of them mentions the *gitano* population living in shantytowns (among other non-national minorities).

1.3 Documents produced by the local governments

1.3.1 Seville

In Seville, 40 primary documents have been identified of the 96 documents originally gathered. As mentioned, these 40 documents include also those regional documents which directly refer to our first case study: *El Vacie*. In most of the cases these documents are technical (31), rather than political (Table 9). The administrative agreements and the documents awarding public grants or tenders constitute the half of the primary documents. Other relevant documents are the technical specifications, the intervention protocols and the evaluation models.

The 40 examined documents were produced during the last 7 years, and in particular between 2008 and 2010. This period coincide with the implementation of the *Plan de Actuación en El Vacie* [Action Plan for El Vacie] approved in 2007. At that time, larger rehousing actions were realized, also supported by a positive economic context. In 2011, both the effects of the economic crisis on the public budget, and the new right-wing local government, provoked the decrease in public actions, and consequently in the issuing of documents (Table 10).

Of the 40 primary documents produced at a local level, only 7 *explicitly* refer to the ‘*gitano* population’, 2 of these *exclusively* referring to the ‘*gitano* population’. We noticed that, as the document production move closer to the concrete case, the ethnic category fade away, since it is taken for granted. Nonetheless, we can assert that most of these documents implicitly refer to *gitanos*, since the interventions that they regulate are mainly funded by the state and regional *gitano*-targeted plans, namely: the national 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population in Spain and the regional *Plan Integral de la Comunidad Gitana de Andalucía* (PICGA) [Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community of Andalusia].

We identified 17 main topics (Table 12), but in general terms we can divide them in three groups: 45% of the documents refer to pedagogic measures aimed to the population living in the shantytown; 30% refer to rehabilitation of the shantytown; 15% concerns the ‘eradication’ and rehousing processes, as well as to other aspects related to the evaluation of the implemented projects (Figure 6).

1.3.2 Malaga

With respect to our second case study, the slum of *Los Asperones* in Malaga, 44 primary documents have been selected of the whole 88 documents gathered. Most of the documents are technical (30) rather than political. The agreement signed between the regional and the local government constitutes the 25% (9 of 44) of the primary documents. This is mainly due to the peculiar history of the slum and the general need to coordinate the intervention in the field of housing, which is a domain where competences of the two administrations are shared (see Table 13). These agreements were signed in the frame of the PICGA and the *Plan Integral de Erradicación del Chabolismo en Andalucía* (PIECA) [Comprehensive Plan for Slums Eradication in Andalusia] approved in 1997. Another type of documents define the criteria (15) used by professionals to define the indicators and parameters of their intervention.

The average of documents issued per year ranges between 3 and 4. 2010 stands out with 19 documents issued; in fact during that year, following the sign of an agreement between the regional and local government, the patterns of intervention and their respective plans were defined. In this context, due to the involvement of two level of government, the political affiliation of the examined documents is very heterogeneous.

Also in Malaga, the documents exclusively targeted to the *gitano* population are very scarce: only 4 of 44. The main topics can be divided in three groups: social intervention; rehousing processes and housing conditions (about 50% of the documents, see Figure 8); patterns for the follow-up and evaluation of the implemented projects.

1.3.3 Granada

In Granada, 42 primary documents have been considered as primary documents of the 96 documents gathered. Due to the specificity of our third case study, the touristic ‘*gitano*-neighbourhood’ *Sacromonte*, we also included among the primary documents some policy texts that, without being approved, had an impact on the implementation of other measures. It is the case of the *Plan Especial de Protección y Reforma Interior en el Albayzín y el Sacromonte* [Special Plan for the Protection and Interior Rehabilitation in Albayzín and Sacromonte] proposed in 2005. This plan, elaborated by the local government for the reform the prior (and currently in force) 1990 plan, was obstructed by the regional government, due to alleged defects of form and inaccuracies. Nevertheless, the local government instrumentally used the new proposals to suspend or delay some public works. In general terms, there are two types of documents: those defining the urban planning of the *Sacromonte* (15 documents), and those (6) arising from the unfulfilment of these former plans.

In the case of *Sacromonte*, the documents explicitly targeted to *gitanos* are almost inexistent: just 1 of 42. The link between the *gitanos* and the characteristic cave-houses of the neighbourhood (which is the focus of our analysis) is mainly present in the para-texts, gathered to substantiate the analysis of our primary documents. The main topics are: the cultural heritage (22 documents); the development of the urban plans (15 documents); the housing evictions (6) (see Figure 9).

2. Territorial contexts

Prior to the description of each context, we will briefly discuss the symbolic role of the *gitanos* in the identity processes taking place in Spain and Andalusia. Following the grammatical model proposed by Baumann (2004), we will see how the relation between state and the *gitano* population in Spain has been traditionally marked by a contradictory combination of appreciation of the '*gitano* culture' and clearly discriminatory actions, occurring above all in the area of housing.

2.1 The '*gitano* people' in the Spanish and Andalusian identity processes

In its preamble, the Spanish Constitution (1978) recognizes the Spanish nation (*nación*) as made up of different peoples (*pueblos*):

"[The Spanish nation will] protect all Spaniards and peoples of Spain in the exercise of human rights, of their cultures and traditions, and of their languages and institutions".

Article 143.2 regulates the right to self-government and to form autonomous communities to "bordering provinces with common historic, cultural and economic characteristics, island territories and provinces with historic regional status". The right of these 'peoples' to have its own institutions and political representation is essentially based on the principle of territorial contiguity. According to Baumann (2004), these 'peoples' are defined by a 'segmentary grammar', by which the distinction between 'we' and 'the others' can be dissolved at a higher level of identification, where an 'us' is created: the Spanish federal

(or quasi-federal) state is the classical example of this process.¹ Nonetheless, this ‘grammar of identity/alterity’ cannot be applied to those *pueblos* that are dispersed, rather than centred on a certain territory: this is the case of the *gitanos*. So, due to the central role of the territorial criteria in the definition of ‘what is a pueblo’, the statutes of autonomy of each autonomous community (the regions in Spain) refer, as the case may, to the Andalusian, the Catalan, the Basque people, etc. In this regard, *gitanos* are not an exception: for instance, the Andalusian *gitanos* are recognized as part of the Andalusian people (Gamella, 2008), as Catalan *gitanos* are an integral part of the Catalan identity.

Regardless of their ‘disperse nature’, *gitanos* do appear as a *pueblo* (or at least as a ‘population’) in many policy documents. Furthermore, these texts establish a very ambiguous relation between the ‘*gitano* culture’ and the ‘Spanish (or Andalusian) culture’. This is mainly due to the fact that in Spain – differently to most European countries – the *gitanos* have had an important symbolic role in the rhetorical construction of both national and regional identities (Gamella, 2008). The policy documents selected for this study often refer to the contribution of the ‘*gitano* culture’ to the “common cultural heritage” (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012b) or even as a “shaping element of the Andalusian cultural identity” (Junta de Andalucía 1997a). This, according to Baumann (2004), the Spanish public authorities have adopted an ‘encompassing grammar’ towards the *gitanos*: cultural differences do exist; however, they are not relevant enough to deny cultural and identity union of all Spaniards (or Andalusian).

¹ Article 147 of the Spanish Constitution states that the statutes of autonomy are basic institutional rule of each Self-governing Communities and that state shall recognize and protect them as an integral part of its legal system.

In Andalusia, the regional political elites, supported by intellectuals and academics, have been developing during the last three decades identity politics, with the goal to defend the 'historical uniqueness' of the region. Such 'uniqueness', is basically instrumental to the demand for further political autonomy. In the on-going process of administrative decentralization, the emphasis on a separated cultural identity of the Andalusian people enables the regional government to negotiate with the central state under the same conditions as the rest of the so-called 'historical nationalities' (Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia).

As shown by Gunther Dietz (2004), one of the strategies adopted by the Andalusian ethnopolitics has been to provide a differentiated picture of 'what is the Andalusian' respect to 'what is Spanish'. This operation has been mainly carried out using three types of 'cultural resources': (1) the 'festive legacy', especially symbolized by the Holy Week (Easter); (2) the '*gitano* legacy', which is strongly linked to the flamenco music; and (3) the '*morisco* legacy', which relates to an alleged ancient Andalusian multiculturalism. Paradoxically, also the Spanish nationalism, exacerbated during the Franco regime, has described the '*gitano* heritage' as shaping element of the 'Spanish national culture'. We are in front of a double metonymic displacement: the '*gitano* people' is the archetype of 'what is Andalusian'; at the same time 'what is Andalusian' as an icon of 'what is Spain'. The success of this semantic game, however, cannot be explained exclusively by an artificial affinity with the ideology nationalism in Spain. At that time, the Franco regime was passing normative regulations that automatically placed the *gitanos* in the 'pre-criminal class' relegating them away from the social policies initiated from the 1960s (Río Ruiz 2009; San Román 1994). The promotion of the '*gitano* culture' was mainly instrumental to

the commercial returns in terms of cinema, tourism, music, etc. (Gallardo 2010), as if it were the brand of the Spanish culture (Dietz 2003).

2.2 Selection of the case studies

Taking into account the aforementioned rhetorical elements on the *gitanos*, we choose three territorial contexts:

1. The shantytown *El Vacie*, in Seville;
2. The slum *Los Asperones*, in Malaga;
3. The *Sacromonte* neighbourhood, in Granada.

The selection of these territories was based on the adoption of the following criteria: (a) Territories located in Andalusia, which is the region with the larger proportion of *gitanos* (Gamella 1996); (b) Territories with a high rate of *gitanos*, or where the corresponding ethnic category has been adopted in related policy documents;² (c) Territories characterized by the problematization of the housing issue in political and media debate; (d) Territories with a varied urban history and organization. All cases are characterized by the intervention of local administrations and the production of policy documents were ‘stereotypes in action’ reveal themselves.

² For instance, most of the resident of *El Vacie* and *Los Asperones* identify themselves as *gitanos*. The cave-houses of the *Sacromonte* neighbourhood are rather connected to the romantic imaginary on the ‘*gitano* lifestyle’, also reported in policy texts.

Substandard housing is the main issue for *El Vacie* and *Los Asperones*. The former is a 40-years-old 'spontaneous' shantytown (*asentamiento chabolista espontáneo*).³ The latter is slums, made of pre-fabricated constructions, which resulted from a planned response of the public administration, undertaken in the 1980s to temporarily rehouse the shacks population of the old-town. In both cases, public action was guided by the need to ensure the improvement of housing conditions, irrespectively of ethnic criteria.

The situation of the *Sacromonte* is totally different. During the last decades this neighbourhood has been involved in a gentrification process, characterized by the progressive heritagization of the cave-houses of the area. In this case, the grammatical model identity/otherness used to describe *gitanos* is completely different: although the presence of *gitanos* in the neighbourhood is reduced, public authorities use the mythical image of the *gitanos* traditionally living in the cave-houses for tourist attraction: this is Baumann's 'orientalist grammar'.

2.2.1 *El Vacie*, a shantytown in Sevilla

El Vacie is one of the oldest shantytowns in Spain. It is located in the northern part of Seville, near the San Fernando cemetery. It is made of 50 shacks and 90 prefabricated dwellings positioned there at a later stage, inhabited by 930 people (225 family units). The wall of the cemetery, two country roads and the morgue delimit the area.

El Vacie emerged during the first quarter of the 20th century, as a temporal housing solution made of self-constructed shacks inhabited by recently arrived work-immigrants

³ The term 'spontaneous' refers to the lack of public planning during the initial configuration of the shantytown.

from the countryside (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007). At that time the Catholic Church set up the first social intervention program in the area. Until the 1960s, its population was mostly constituted by peasants newly arrived to the city, seeking to improve their living conditions in a post-war context. The land was given them (not properly assigned) for the self-construction of houses. Nonetheless, the area remained segregated, and without water supplies,



electricity or other basic facilities. In practice, the self-construction was not accompanied by a municipal investment in infrastructure. Successively, also people escaping from Seville due to the floods of 1960/1961 settled in the area (Vázquez 2007). Not long after, after the visit of Franco in 1961 people were evicted and rehoused in newly constructed neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Seville (Salas 1993). The main goal was to eradicate the shantytown, nonetheless the self-constructed brick-homes were not demolished and the area was soon occupied again.

In the 1970s, the construction in the surrounding area of new neighbourhoods for the working population did not affect *El Vacie*, which remained an isolated space, hidden by the cemetery and the surrounding trees (Torres 2011: 72). Additionally, its population began to display a certain cultural and ethnic homogeneity that still continues today. In fact, apart from some exceptions, the *gitanos* were totally excluded from the rehouse plans of this decade (Río Ruiz 2004: 137).

In 1989, the regional government and the municipal council agreed to construct 35 stable dwellings in the area (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 14). This decision resulted in the installation of 90 prefabricated houses between 1992 and 1994.⁴ The idea was to temporarily fix the housing problem of the population of *El Vacie*, in particular after the new arrivals of families from the *Chapina* shantytown, who was evicted in order to leave room to the infrastructures of the 1992 World Expo. Nonetheless, during the next years, in the absence of any further decisive intervention (*ibidem*), the *Vacie* continues receiving the population evicted from other shantytowns of the city: the prefabricated become no longer temporal and new shacks were built.⁵

Since the approval of the Comprehensive Plan for Slums Eradication in Andalusia in 1997, the regional government and the city council signed periodical agreements aimed to coordinate the intervention, and share the costs of rehousing. However, it was not until the beginning of the 2000s that public authorities returned to the area with a proper strategy: the prohibition of new shacks; the realization of a general census aimed at controlling the population and prevent new arrivals; the development of the Action Plan for *El Vacie* for the eradication of the shantytown, finally approved in 2007. Among other measures, the Plan envisages monitoring and evaluation instruments, including a strategic desk formed by non-profit organizations and public administration.⁶

⁴ The regional government was in charge for the purchase and installation of the prefabricated modules, while the city council (owner of the land) would have paid for water, electricity, and maintenance.

⁵ Torres (2011) describes the different cases of 'shantytown eradication'. The most controversial case is that of the *Bermejales* shantytown, whose inhabitant moved to *El Vacie*.

⁶ The Action Plan was agreed between the regional government and the city council. Finally, the latter did neither approve the Plan, nor its organs (such as the strategic desk). Thus, although since its approval the

Today, most of the 900 inhabitants of *El Vacie* are *gitanos*. They are distributed in the area according to the origin of the family groups (most from Andalusia, one from Extremadura, one from Portugal) (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005). It is estimated that 92% of the population is poor, being the 70% of the total workforce unemployed. About 90% of the adult population (18-65) depends from social benefits (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007). Of the 2000 minors in age of compulsory school, 95% are enrolled. With respect to the housing situation, after 22 years the material condition of the prefabricated dwellings, whose normal use is of 5 years, is worst than many shacks (Izquierdo 2006). Nonetheless, the general material conditions of the area have been improved between 2008 and 2009, due to the realization of maintenance works (water supplies, electricity, etc.) realized in the framework of the Action Plan.

The local authorities are present in the area with a kindergarten and a working unit of the city council. These services are located in two prefabricated modules at the entrance of the shantytown. The city council is in charge for the maintenance of infrastructure and the payment of bills. The regional government (department for equality and welfare) is funding the social intervention through: (1) the subsidies granted in the framework of the Comprehensive Plan for the *Gitano* Community of Andalusia; (2) the call for grants for the realization of social intervention projects in the so-called *Zonas con Necesidad de Transformación Social* [Areas with Needs for Social Transformation]; (3) the support to non-profit organizations; (4) the purchase of real estates for the rehousing of families by

Plan has been the backbone of the intervention in *El Vacie*, in recent years (2011-2014) its impact has been relative. For example, the strategic desk is inactive since more than two years.

the *Empresa Pública del Suelo de Andalucía* (EPSA) [Andalusian Land and Housing Public Company].

2.2.2 *Los Asperones*, a slum in Málaga

The slum of *Los Asperones* is a good example of the failure of public administrations in their attempt to ensure access to decent housing to vulnerable people. It is the case of a project that was “well-intentioned in the beginning, but then provoked strong processes of ethnic re-segregation” (Gamella, 2011: 58).⁷

The construction of the neighbourhood started in 1986. It was a pilot project developed in the framework of the Municipal Plan for Slums Eradication. The goal was to provisionally rehouse those families living in substandard housing or shacks located in the old-town of Malaga. The three groups of prefabricated dwellings (phase I, II and III) were progressively built. In the meanwhile, local administration were processing the necessary applications to access social housing. The ‘life expectancy’ of the prefabricated modules (as well as of the whole project) did not exceed the three years. After 30 years, most of the original families still live in these temporary accommodations. Furthermore, the enlargement of the family units and the arrival of new resident provoked an increase of the housing problem: shacks have been erected near to the original dwellings, and the initial problem that this pilot project was supposed to solve, was instead reproduced.

According to the last census elaborated in 2008 by EPSA, the slum is inhabited by 966 people (295 family units), of which 98% are of *gitano* origin. They live in 174 prefabricated and 40 shacks. Each built up area (or phase) is formed by different courtyards surrounded

⁷ Our translation.

by prefabricated and shacks. The names given to these courtyards by the professional working in the slum are interestingly inspired to flamenco. A kindergarten and a primary school are located in phase I. Since 2006 there is also an office of EPSA, where social workers and other professionals work. Some NGOs (such as *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* and *Caritas*) are carrying out social intervention and projects focussing on the inclusion in the labour market. With the exception of some irregular family-markets, there are no commercial activities in the slum.

Although *Los Asperones* is not *stricto sensu* a shantytown (*asentamiento chabolista*), in many surveys as well as in public action, it has been mainly considered as such:

“Even though it does not respond, in terms of type of housing, to the idea that we have traditionally of a shantytown (...) most part of its population came from the shantytowns; the shantytown way of life is remained, since what only happened was that the traditional shack was replaced by a temporary housing that, has recently deteriorated in a way that it could be considered as sub-standard housing” (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005).⁸

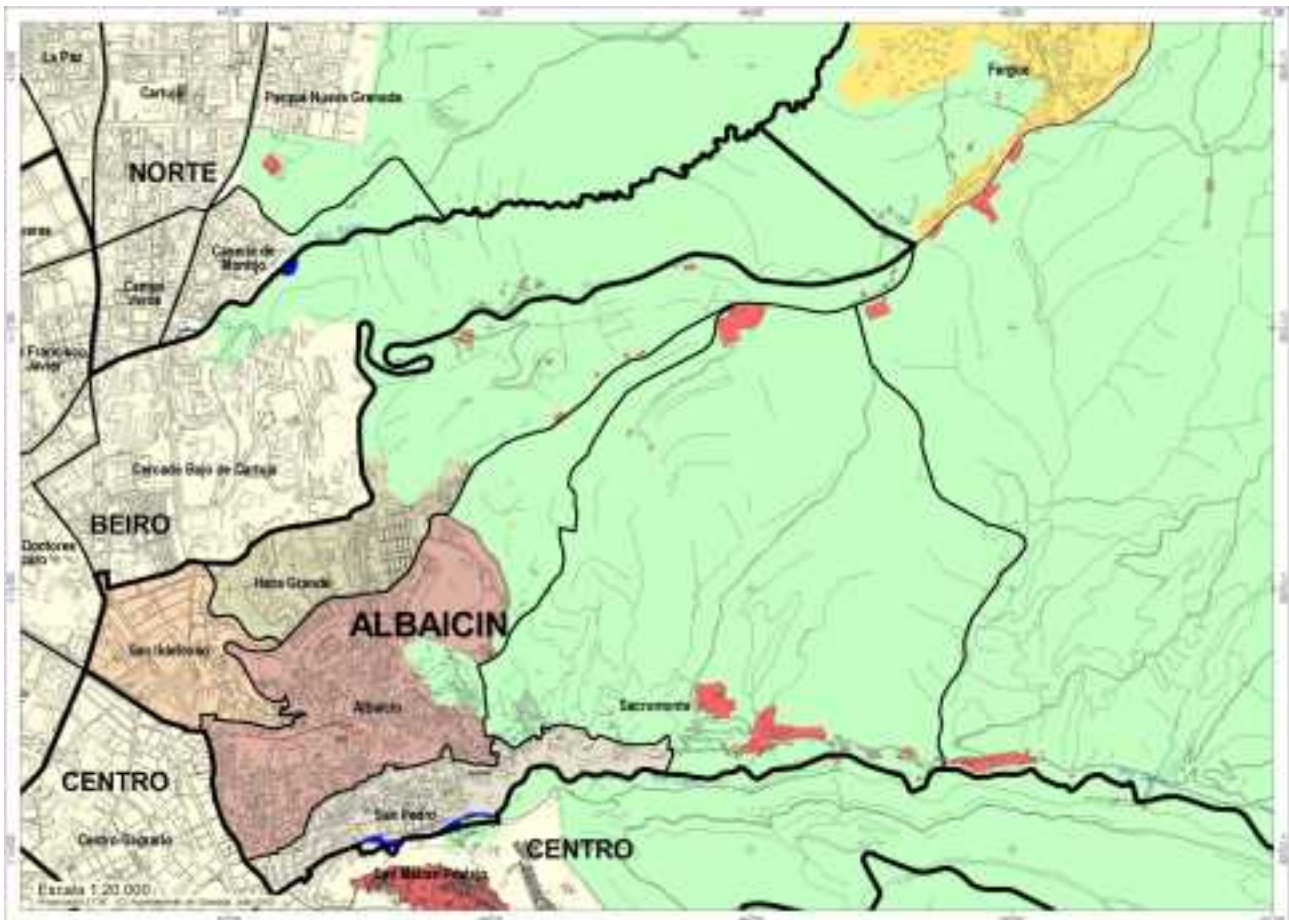
Thus, the main goal of the public administration rests the eradication of the slum. At this scope, inter-administrative agreements have been signed in order to coordinate a ‘stepwise rehousing plan’, characterized by training activities aiming to prepare this ‘shantytown people’ to a life outside the slums. Up to 2012, 37 family units were relocated: 14 of them acceded social housing, while the rest entered private housing acquired by EPSA. During this process, the families who were previously living in the shacks were

⁸ Our translation.

relocated in the prefabricated belonging to the families who leaved the slum. Also, maintenance and rehabilitation works have been realized.

2.2.3 *El Sacromonte*, a neighbourhood in Granada

The *Sacromonte* is a characteristic neighbourhood of Granada famous for its cave-houses. This neighbourhood belongs to the district of *Albayzín* that has been declared World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1994. Since the 19th century it has been an attraction for many travellers and Romantic writers, who diffuse the image of the *gitanos* living in these caves. Effectively, the presence of the *gitano* population in this area has been documented from the 16th century, after the *Reconquista* of the ancient Muslim kingdom of Granada.



Picture 1. Neighbourhoods in the district of *Albayzín*⁹.

Since the beginning of tourism business in Granada, the *Sacromonte* became, together with the *Alhambra*, the icon of tourist imaginary of the city. Since then, the mental association among caves, *gitanos*, and flamenco has gained a central position in the tourist discourse of the local administration. Nonetheless, most of the original *gitano* population does no more live in the neighbourhood: after the heavy rains and an earthquake occurred at the beginning of the 1960s, they were rehoused in other districts. Successively, the *Sacromonte* has been experiencing a slow process of gentrification. Today, the number of residents that identify themselves as *gitanos* is not greater than in other area of Granada (Duque Calveche, 2010; Lorente Rivas, 2001). Nonetheless, the *Sacromonte* continues to be presented as 'authentic' *gitano* neighbourhood. So, rather than the presence of *gitanos*, we decided to focus on this area because of the use ethnic categories as tool for heritage valorisation and tourist attraction.

The binomial 'caves/*gitanos*' reveals itself in many texts, and above all in the 'performative' documents (such as touristic guides produced by the public administration) that we used in order to contextualize our analysis. But also the documents produced by the local government are strictly connected to this touristic imaginary. At this scope, article 112 of the *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Granada* (PGOU) [Municipal Urban Plan]:

"Ensure the preservation and the consolidation of the cultural heritage, that in the case of the City Council is constituted by the cave-houses of the *Sacromonte* and *San Miguel*, by giving them the security level 3 (architectural structural protection), so that any work of reform of the caves must be realized with municipal license.

⁹ [http://www.granada.org/obj.nsf/in/plano300/\\$file/albaicin300.gif](http://www.granada.org/obj.nsf/in/plano300/$file/albaicin300.gif) Accessed in 11 February 2014

However, this document authorizes the construction of kitchen and outdoor toilette for these caves with a touristic purpose, as long as the new elements are integrated into the traditional morphology of the cave house" (Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2009).¹⁰

In this line, the *Planes Especiales de Protección y Reforma del Albayzín y el Sacromonte* (PEPRI) [Special Protection and Rehabilitation Plans for *Albayzín* and *Sacromonte*] that have been formulated in the last years, stress the 'ethnological value' of the 'cave habitat', and propose different formulas of revitalization and revaluation: the creation of the Ethnological Park of the Caves (PEPRI/05) or the creation of new hotels (PEPRI/08). As we will analyse in chapter 9, the alleged protection of the traditional image of the *Sacromonte* conceal a number of conflicts taking place in the area (López & Beluschi, 2014).

¹⁰ Our translation.

3. General view about social housing in Spain and Andalusia

3.1 A brief history of social housing in Spain

The housing issue in Spain began after Civil War (1936-39), when the country experienced a strong migration flow from the countryside to the cities. Due to the lack of housing, many migrants used to live in self-constructed *chabolas* (shacks). In order to give a response to this new phenomenon, in the 1960s, the Franco regime started large-scale rehousing policies. In this context, most of the *gitano* population did not meet the basic requirements for accessing social housing, such as identity documents, employment contract, etc. This situation, coupled with the institutional racism of the regime, excluded most *gitano* families from those policies (San Román 1994). The appearance of shantytowns in Spain “began as an inter-ethnic phenomenon, but then, starting from the 1960s, it gradually becomes an ethnic phenomenon” (Río Ruiz 2009: 6).

Successively, the wide and more inclusive housing policies undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s have improved the living condition of many Spanish citizens, including *gitanos*. More recently, the shift from a model based on the construction of social housing neighbourhoods to a more de-segregated one, has ensured the access of many vulnerable families, into so-called ‘normalized neighbourhoods’ (Laparra et al. 2014).

In the 1990s, Spain experienced an unprecedented economic development. The private housing market underwent a profound transformation and became the cornerstone of the Spanish economic boom, pushing many families to buy new housing, often supplied by credit institutions. According to Vallvé (2009: 10), the lack of a real public housing policy consented to private entrepreneurs to master the housing market with very little control of

state. Due to speculation of private entrepreneurs, and despite the increase in the number of new housing, their prices rise significantly.

Today we assist to a slowdown of re-housing policies, which were the main mechanism for promoting desegregation and improving the housing conditions of most vulnerable groups, including *gitanos* (Laparra et al. 2014: 29). During the period 2002-2010 the construction of social housing has decreased, but not exceptionally (Sánchez-Mora, Clavero, and Manzanera 2013: 72). Then, only in 2010, the state subsidies for the promotion of social housing decreased by 40% (Ministry of Housing, 2010, cit. Piemontese 2011:10). On the other hand, since 2006, the private housing market has suffered a very pronounced decline (Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 72) (see Figure 11). In a context characterize by high unemployment rates, the reduction of public resources available for housing policies is aggravating the housing situation of all citizens in general, and vulnerable groups – including *gitano* – in particular (Laparra et al. 2014:27; Corés Alcalá 2005, cited by Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 72).

3.2 General trends of the housing policies in Spain and Andalusia

In the 1990s, during the period that saw the most concentrated effort on the part of the State in pursuing its housing policy, between 50,000 and 60,000 units of social housing were constructed in Spain each year, with over a quarter of these being built in Andalusia (Consejería de Obras Públicas de Vivienda 2011, cited by Piemontese 2011). However, since the approval of the 2002-2005 State Plan for Land and Housing, the promotion of social housing by the public bodies has suffered a significant decline. During this period, 41% and 61% less of the social housing to be promoted has been constructed respectively

in Spain and Andalusia (ibidem). With the intention of limiting the effects of a drop in the level of public investment, and in order to stimulate the private construction of social housing the Plan introduced new opportunities for cooperation between public and private actors (ibidem). This decision was in line with the 'indirect approach' that has traditionally characterized housing policies in Spain, that is, prioritizing a number of measures to promote homeownership in the free housing market rather than the social housing (Jesús Leal 2005, cited by Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 56, 58; Vallvé 2009:9). Still in 2009 the Spanish social housing sector continued to show strong growth on the supply side, with 10.3% of all houses constructed being social housing. Nonetheless, the continuing decline of state investment has not allowed there to be a significant expansion in the overall supply of social housing, which in 2009 still accounted for just 1% of the houses available for rent in Spain (de Luca, Governa, and Lancione 2009: 8). In general terms, compared to other countries of the European Union, social housing in Spain is poorly developed (Vallvé 2009: 5).

Within Spain and Andalusia, and prior to the financial crisis, there is a strong tendency for certain sectors of the populations to be excluded from their right to decent and adequate housing, in particular those that lack the means to find such housing on the free market (Junta de Andalucía 2003). If we focus on Andalusia, there are two main factors that obstruct the exercise of this right: an increase in demand for housing and a rise in housing prices. Between 1998 and 2008 the population of Andalusia grew by 10.2 %, with the number of inhabitants increasing from 7.2 million to over 8 million (Junta de Andalucía 2008). On the other hand, between 1996 and 2002, the prices for housing increased by 76%, while salaries went up by just 14%. Consequently, people were spending around 40% of their income for housing. Despite a rising demand for housing, the increase in

housing prices was not directly related to a shortage of housing in overall terms. In fact, before the financial crisis, the rate of housing construction rose considerably: between 2007 and 2011 the average number of houses constructed annually in Andalusia was over 100,000, while the number of new houses occupied each year was only 50,000. The inflationary trend was rather generated by other external factors: an increase in the price of land that is subject to property speculation, as well as the construction of second homes, which normally remain empty and do not increase the overall supply of available housing. Ultimately, neither in Spain nor in Andalusia there is lack of housing in aggregate terms, and nor is there a lack of land available for development. Rather, the problem that exists is that there is a shortage of housing at affordable prices. In this context, the construction and designation of social housing does not just represent an important means of enabling low-income families to gain direct access to housing, but also amounts to an indirect means of tempering the inflationary tendencies of the market (Consejería de Obras Públicas de Vivienda, cit. Piemontese 2011).

3.3 The housing situation of the *Gitano* population in Spain and Andalusia

Housing is one of the most relevant problems affecting the *gitano* population. Detailed quantitative information on the housing situation of the *gitano* population in Spain are limited to just three national surveys realized between 1991 and 2011 (FSG 2008a; Grupo Pass 1991; Laparra et al. 2011). As might be expected, the collection of information on the housing situation of the *gitano* has been made difficult by the impediment, made by the Spanish legislation, to recollect data on ethnic origin (Jefatura del Estado 1999). For this reason, the data on the housing conditions of the *gitanos* are normally the result of a comparison with the data *general* Spanish population (that also include the *gitanos*).

In general terms, there is an overall agreement that the combination of wider social housing policies undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s, and the most recent change in the pattern of the re-housing process laid the foundation for a significant improvement in the housing situation of *gitanos* in Spain, also ensuring their access into 'normalized neighbourhoods', although generally characterized by a low socio-economic profile (Laparra et al. 2014: 27). Nonetheless, the impact of housing policies on the living condition of the *gitano* population in Spain should be seen at least as relative. On the one hand, some of the improvements in the housing condition of the *gitanos* could be directly associated to state and regional housing policies (FSG 2008b: 8). But, if their impact on the housing situation of the *gitanos* and other vulnerable groups has been traditionally weak (Vallvé 2009), during the last decade, the decline in the public investment for social housing and the rise of prices, also disrupted all the progress made. On the other hand, the improvement of the housing conditions of the *gitanos* cannot be separated by the private access to adequate housing on the free housing market (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012a: 15–16). During the last decades, the *Gitano* population experienced a general improvement of their socio-economic conditions. This process was essentially based on an increased inclusion in the Spanish labour market during the Spanish economic growth (1996-2006) (Bereményi, Piemontese, and Mirga 2014; Gamella 2011), when they took advantage from the incredible expansion of the construction sector and the increased middle class consumption rate (Bereményi et al. 2014).¹¹

¹¹ Among the structural factors whose impact on the process of socio-economic inclusion of the *Gitano* population has been commonly under-recognized, Gamella (2011) also identify the deep changes in relevant

3.3.1 Housing situation in Spain

According to the 'Map on Housing and the Gitano community in Spain' (FSG 2008a), which analysed in 2007 the housing conditions of over 90,000 *gitano* households, about 88% of the *gitano* population lives in standard housing. Inadequate housing still represents a serious situation for about 12% of *gitano* households. Compared to the previous survey of 1991, when 10% of *gitano* lived in slums, and 21.4% lived in substandard or vulnerable housing (see Figure 12), these data show a decisive improvement of the housing condition (ibidem: 75).¹²

In general terms, the housing situation of *gitanos* in Spain is much better than the other Roma in Europe, being not dissimilar, at least in terms of availability of space and amenities, than the majority Spanish population (Fundamental Rights Agency and UNPD 2012: 23). Nonetheless, despite improvements, great differences still persist both in terms of the property and quality of housing, and with regard to the situation of the neighbourhoods where the *gitanos* population live (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010).

Although the half of the *gitanos* families are homeowners (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas 2006; Laparra et al. 2011), this rate only represents a little result in

demographic parameters such as mortality and fertility rates, as well as and the relative consolidation of the Spanish welfare State (Bereményi et al. 2014).

¹² According the Ministry of Development, substandard housing (infravivienda) "is the epitome of residential vulnerability, defined as those places that do not meet decent living conditions, either by the poor condition of the buildings, or by having insufficient surface according to residents living in the household, or by the lack of basic facilities in the home (heating, toilette, elevator, etc.)" (Gobierno de España and IJH 2010:7).

comparison with the 82% of the overall Spanish population (Vallvé 2009: 27). Additionally, from the 30% up to 50% of *gitanos* homeowners acquired their houses as a consequence of social housing programs (Fundamental Rights Agency 2009: 59; Vallvé 2009: 27) (see Figure 13).

Problems related to the access to housing on the private market still persist, and are related mainly to the lack of sufficient financial resources, to the difficulty to meet the official requirements to access housing, as well as to direct discrimination (Laparra et al. 2014: 28; Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010).¹³

In many households lives more than one family unit, with an average of 4.9 persons per household, a figure that has not changed since 1991 (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010). Also, the quality of the equipment and facilities of many households, the deterioration of the urban environment, the residential segregation, and the persistence of slums are problems that affect the *gitanos* in Spain (Laparra et al. 2014:27; Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010: 42; Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012a: 16).

The current housing situation of the *gitano* in Spain cannot be understood without taking into account the present socioeconomic context. Although housing prices are lower than in the past, during the last years access to housing on the free market became a challenge for many families. This is due basically to a decline of their purchasing power (related to unemployment, reduction of salaries and subsidies) and the difficulties in the access to credit. The crisis leads to a general setback in the situation of the *gitanos*, not only with

¹³ In fact, access to private housing is one area in which Gitano experience more discrimination and prejudice for which it is more difficult to prove the existence (Laparra et al. 2014:28).

regards to housing. In 2009 the *gitanos* population suffered a decrease of the 35% of the recruitment rate, which is nearly twice the incidence of the crisis in the entire Spanish population (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010). Between 2005 and 2011, the unemployment rate for the *gitanos* population increased by the 22.6% (FSG 2011: 64), compared to the 10% of the entire population; and the index of self-employed increased up to the 34.7% (ibidem: 72). In this context, the amount of social housing is smaller in comparison to a demand, which is constantly growing. Thus, the *gitano* population is experiencing the re-emergence of old problems, such as an increase in substandard housing, overcrowding, evictions and illegal occupation (Laparra et al. 2014: 28).

3.3.2 Housing situation in Andalusia

According to the 'Map on Housing and the *gitano* community in Spain' (FSG 2008a), more than 35% of *gitano* households are located in Andalusia. Notably, about 56% of the 33,722 households surveyed in Andalusia were not purchased or rented on the free market but were linked to social housing programs. Similarly – and although these data are not totally comparable – the previous survey of 1991 revealed that 31% of *gitano* households was located in social housing neighbourhoods (FSG 2008b:8).

In general terms, between 1991 and 2007, the housing situation of the *gitano* population in Andalusia has considerably improved. The population living in slums and caves decreased from 7% to 2.2%. Similarly, the *gitano* households located in segregated neighbourhoods passed from 8% to 4.1% (see Figure 14). Also, access to basic amenities is generalized:

95% of *gitano* households are provided with waste collection, sewage, electricity distribution, tap water, lighting and paving floor (ibidem: 10).

The survey directly associates the improvements in the housing condition of the gitano population to the Comprehensive Plan for Slums Eradication (1997) as well as to the *Plan Andaluz de Vivienda y Suelo 1999-2002* [Plan for Housing and Land in Andalusia].¹⁴

At the same time, it states that housing policies aimed to *gitanos* are still insufficient. About 11.5% of *gitano* households in Andalusia are still inadequate (very deteriorated housing, slums, substandard housing, barracks, caravans, etc.). Furthermore, the survey explicitly condemns the situation of very segregated and vulnerable areas mainly inhabited by *gitanos*, including *El Vacie* (Seville) and *Los Asperones* (Malaga).

¹⁴ Decreto 259/1998, de 15 de diciembre, por el que se acuerda la formulación del Plan Andaluz de Vivienda y Suelo para el periodo 1999-2002.

4. Institutions involved and authorities of them in the juridical frame

Article 47 of the Spanish Constitution recognises that the Spanish citizens have a right to decent and adequate housing, and obliges the public authorities to make effective this right.

“All Spaniards have the right to enjoy decent and adequate housing. The public authorities shall promote the necessary conditions and establish appropriate standards in order to make this right effective, regulating land use in accordance with the general interest in order to prevent speculation. The community shall have a share in the benefits accruing from the town-planning policies of public bodies”
(Spanish Constitution 1978, art. 47)

In accordance with article 148.1.3^a of the constitution, as well as with the article 56 of the Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia (Jefatura del Estado 2007), the Autonomous Community of Andalusia assumes exclusive competence over land and housing and becomes responsible for applying the constitutional mandate within its territory.¹⁵ The Statute itself includes the constitutional right to ‘decent and adequate housing’ amongst the social rights that public authorities are required to promote:

“In order to encourage the exercise of the constitutional right to decent and adequate housing, the public authorities are obliged to the public promotion of

¹⁵ According to the Spanish Constitution (1978, art. 148.1.3a) “the Self-governing Communities may assume competences over the following matters: [...] Town and country planning and housing”. According to the Statute of Autonomy for Andalusia: “The Autonomous Community shall have exclusive competence over housing” (Jefatura del Estado 2007, art. 56).

housing. The law shall regulate the access to such housing under conditions of equality, as well as the financial support needed to ensure this right” (Jefatura del Estado 2007, art. 25).

Furthermore, in order to guarantee this right, the Statute proclaims the principle of:

“[Making a] fair use of land, adopting whatever measures are necessary in order to prevent property speculation, and promoting access to social housing for the groups in need” (Jefatura del Estado 2007, art. 37.1.22).

Although the autonomous communities have the exclusive competence over housing policies, in practice they have assumed what is largely an *operative role* in this area, managing financial provisions and housing stocks. The central State kept been responsible for *defining the rules of the game* regarding housing. As such, responsibility for competence over housing is effectively distributed in a descending manner through the different levels of administration and management that make up the Spanish State (Laparra et al. 2014:27; Pedreño 2013:56; Sánchez and Plandiura 2003; Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013).

1. State Plans generate a framework for the financing of housing projects and determine strategies for action at a national level. At this scope the State establishes agreements and coordinates the lower administrative levels.
2. Regional Plans complement and implement state policies on a regional level with a degree of flexibility. They set the tools to implement the housing policies defined in the State Plans, and have also competence on land regulation.

3. Local authorities also play an important role as regards the implementation of the actions, as well as promoters and managers of local properties and available land. They have competence on land regulation and coordinate with the regional administration for the implementation of Municipal Urban Plans (PGOU).

4.1 Legislative framework on housing at a state level (Spain)

At policy level, there is no specific policy regarding the *gitano* population and housing at state level. Legal texts and plans on housing at national, regional and local level do not generally mention *gitano* either explicitly or implicitly. Not even those texts that include measures that directly and mostly affect the housing situation of the *gitano* – such as those for the eradication of slums – refer to this group (Laparra et al. 2014: 27). The improvement of the housing conditions of the *gitano* population is framed within general housing policies, which are developed and financed through the state plans for housing and land (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010). Besides the state and regional housing plans, there are several measures that, without directly targeting *gitano* but recognizing their vulnerable social condition, are expected to have an impact on the housing situation of this population. It is the case of: the (regional and local) plans for the eradication of shantytowns; National Action Plan for the Social Inclusion (PNAIs); the regional plans for social inclusion; and the regional plans for the inclusion of the *gitano* population. What is most important is that none of these initiatives are directly related to the NRIS and, in the case of the last 2013-2016 state housing plan, their goals are also not in line with the NRIS' action lines on housing (Laparra et al. 2014:28).

Over the last decade, the State has approved following strategic plans on housing:

1. 2002-2005 Land and Housing Plan (Ministerio de Fomento 2002);
2. 2006-2008 State Plan for Housing (Ministerio de Vivienda 2005);
3. 2009-2012 State Plan for Housing and Regeneration (Ministerio de Vivienda 2008);
4. 2013-2016 State Plan for the Promotion of Rental, Rehabilitation, Urban Regeneration and Renovation (Ministerio de Fomento 2013)

With the introduction of state housing plans there has been a notable increase in the amount of public money spent on housing policies. Also, among the main consequences of having adopted a State-level frame of reference, is the possibility for the central government to receive suggestions put forward at a European level and transmit these on to the autonomous communities (de Luca et al. 2009: 17). The main failure of these plans has been the inability to prevent speculation, as indicated by the article 47 of the Spanish Constitution (Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 75).

Also, with respect to the last plan, some important shortcomings could be detected. Although it pays particular attention to families with lower incomes and other vulnerable groups (in line in line with the previous plans, moreover) “it is considered insufficient to address current challenges and could be even considered a step backwards in relation to previous policy documents” (Laparra et al. 2014: 29). On the one hand the plan positively includes elements that are in line with the NRIS in Spain – for example, a *gitano*-adapted formula to provide evidence regarding income earned on the informal market, necessary to access housing. On the other hand, it requires to ‘reside legally’ in order to benefit from certain actions, and practically leaves those vulnerable groups who do not reside legally in their houses or who live in shantytowns, outside the scope of the plan (ibidem: 28).

With respect to the measures for the ‘eradication of substandard housing and shantytowns’ (which directly affect the *gitano* population in Spain) these were included among the main objectives (sub-programs) of the 2009-2012 State Plan (Vallvé 2009:15). In fact, it established a series of subsidies to eradicate slums and irregular settlements inhabited by people ‘at risk of social exclusion’, and displaying serious deficiencies in sanitation, overcrowding, safety, and living conditions far below the minimum acceptable requirements (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012a: 35). Again, the 2013-2016 State represented a step backwards also in relation to this policies, since it lacks of any explicit mention to the ‘eradication of shantytowns’.

In the last years, two important acts on housing has been adopted:

1. The *Renta Básica de Emancipación* (Ministerio de Vivienda. 2007) [Basic Income for Emancipation]. It was a direct economic provision of 210 euros for the between 20 and 30 years old with a regular income of 22.000 euros/year old for the pay of the rent. Until 2011, when the provision was removed, more than 300.000 youngster received it (Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 71);
2. Act on measures to reinforce the protection of mortgage holders, debt restructuring and social rent, or ‘Law against evictions’ (Jefatura del Estado 2013) The law proposes a package of measures aimed at improving protection for mortgage-holders and protection for families in situations of social exclusion includes some elements that could potentially be positive for vulnerable groups (Laparra et al. 2014: 29).

4.1.1 The housing issue in the NRIS in Spain

The '*gitano* issue' has been present on the Spanish political agenda since the 1985, when the first *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Gitano* [National Plan for the Roma Development] was approved. Since then, the central government has given an impulse to the drafting of different action plans, as well as to the establishment of consultative bodies.

In spite of the essential role of the central government, the competence in most important areas for '*gitano* inclusion' falls mainly under the autonomous communities. Starting from 1989, a specific budget for the implementation of policies and initiatives for the *gitano* population is addressed to regional governments.¹⁶ This *modus operandi* results in a whole variety of 'integration strategies' applied in Spain, where each region has been deciding on its own policy approach (Bereményi et al. 2014).

The 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population envisages 4 objectives and 18 actions to be developed in the area of housing (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010:43–45). The objectives include:

1. To promote the access to standard and quality housing;
2. To propose measures for the eradication of shantytowns;

¹⁶ Between 1989 and 2002 (13 years), the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Autonomous Regions destined respectively 42.000.000€ and 30.000.000€ for Gitano-specific policies and programmes. In the same lapse of time the annual average expenditure for the non-Gitano NGOs in this area was almost 30.000.000€. Between 2004 and 2008 (5 years), the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Autonomous Regions, and the local administrations destined totally 32.423.000€ for the actions defined within the National Plan for the Roma Development. In the same lapse of time, the Ministry for Social Welfare destined about 18.641.000€ to the NGO working with Gitanos (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2008)

3. To create specific housing policy measures for *gitanos*;
4. To maintain an information system about their housing situation.

The inaccuracy of the 2010-2012 Action Plan with respect to the concrete measures to adopt and goals to be achieved has been replaced by clearest objectives defined by the National Roma Integration Strategy in Spain. In the area of housing it defines two action-lines (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012a: 39–40) and their respective objectives (ibidem: 29–30):

1. ‘Eradication of shantytowns’: reduction of slums/shantytowns (2% in 2015 and 0.5% in 2020) and substandard housing (6% in 2015 and 3% in 2020);
2. Access to quality housing: improvement of the housing conditions (e.g. lack of basic amenities 4,2% in 2015 and 2.1% in 2020; lack of urban equipment 15% in 2015 and 10% in 2020; overcrowding 25% in 2015 and 20% in 2020),

4.2 Legislative framework in Andalusia

Faced with a great demand of affordable housing and the pronounced drop of the state investment in housing policy, the government of Andalusia has stepped up its own legislation with the aim to give an effective fulfilment of the constitutional mandate at the regional level. This legislative production began in 2002 with the passing of the ‘Act on Urban Planning’ in Andalusia and culminated in 2013, when the ‘Law to ensure the Social Function of Housing’ came into force. The ten most important Andalusian acts and measures on housing adopted during the two decades are:

1. 1996-1999 Plan for Land and Housing in Andalusia (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transporte 1996);
2. 1997-1999 Comprehensive Plan for Slums Eradication (Junta de Andalucía 1998);
3. 1999-2002 Plan for Land and Housing in Andalusia (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transporte 1998);
4. The Act on Urban Planning in Andalusia (Presidencia 2002);
5. 2003-2007 Plan for Land and Housing in Andalusia (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes 2003);
6. The creation of Agencies for the Promotion of Rented Housing (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes 2005);
7. The Andalusian Agreement for Housing (Junta de Andalucía 2007);
8. 2008-2012 Regional Agreed Plan for Land and Housing (Consejería de Vivienda y Ordenación del Territorio 2008);
9. The Act on the Right to Housing in Andalusia (Presidencia 2010);
10. The Act to ensure the Social Function of Housing (Consejería de Fomento y Vivienda 2013).

In general terms, housing policy in Andalusia reflects the changes that have characterized the development of social housing at an EU and national level: (1) the devolution of competences; (2) the growing role of private actors; (3) the decrease and diversification of public spending (Piemontese 2011). First, the devolution of competences amongst the regional governments, reproduce the administrative organization of the Spanish state. The same statute of autonomy for Andalusia hand down to the local governments the competences over the “planning, programming and management of housing and the organization of the social housing system” (Jefatura del Estado 2007, art: 92.2b). Second,

the growing role of private actors is closely related to the drop in public resources: it mainly represents a measure of diversification of public spending. In fact, through the participation of private actors, the public administration is seeking to expand the supply of social housing without increasing the construction of new houses, thus incorporating the unoccupied private housing into the social housing schemes.

Throughout the process of producing regional legislation concerning the right to housing there has been a preoccupation with filling in the somewhat vague concept of decent and adequate housing (Spanish Constitution 1978, art. 47). The 2003-2007 Plan for Land and Housing in Andalusia limited itself to considering its objective as facilitating the access of families with certain characteristics to “housing that is decent and adequate to their needs” (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes 2003: art. 3.1). Successively, the 2008-2012 Regional Agreed Plan for Land and Housing define the requirements of decent and adequate housing to the “social, economic and family circumstances” (Consejería de Vivienda y Ordenación del Territorio 2008: art. 1.1).

“[Housing] must entail the meeting of housing needs, in a way that guarantees a secure, independent and autonomous life, and, through the necessary public assets and facilities, securing alongside the exercise of other rights such as that to personal and family privacy, health and education» (ibidem: art. 2.1).

The specification of the constitutional mandate finds its last and most complete expression in the Act on the Right to Housing (Presidencia 2010). Here, the right to housing is defined as “the satisfaction of all housing needs [...] in such a way that it makes possible an independent and autonomous life, and favours the exercise of fundamental rights”. In other word, the right to housing is recognized as a “necessary and indispensable base for

the full development of constitutional and statutory rights”. For these reasons, regional authorities must ensure that housing fulfil “the basic demands of practicality, security, fitness for inhabitation and accessibility” (ibidem, art. 3.2), which include: being located urban areas adequately provided with services, green spaces, public squares, and the necessary facilities, as well as being connected to the city's public transport network.

4.2.1 Comprehensive Plan for the Eradication of Shantytowns in Andalusia

In 1997 the Andalusian government approved a biannual Comprehensive Plan for Slums Eradication in Andalusia] (Junta de Andalucía 1998). Similarly to other housing policies, this plan do not explicitly refer to this population (Vallvé 2009:5). However, since shantytowns in Spain are mostly inhabited by *gitanos*, we can understand it as implicitly addressed to this population (Vallvé 2009: 11). In late 2005, the Plan was not particularly positively evaluated in a special report of the Andalusian Ombudsman (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005). Then, in the period between 1999 and 2009 no other examples of such kind of housing policies have been given at a regional level, neither national level. Nonetheless, at a local level, many Spanish municipalities have launched plans to eradicate shantytowns and substandard housing, remaining the 1997 Plan a sort of framework of reference (Vallvé 2009: 15).

4.2.2 The Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community of Andalusia

The first regional plan for gitanos in Spain is the *Plan Integral para la Comunidad Gitana de Andalucía 1997-2000* (PICGA) [Comprehensive Plan for the Andalusian *Gitano* Community]. It contemplates five general objectives to be reached through the execution of 67 actions, distributed in seven areas of interventions (in this order): housing, education,

employment, healthcare, social services, gender, and culture. In 2002 the implementation of the Plan was prolonged through the creation of a new budgetary application and a public call for grants to local administrations and non-profit organizations for the execution of projects targeted to the Gitano population in Andalusia. These projects are financed by the *Consejería de Igualdad y Bienestar Social* [Department for Equality and Welfare], with the support of the National Plan for Roma Development. Between 2002 and 2011 the overall public expenditure for these calls for grants fluctuated between 1,8 Million and 3,3 Million per year (Piemontese et al. 2013).

From the very beginning the Plan is conceived as a policy tool aimed at guaranteeing an equal and equitable access to and enjoyment of the social rights to the Andalusian *gitanos* 'at risk of social exclusion'. In fact, in spite of the title, the plan is not addressed to the whole *gitanos*, but rather to: (1) the *gitano* groups with extreme socio-economic need living in slums areas; (2) the *gitano* groups living in marginal areas; (3) the transient *gitano* groups (Junta de Andalucía 1997b: 14). It is striking that from the very beginning the Plan adopt, beyond an ethnic and socio-economic approach, a certain geographical/territorial perspective: the target population is represented by those Roma which live in precise areas and present a well-defined relation with the territory, such as segregation and mobility. The geographical approach will later justify the concentration of the financial resource in the call for grants for the towns bigger than 20.000 habitants, where the majority of the Andalusian *gitanos* 'at risk of social exclusion' live (see Piemontese 2012).

5. Keywords about the target of the documents

5.1 [missing]. The invisibility of *gitanos* and the role of *gitano* associations

The first difficulty we faced during our analysis was the poverty of policy texts on housing addressed to *gitanos* or *romaníes*. In fact, *gitanos* are not explicitly listed among those groups ‘in need of special attention’ (*grupos con derecho a protección preferente*) to which housing policies are targeted. For instance, the *Plan Estatal 2005-2008 para favorecer el acceso de los ciudadanos a la vivienda* [2005-2008 State Housing Plan] “specifically targets those collectives with greater difficulties in accessing decent housing”, including:

“(a) People that accede to home ownership for the first time; (b) Youth up to 35 years; (c) People over 65 years and their families; (d) Victims of domestic violence and terrorism; (e) Large families; (f) Single-parent families; (g) People with disabilities and their families; (h) Other groups or at risk of social exclusion.”

(Ministerio de Vivienda 2005: 24944)

Ethnic groups have the right to preferential protection only as member of one of the abovementioned categories. For that reason, the 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population (Ministerio de Sanidad, Política Social e Igualdad 2010) claims the incorporation of ‘*gitano* families’ and of the ‘shantytown population’ (*población chabolista*) among the preferential beneficiaries of the State Housing Plans.

These Universalists policies, however, are complemented by other policies aimed to compensate the social inequalities suffered by the *gitanos* in Spain: the regional action plans for the inclusion of the *gitanos*, normally funded through call for grants to non-profit

organizations and local governments for the realization of projects. In the frame of both Universalist and targeted policies, the *gitano* and pro-*gitano* association play a fundamental role. While most of the characteristics that give access to positive measures of discrimination could be certificated, any evidence of the *gitaneidad* (the belonging to the *gitano* population) of an individual can be issued. However, since the public subsidies for the implementation of the *gitano*-specific policies are channelled through NGOs, *de facto* are these entities that certify the ethnic-belonging of the beneficiaries of the *gitano*-targeted policies. In this way, the state can affirm its redistributive orientation, while taking compensatory measures of ethnic recognition, and without having to go through the troublesome, essentialist, and always-dangerous task of establishing objective criteria for ethnic identification.

5.2 '*Población gitana*', '*comunidad gitana*', '*colectivo gitano*', etc. About the multiple ways to name the *gitanos*

The linguistic formulations used to target the *gitanos* are very heterogeneous. The use of one rather than another expression is often arbitrary. In most cases, the term *gitano* is employed as adjective:

pueblo gitano	<i>gitano</i> people
comunidad gitana	<i>gitano</i> community
etnia gitana / cultura gitana	<i>gitano</i> ethnic group/ <i>gitano</i> culture
Colectivo gitano	<i>Gitano</i> collective
familias gitanas	<i>gitano</i> families
población gitana	<i>gitano</i> population

los gitanos y las gitanas | the *gitanos* [m.] and the *gitanas* [f.]

When it comes to analyse the naming and definitions of the different peoples in Spain, it is important to consider the power of ethno-nationalistic movements in this country. Moving from this, it is possible to outline a hierarchical taxonomy of the terms used to identify the socio-territorial groups in Spain, according to their political power: *nación* [nation], *pueblo* [peoples], *comunidad* [community], *colectivo* [collective].

Titles and preambles of the documents examined usually employ the terms ‘*gitano* people’ and ‘*gitano* community’. For instance, in 2005 and 2006 were created, respectively, the *Consejo Estatal del Pueblo Gitano* [State Council of the Gitano People], and the *Consejo Andaluz del Pueblo Gitano* [Andalusian Council of the Gitano People]. The common term for Andalusia is ‘*gitano* community’, which is almost unused at a State level. For instance, *gitano*-targeted measures in this region are regulated by the *Plan Integral para la Comunidad Gitana de Andalucía* [Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community in Andalusia] (Junta de Andalucía 1997a). In our hypothesis, this heterogeneity of expressions is due to the fact that: while Spain is defined as a nation composed of several peoples, Andalusia defines itself as a *pueblo* formed by several communities.¹⁷ The form in which each level of government perceive itself in comparison to the others, does not only explain the different naming not only at a state level, but also with respect to those

¹⁷ The statute of autonomy of Andalusia refers to Andalusia as a "nationality in the context of the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation". However, it is much more common, in the same preamble of the document for example, the usage of the expression ‘pueblo’.

autonomous communities that define themselves as nations, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, whose regional plans for *gitanos* refer to this population as ‘peoples’.¹⁸

Leaving out titles and preambles, the most used term is ‘*gitano* population’. The employment of such demographic expression is preferred due mainly to its neutral character, since it simply refers to an aggregate of peoples with an alleged common culture living on a certain territory. However, and irrespective of the ethno-nationalistic discourses taking place in Spain, also the term ‘people’ is used in certain contexts, due to its more pronounced political and scientific nuance. It works mainly as an ontological metaphor (Lakoff y Johnson, 2007): the ‘*gitano* people’ becomes a substantial entity that ‘takes decisions’, ‘provides itself with policy tools’ and become an entity on which ‘we can intervene’.

“Preparatory and on-going training for teacher and for those professionals intervening with the *gitano* people: with the aim to enhance awareness, knowledge and the respect for the different minorities and in particular the *gitano* culture” (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales 2006: 16).¹⁹

In this paragraph we can observe two ontological metaphors. First, the *gitano* people as wholeness on which professionals may intervene. This ensemble is characterized by the

¹⁸ *Plan Vasco para la Promoción Integral y la Participación Social del Pueblo Gitano* [Basque Plan for fully promoting and bringing about social participation of the Roma People] (Gobierno Vasco 2005, 2008); *Pla Integral del Poble Gitano a Catalunya* [Comprehensive Plan for Roma People in Catalonia] (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006, 2008).

¹⁹ Our translation.

'*gitano* culture', which is the second metaphor. The '*gitano* culture' denotes a bounded and homogeneous form: something that can be transmitted by/to a qualified professionals.

However, as we mentioned above, the use of one rather than another term to identify the *gitanos* is very arbitrary. In the same paragraph we can find the indiscriminate use of various expression, with the apparent stylistic goal to avoid redundancies and repetitions:

“Se aprobó el Plan Integral para la *Comunidad* Gitana de Andalucía, que se constituye en el instrumento de integración y coordinación de todas las áreas, servicios y programas... dirigidos al *colectivo* gitano” (Junta de Andalucía 2006: 7).

“No existe rechazo a la *etnia gitana*, sino a la marginalidad, cuestión distinta es que un porcentaje elevado de la *población* perteneciente a la *comunidad gitana*, muy aceptada en el municipio, se encuentre en una situación de exclusión” (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005:142).

“El Consejo tiene [...] las funciones de proponer medidas para la promoción del *pueblo gitano*, asesorar en materia de planes de desarrollo de la *población gitana* [...]” (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales 2006: 23)

In any case, the use of the term *gitano* and of any of its derivatives is quite limited in the analysed documents (23% of the total). The reasons beyond this are multiple, and some of them have been already mentioned (see chapter 2.1.). In this context we must emphasize the negative connotations, or 'political incorrectness', that the term *gitano* still maintain in Spanish.²⁰ On the other hand, we must take into account the 'encompassing grammar'

²⁰ For example, in the Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy, one of the meanings of the term is “*que estafa u obra con engaño*” [that swindle or behave deceitfully].

(Baumann 2004), characterizing the general (declared) policy approach of the Spanish authorities towards this population. Spanish policies for *gitanos* are fundamentally redistributive, and supported by some measures related to cultural recognition which also include the *asuntos gitanos* [gitano affairs] as a section of the Universalistic social policies.²¹ Consequently, it is very common to the administrative documents, the use of a particularly careful language, which avoids the – potentially negative – discriminatory use of ethnonyms. As a way of example, we can consider the following paragraph:

“The aim of the program is to provide those families of *El Vacie* with minors at risk of social exclusion, with a specific and inclusive treatment, that would allow them to acquire rehabilitating patterns that would compensate the situation of risk that would directly or indirectly affect the wellbeing of the minors subject to protection” (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2008: 17).

Beyond the clear medical metaphor (see chapter 6.3), with which it is constructed the whole paragraph, it is interesting to note the term '*gitano*' has been replaced with the expression 'the families of *El Vacie*'. However, in the cognitive frame of both the editors and readers of the Plan, both terms are strictly interrelated: the totality of the inhabitant of this shantytown identifies themselves as *gitano*. This wording indicates that the mentioned measures are not addressed to the *gitanos* 'as such', but rather to the people 'at risk (or in a situation) of social exclusion': in this particular case of *gitano* origin. Behind this caution, there is the fact that the criticisms to a culturalist interpretation of poverty, driven by Oscar

²¹ In this regard, it is important to note the existence of a general secretariat for the *gitano* community in the Andalusian department of social affairs.

Lewis (1972) and advanced by the social sciences as well as the associative movements, found an echo in the administrative documents.

5.3 'At risk of social exclusion'

The periphrasis *en situación o riesgo de exclusión social* [in a situation or at risk of social exclusion] is one of the most used 'linguistic resources' used by public administration to avoid the use of troublesome or 'political incorrect' terms, such as '*gitano*'. A good example of the ambiguity of this expression is provided by a local ordinance on rehabilitation issued by the city council of Granada (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2012). The document defines the families 'in a situation or at risk of social exclusion' as:

“Those [families] of which the social services detect personal, economic, working or other deficiencies that, as a whole, provoke a situation of social exclusion or the risk to accede to such situation” (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2012: 58)

Thus, social services are responsible for the detection of the 'risk'. In order to do that, they need to use (allegedly) objective indicators. Although this expression is not explicitly referred to the *gitano* population, the great margin of manoeuvre that it leaves to the social workers has turned it in a 'semantic container' for *gitanos*, both in public action and social inclusion policies.

Related to the concept of 'social exclusion', the 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population reports that:

“According to the latest data [...] in all the variables studied, belonging to the *gitano* community is the greatest factor of risk associated with social exclusion (14% of

gitano households are in a situation of severe exclusion); this requires the development of a strategy aimed to encourage the active participation of this community” (Ministerio de Sanidad Política Social e Igualdad 2010: 32).²²

In this case, the self or hetero ascription to the ethnic category '*gitano*', which in this case is *naturalized* and *neutralized* as the 'belonging to a community', is described according to an originally etiological conceptualization as a 'factor of risk'. Given this, a 'strategic approach', a term both military and of epidemiological prevention, is proposed in order to mitigate/prevent the effects of this 'factor of risk', as well as to encourage the active participation of the same community. The expression 'active participation' traditionally refers to the civic and political participation. Used in this context, it suggests that the responsibility of exclusion is of the same subjects: the *gitanos* participate only in the life of their own community and, therefore, exclude themselves from the majority community.

5.4 The shantytown phenomenon

One of the most confused aspects of the examined documents is the link between the *gitanos* and the phenomenon of shantytowns in Spain. Most documents overwhelmingly indicate that this link is wrong and is based on prejudice and stereotypical conceptions. However, after this statement, the documents themselves propose again this association.

For instance, the Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community of Andalusia states that “most of the Andalusian *gitano* do not live [...] in shantytowns”. Even so, its first action in the area of housing is "to establish rehousing programs for the population living shantytowns". This paradox becomes also visible in the practice of the intervention: despite

²² Our translation.

the explicit effort to unlink the *gitanos* and the shantytowns, much of the social intervention carried out in these territorial contexts is funded by action plans targeting *gitanos*.²³

The intention to unlink the phenomenon of shantytown and the *gitano* population has taken effect in the language used in some of the documentation. Comprehensive Plan for the Eradication of Shantytowns, adopted in 1997, does not mention this population at all. Similarly, the report on the phenomenon of shantytowns in Andalusia, presented in 2005 by the Andalusian, states that “it is wrong to refer to a cultural lifestyle, since these [residential] patterns also characterize non-*gitano* in families” (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005: 77). Nonetheless, all these attempts do not completely secure the dissociation of the two terms. In 2011, the city council of Seville recognized that:

“The aim is to carry out a comprehensive social intervention with the shantytown population of *El Vacie*, through a normalizing and inclusive process, also promoting the study and analysis of the integration processes of the *gitano* population” (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2011).²⁴

5.5 Roma from other EU Member States

The term ‘Rom’ and its derivatives (romaní, roma, romanés, etc.) have been traditionally scarcely used in the official documents. This terminology has been firstly adopted by the Roma associative movement at an European level, and only recently by public authorities

²³ For instance, in the case of *El Vacie*, most projects of intervention are funded by the call for grants in the framework of the Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community of Andalusia (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2010: 2).

²⁴ Our translation.

in Spain. Among the set of documents composing our primary corpus, the abovementioned terms is used only in two documents produced at State level: the 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population, and the 2012-2020 National Roma Integration Strategy. The absence of this terminology in most documents may be explained with the consideration of the *gitanos* as a (mainly) domestic minority, with its own specific characteristics, as well as to the fact that Roma migration to Spain is relatively recent (Beluschi Fabeni 2013). In the local documents examined, this absence is largely due to the absence of non-Spanish *gitanos*/Roma in territorial contexts selected for this study (with the exception of some Portuguese Gitano families residing in *El Vacie*).

The incorporation of 'EU Roma citizens' in the recently approved NRIS means that, from the perspective of public administration, Spanish *gitanos* share common features with other 'Roma groups' in Europe. In this sense, the Strategy affirms that "the quantity of Roma people in Spain has increased with the arrival of Roma principally from Romania and Bulgaria" (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012b:5). The same document require to the Spanish authorities to: "pay special attention to EU Roma citizens residing in Spain, or other Roma persons originating from third countries"; to include them in the "measures and actions aimed at Spanish Roma"; and, where circumstances allow, to "develop specific measures and actions [...] In order to promote and ease [their] social inclusion" (ibid:28).

Related to the recognition of the '*gitano* population' as a 'transnational population', one of the most relevant aspects of the NRIS is the promotion of the '*gitano* culture' in Spain through measures aimed to enhance the "recognition, study and diffusion of the Roma

language as the mother tongue of the Roma population”.²⁵ Nonetheless, at least since the 18th century, the Romani rapidly entered in a process of disappearing and conversion into a para-romaní of the Spanish language (Gamella, Fernández y Adiego, 2011).

²⁵ Already in 1999 the ‘Report of the Subcommittee, established within the Committee on Social Policy and Employment, for study of the gitano issue’ (Cortes Generales 1999) warned of the danger of the disappearance of the Romani and other elements of ‘gitano culture’ in Spain.

6. Explicit topics and not used keywords/phrases

6.1 Neighbourhood, Shantytown, Slums, Areas in Need of Social Transformation, and other ways to describe the space

The division of cities in specialized geographic areas (financial, commercial, residential, services, etc.) and the contemporary gentrification processes supported by certain urban policies have contributed to the reproduction and expansion of residential segregation (Wacquant, 2005). In all the bigger Andalusian cities, there are outskirts districts where the poorest and most disadvantaged sectors of the population are concentrated: social housing predominates; school failure is common; and delinquency is widespread. These spaces tend to be very heterogeneous in terms of ethnic composition, as well as in terms of the social and cultural capital of their residents.

Vulnerable districts are a constant concern of social policies that use to establish 'comprehensive intervention programs' for regulating their intervention. The government of Andalusia has been creating two institutional denominations, both euphemistic circumlocutions, in order to describe these areas: *Barriadas de Actuación Preferente* [Slums of Preferred Action] and *Zonas con Necesidades de Transformación Social* (ZNTS) [Areas in Need of Social Transformation]. The regional government finances the social intervention projects realized in these areas through calls for grants to local administrations and NGOs

With respect to the first two territorial contexts considered in this study, they are described at an institutional level with different denominations, since they represent two models of slums. *Los Asperones* is commonly described as *barriada de transición* [temporary slum].

²⁶ *El Vacie* is commonly described as *asentamiento chabolista* [shantytown]. In spite of the long history of these areas (30 years in the case of the *Asperones*, more than 70 in the case of *El Vacie*) both denominations emphasize the temporal dimension of the occupation. By contrast, the *Sacromonte* is called *barrio* [neighbourhood] and is rhetorically associated with an ancient history that supports the design of policies aimed at protecting its ‘cultural heritage’. It is interesting to note that the examined documents insistently refer to the ‘cave habitat’ or ‘troglodyte habitat’ of the neighbourhood. The term habitat originates from ecology and literally means a “place with the appropriate conditions for the life of an organism, species or an animal or vegetal community”²⁷. Similarly, the term habitat is also used in the documents referred to *El Vacie* and the *Asperones*, when referring to the ‘pedagogy of habitat’ (see chapter 6.3).

6.2 Eradication of shantytowns

The declared objective of all public interventions regarding the phenomenon of shantytowns in Andalusia is their ‘eradication’. The term *erradicación* is a botanic term and means literally ‘to uproot’. In Spain it is a conventional metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 2007) used to refer to the act of eliminating at the ground the causes of certain phenomena: substandard housing, poverty, gender violence, etc. In our case, eradication means ‘making completely and unequivocally disappear’ the shantytowns. Of course, due

²⁶ In Spanish, the difference between the term *barrio* (neighborhood) and *barriada* (slum) is vague. Usually (but not always) *barriada* has a negative connotation and is associated to a ‘marginal lifestyles’, while the term *barrio* is applied to any district of the city.

²⁷ Diccionario de la Real Academia Española. <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=h%C3%A1bitat> Accessed in 14 February 2014

to the economical, social, technical, and political difficulties embedded to this process, the eradication of shantytown is arduous.

The lack of institutional recognition of the shacks as regular dwellings, i.e. place of residence, is the premise of any eradication processes. Nevertheless, the position taken by public authorities clearly engender some paradoxes: both the need for individuals to have an administrative address to access welfare resources (to enrol children at school, to access public healthcare, to receive administrative notifications, etc.), and the need of the local governments to control the inhabitants of a certain territory, emphasize the practical need to officially recognize the shacks as regular homes. Thus, many of the formulas used public authorities to define these dwelling (e.g. Shantytown *El Vacie*, shack n^o4, Seville) partially institutionalize the same reality that they pretend to eradicate.

6.3 Inclusion and exclusion

With respect to the previously mentioned expression 'at risk of social exclusion', with which the target of social intervention in our territories is usually defined, it must be emphasized that such 'spatial metaphor' (inclusion/exclusion' or 'inside/outside') aims to designate the multifactorial processes of social segregation, more than poverty as mere economic deprivation.

In some cases the term 'exclusion' is often use as a merely euphemistic replacement of the more concrete term 'poverty' (Arriba, 2002). Nonetheless, one of the most frequently repeated criticisms around the metaphor of the 'inclusion' is the lack of a precise definition. According to Karsz (2004), it is precisely the conceptual ambiguity of the term that has

contributed to its political fortune: the meaning of 'inclusion' depends on the political context and the specific interests of the policymakers.

From the viewpoint of political liberalism, public action aimed to 'social inclusion' is understood as a mere technicality. Rather than putting the focus on the systemic structure of social inequality, this understanding of social inequalities make necessary to 'diagnose' the multiple causes of 'social exclusion' in order to apply an appropriate 'treatment' and thus ensure 'inclusion'. This 'medical metaphor' is the basis of the clinical approach that permeates most social intervention.

In support to this clinical approach, it is also very common the use of a pedagogical language: 'social exclusion' is the result of a series of 'socio-educational' deficits; thus, any intervention aimed to 'social inclusion' should be primarily (socio-) educational. Behind this expression there is the idea of social inclusion as 'itinerary' or 'route' ('social inclusion itineraries', 'personalized job placement itineraries', etc.). In this sense, just like formal education is structured by a sequenced plan studies (the curriculum), also 'social inclusion' is defined as a pathway consisting of steps that the people 'in situations or at risk of social exclusion' need to gradually overcome – in the same way as students passing from a stage to the next.

The documents regulating the rehousing processes of the population of *Los Asperones* envisage a series of workshops that families need to attend in order to be relocated in 'standard housing' outside of the settlement. These workshops include: (1) educational guidelines for living in a new environment with new neighbours; (2) awareness raising and training for job seeking; (3) health and hygiene; (4) social skills; and (5) implications of the women as agents of change and literacy. After passing through these 'socio-educational'

classes, the technical team is expected to ‘evaluate’ the acquisition of skills and knowledge in order to select those families ‘apt for the relocation’.

“In this way rehousing process is divided into three distinct phases, with an ordered sequence of actions that requires high degree of coordination of all the professionals involved in it, and in compliance with the established protocol” (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2010: 5).²⁸

The *Programa de Actuación de Rehabilitación Integral de Los Asperones* [Rehabilitation Action Plan of the *Asperones*] (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía, 2010) establishes five thematic sections, divided into subtopics, which should frame the training activities:

1. Living together: organization of daily life, housing, Relations within and outside the family including the community of neighbours;
2. Education: school orientation, orientation for parents, adult education;
3. Healthcare: nutrition, personal and family hygiene, prevention and treatment of diseases, health education in labour environment, promotion of a healthy lifestyle, sexual education;
4. Employment, innovation, science and business: skills for the search of job, professional training, computer literacy, promotion of self-employment as an alternative;
5. Participation: activities and procedure of participation, associations and communities of neighbours.

²⁸ Our translation.

Quite similar measures are envisaged in other documents related to *El Vacie*. Also here it is underscored the need to provide the ‘shantytown families’ with social and housekeeping-related skills prior to their relocation in ‘standard housing’. The technical team responsible for the realization of these activities is in charge for ‘assessing’ whether the families and people have acquired such ‘skills’, i.e. met the expected objectives. Therefore, after the completion of the activities, they “evaluate the degree of normalization in the use of resources, and determine the remaining time of work recommended in order to acquire the skills required for the incorporation into normalized housing” (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 34).²⁹

6.4 Comprehensive intervention, comprehensive rehabilitation

The comprehensiveness of the intervention characterizes the administrative rhetoric on the ‘*gitano* population’ and is strictly related with the concept of ‘social exclusion’. In spite of the ambiguities of the term, ‘social exclusion’ always emphasizes the multidimensional nature of the processes of social segregation. Housing conditions is related to education, employment, healthcare, etc. So, the multidimensional nature of social exclusion needs to approach the intervention from different sectors and to involve all types of social agents, i.e. different level of administration and NGOs. For example, the work on restoration of housing and urban areas promoted by EPSA is structured alongside two strategic lines of action:³⁰ (1) the area of rehabilitation of old towns, whose main objective is the improvement of antique buildings and houses; and (2) the area of comprehensive rehabilitation of those urban contexts characterized by ‘social exclusion’, where, beyond

²⁹ Our translation.

³⁰ The action of EPSA follow the indications of the 2005-2008 State Housing Plan (Royal Decree 801/2005)

housing improvement measures for the improvement of housing, also social intervention projects are foreseen.

According to this partition, one of our territorial contexts, *Los Asperones*, has been declared *área de rehabilitación integral* [area of comprehensive rehabilitation]. This decision resulted in the implementation of actions:

“[...] that have improved the material conditions of the neighbourhood, including urban facilities, sanitation, waste collection and street lighting, and have served as an opportunity for deepening the understanding of the social and economic reality of this population, also enabling us to draw the present proposal of intervention aimed to achieve a comprehensive rehabilitation of both individuals and families living in that neighbourhood (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2012: 3).³¹

The comprehensiveness of the intervention has to be also framed in the logic of efficiency and costs minimization. The multidimensional nature of ‘social exclusion’ requires a comprehensive approach, but – as stated by the *Programa de Intervención en la Barriada de Los Asperones* [Intervention Program in Los Asperones] – it also demand “to make an effort in order to avoid the duplication of resources and to achieve their effectiveness and optimization”.³²

³¹ Our translation.

³² Our translation.

6.5 Normalization

The verb *normalizar* [normalize] and its derivatives, such as the adjective *normalizado* [normalized] and the substantive *normalización* [normalization] proliferate in the texts referred to shantytowns and to other poor areas inhabited *gitanos*. These expressions designate the process of ‘adjustment’ of a reality that is not conforming the norm. According to the examined documents, growing up or living in a ‘non-normal’ environment (the shantytown) is associated to the acquisition of ‘non-normal’ habits and behaviours. Since rehousing processes consist in leaving the shantytown for the ‘outside world’, where ‘normal’ people live, it is necessary to change this ‘abnormal culture’,³³ otherwise the mere relocation of the ‘shantytown families’ in ‘normalized neighbourhoods’ would jeopardize the process of ‘social inclusion’. So, the successful completion the workshops for the acquisition of ‘normalized social and housing skills’ become a prerequisite for rehousing.

As explained in the draft version of the Intervention Program in Los Asperones training should ensure that “the process of rehousing is carried out properly, also ensuring the safety of and a positive attitude towards the outside world, and thereby facilitate the integration in a normalized environment” (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2010: 13). In the case of *Los Asperones*, a system of indicators was created, in order to allow the technical team to evaluate the ‘level of normalization’ of each family:

³³ The administrative texts avoid associating this ‘non-normal culture’ to any particular ‘ethnic or social group’. However, they move from a culturalist interpretation that ends ethnificating the ‘shantytown population’.

“[...] a set of indicators of normalization is established, in order to provide the information needed for the evaluation of the observed families, and thereby to objectively assess the passage from a phase to the next, and to determine the remaining time of work recommended in order to acquire the skills required for the incorporation into normalized housing” (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2010: 6).³⁴

After the design of these indicators, all family units were evaluated: they were classified according to their ‘level of normalization’ and six of them were declared ‘suitable’ for the relocation in a normalized environment.

Another meaning of the term ‘normalization’ is the intention of public administration to ensure the equal and equitable access of the ‘shantytown population’ to the public resources available for the whole society. Namely, for the Action Plan for *El Vacío* ‘normalization’ means also the “utilization of the normal channels established by the society in order to meet the social and cultural needs, while respecting the family environment, the social environment and the right to difference”(Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 28).

6.6 Cultural heritage and cultural values

The terms ‘cultural heritage’ or ‘ethnographic heritage’ may be found only in the documents related to the *Sacromonte* neighbourhood. Actually, this area, with its cave-houses insistently associated to the ‘*gitano* population’, is subject to institutional processes of heritagization linked to the touristic promotion of the city.

³⁴ Our translation.

"The heritage value of the cave habitat is set in its integrity as such, as an area of a community with an extraordinary ethnographic meaning. Losing sight of that, may involve a risk for the continuity of the essential nature of this habitat" (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2005, 8).³⁵

In 2000, based on the recognition of the 'ethnographic value' of the caves as a peculiar type of housing in the context of Granada, the city council decided to create in this area the *Centro Internacional de Estudios Gitanos* [International Centre of Gitano Studies]. According to the statute of this institution, its main objective is "the promotion of research, as well as the dissemination and the preservation of the identity signs and the *gitano* heritage of the *Sacromonte*". The headquarters of this centre was placed in a series rehabilitated caves owned by the city council. Years later, they were partially ceded to the *Asociación de Mujeres Gitanas Romí* [Association of Gitano Women Romí] for the creation of a 'Museum of the Gitano Woman'. In spite of the explicit objectives of the Centre to promote research and dissemination of the culture and *gitano* heritage, most of the activities funded are flamenco performances. For the realization of these shows (normally addressed to tourists) a large auditorium was built near to the caves, also in strong contradiction with the 'traditional picture of the city' that the local government declares to safeguard.³⁶

³⁵ Our translation.

³⁶ The works carried out for the realization of this auditorium have been very controversial. The local press regularly collected debates regarding this space. For certain sectors of the city, the auditorium and the rehabilitation public works in these caves were contrary to the real 'traditional image'.

The institutional heritagization of the cave-houses involves also the implementation of government tools aimed to safeguard the ‘traditional image’ of the neighbourhood and to enhance those economic activities related to tourism, including hotels and flamenco show. At this scope, the Municipal Urban Plan (PGOU) of Granada:

“[...] provides for the protection and restoration of the habitat of caves [...]. The policy of the Plan in relation to the area of caves enhances the appreciation of its ethnographic value and its relevant function in the local culture, by strengthening the viability of implanted or potential uses of this habitat: housing, catering, and entertainment” (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2005: 27).³⁷

It is necessary to note here that, dissimilar from the documents related to *El Vacie* and *Los Asperones*, in the case of Sacromonte the use of ethnonyms is much more usual. Even, the classification of the area as a “*gitano* neighbourhood” (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2005) does not raise problems: it is invariably mentioned in all touristic guides produced by the regional and local governments, as a key ingredient of the touristic promotion of Granada.

³⁷ Our translation.

7. Implicit: Metaphors

Aim of this chapter is to present the implicit analogies and metaphors found in the analysed documents. In this respect, few differences were found between the documents produced by state, region and local governments. The socio-linguistic analyse of the whole documentation show that the language used to refer to the '*gitano* population' and its housing situation display a common cultural cognitive framework. It is precisely in this frame, that the implicit descriptions of the '*gitano* population' in Spain gains sense.

7.1 Deficient subjects

The presentation of the '*gitano* population' as a group affected by a multitude of interrelated deficits, is one of the most recurring stereotypes – especially in the cases of the documents prepared by those public entities working with 'social policies'. These documents substantiate that the '*gitano* population', or at least part of it, lack of 'social skills', 'adequate education', 'healthy habits', 'healthy practices', etc. In this context, the expression 'collective in a situation or at risk of social exclusion', becomes a container for such deficitarian description. A clear example of this approach', is the description of the population living in *El Vacie*, made by the relative Action Plan (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 18):

“(a) the predominant type of family is a patriarchal and extended family, with many members, mostly children; (b) the predominant population is of *gitano* origin, both Spanish and Portuguese; (c) they display inadequate educational level, as well as a lack of social and occupational skills: lack of job training, illiteracy, etc.; (d) a significant number of families lack of specific social skills for the inclusion in an normalized

environment: lack of habits in housekeeping, lack of rules and schedules in a community context, lack of the rules for the coexistence in a community, lack of skills for improving their habitat, etc.". ³⁸

This description is extended a few pages later, with the proposal of *itinerarios personalizados de inserción* [personalized itineraries for socio-occupational insertion] as main device to work out the lack of occupational skills. At this scope, the Action Plan envisages:

"[...] the need to address the problem of accessing a normalized employment through personalized itineraries for socio-occupational insertion according to the needs and deficiencies detected in each case, since the 'gitano population' of *El Vacie* shantytown enjoy the cultural identity of the ethnic group to which it belongs, although its living conditions in the shantytown accentuate the situation of marginalization that they suffer and make most evident the social and occupation deficits" (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 25). ³⁹

In this paragraph we can identify the rhetoric surrounding the cultural identity of the 'gitano population' as positive aspect of the ethnic group to which they belong. At the same time, the *gitano* ethnic identity is linked to the marginalization as well as social and occupational deficits that are (only) 'accentuated' by the living conditions in the shantytown. This analogy is all built up moving from a coherent metaphorical system consisting of multiple and concatenated metaphors: *gitanos* are 'kids' that need to be educated so they can be

³⁸ Our translation.

³⁹ Our translation.

ready to succeed in the adult world; they are empty containers to be filled with knowledge, appropriate skills, etc.

7.2 Saturated subjects

As paradoxical as it may seem, the examined documents also reveal an analogy which is in opposition to the previous one: the *gitanos* as ‘saturated subjects’. Especially the documents related to ‘cultural policies’ provide a picture of the *gitanos* as a group overflowing with culture, history, music, and traditions. These documents also draw a very idealized presentation of the history of the *gitano* presence in Andalusia and Spain. This trend is very clear in the *Sacromonte* neighbourhood, where most of the documents examined allude to the secular history of this group:

“The caves habitat is therefore the product of the excavation of the hill realized mainly from the 16th century by a marginal population of smiths and other metal workers, many of *gitano* origin, who accompanied the Christian troops during the *reconquista*” (Ayuntamiento de Granada 2008: 32).⁴⁰

So, the culture of the *gitanos* belongs more to the past than to the present: as long as it can be sold, there is no problem. In fact, the documentation aimed at promoting tourism, places particular emphasis in the most ‘marketable’ aspects of the *gitanos* and ‘their’ caves: the flamenco music and the privileged views of the *Sacromonte*. This aspect also justifies the safeguarding of the ‘traditional picture’ of the caves (see Ayuntamiento de Granada 2009).

⁴⁰ Our translation

The description of the *gitanos* as subjects ‘holding the tradition’ could be also found in other territorial contexts and policy actions. The following paragraph extracted from the Action Plan for *El Vacie*, for example, combines the description of the ‘deficit subject’ with the ‘subject saturated of traditions’:

“The gitano population living in this shantytown has traditionally realized those professions that allowed them to be relative independent from the relations of production of the majority society, and to develop their own work organization and economic cooperation structures. Their traditional occupations were the sale and purchase of goods. Our goal is to provide them those skills that would enhance their access to non-traditional work as well as the certainty of the workplace”
(Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 25) ⁴¹

The sources used for the drafting of these documents are, in most cases, not reliable. The descriptions of the ‘*gitano* culture’ or the ‘*gitano* cultural identity’ are clearly stereotypical and erroneous; for example when they assert that the Roma language is *currently* getting lost in Spain, while in reality Spanish *gitanos* have never used that language in contemporary times.

Despite that, many documents appraise the ‘*gitano* culture’ or ‘*gitano* heritage’, since they understand it as a constitutive element of the Spanish and Andalusian ‘cultural identity’. Gerd Baumann (2004) would define this operation as the ‘encompassing grammar’ of the Spanish State with respect to the ‘*gitano* population’. In line with this, the 2010-2012 Action Plan for the Development of the Gitano Population states that, in recent years, progresses have been made in regards to the recognition of the ‘*gitano* culture’ and the

⁴¹ Our translation.

“valorisation of their contribution to Spanish culture in general”. Similarly, the Comprehensive Plan for the Gitano Community of Andalusia envisages “the promotion, by the cultural institution, of the *gitano* contribution as a shaping element of the Andalusian cultural identity”.

Public administrations end up identifying certain ethnic markers of the ‘*gitano* culture’ that must be protected. At the same time, certain cultural elements detected among the *gitanos* targets of public intervention in the shantytowns, are attributed to a ‘culture of poverty’ that shall be ‘modified’, ‘transformed’ or ‘eradicated’. So, while some aspects are praised as genuine attributes of the ‘*gitano* culture’ (such as the artistic and craft productions, and the respect for elderly people), other behaviours (such as early marriage, early fertility or the involvement into irregular economic activities) are depicted as typical of ‘marginal and poor settings’ that nothing have to do with ‘*gitano* culture’.

7.3 Gregarious subjects

Another common stereotypes on *gitanos* contained in the analysed documents is the importance of the group and of ‘what is collective’ over the individual. In this respect, the most used topics include: (1) the importance of family and their extensive nature; (2) the allusions to the *clan* as a type of social organization; (3) the role of women as backbones of the family and the group. An example of this is the following excerpt referred to El Vacie, and took from the report on the phenomenon of shantytowns in Andalusia, presented in 2005 by the Andalusian Ombudsman:

“In recent times, families belonging to several clans of Portuguese, Spanish and Extremadurian have joined the settlement” (Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz 2005:100).

The presentation of the inhabitants of *El Vacie* as gregarious subjects is also very clear in this passage of the Action Plan for *El Vacie*, where also other stereotypes can be detected:

"The coexistence in *El Vacie* is difficult, due to the extremely precarious environment and the environmental stress. In this context, being surrounded by the extended family group contributes to the identity and the security of the individual, and also lays the rules of confidentiality and mutual aid. These are the ‘unwritten rules’ of the living together, which apply in case of conflicts. The resolution of any conflict is always in group” (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2007: 18).⁴²

Moving from this idea of the *gitanos* as ‘gregarious subjects’, the rehousing initiatives regulated by the same Plan forbid the relocation of more than one family unit (or two, in exceptional cases) in the same building. This criteria to prevent the residential concentration of the rehoused families is common also in other documents regulating the rehousing processes in *Los Asperones*:

“A prolonged permanence in these dwellings would only perpetuate the existing situation of marginalization. Furthermore, the desire expressed by most population is to leave the slum as soon as an alternative that meet their needs does exist. For these reasons the draft the Intervention Program proposed the gradual relocation of

⁴² Our translation.

the families in housing scattered in different areas of the city, and even, in some cases, of the province, depending on the willingness of the families” (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2012).⁴³

Similarly, also the NRIS in Spain conceives the concentration of *gitanos* in certain neighbourhoods or areas of cities (but not of non-*gitanos*) as an obstacle to the ‘integration’ and ‘intercultural relations’:

“The majority of Roma people live and interact on a daily basis with non-Roma people in the social arena, and this interaction is probably stronger than in any other European country. However, there are still real obstacles to intercultural exchange, such as the existence of certain neighbourhoods or education centres with a high concentration of Roma people [...]” (Ministerio de Sanidad Servicios Sociales e Igualdad 2012: 8)

7.4 Subjects in need of protection

Public authorities always exert a tutelary role for the whole citizenship. Nonetheless, in some of the documents analysed, the afforded protection clearly infantilize the target of the intervention. A technical paper defining the parameters that the social worker intervening in *El Vacío* must follow in order to monitor those families in the process of rehousing (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2010: 3), lists the following targets within the area of ‘organization and housekeeping’:

- a) Provide good practices of organization and management of the house;

⁴³ Our translation.

- b) Enhance the capacity to plan the household's expenses on the basis of the budget;
- c) Enhance an adequate distribution of spaces in the house;
- d) Teach the use and the conservation of trousseau and basic equipment;
- e) Promote the acquisition of regular schedules;
- f) Promote the proper use of leisure time.

The infantilization of the 'shantytown population' is strictly related to the paternalism of the measures characterizing the process of 'eradication' and relocation in 'normalized housing'. 'Accompaniment' to families is a very clear example of this approach. It basically consists in the technical staff and social workers going together with their 'users' to the services and resources outside of the immediate environment of the shantytown (health centres, job interviews, 'normalized' social services, cultural activities, etc.). From the same paternalistic perspective, this task of supporting and monitoring must be based on a 'close', 'warm' and 'continuous' relationship:

“Teenagers will have the opportunity to learn habits, skills and knowledge across the completion of various tasks typical of their age, educational level, and status, that will ensure their integration into a group where they can experience a different relationship: close, warm and continuous, counting with the accompaniment and support of the social educators throughout the entire process” (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla 2012: 7).⁴⁴

The accompaniment must be 'constant' and prolonged, until the 'users' require it and acquire the status of 'social adults'. As specified in the *Plan de Realajo de Los Asperones* [Rehousing Plan for Los Asperones] (Empresa Pública de Suelo de Andalucía 2012: 5),

⁴⁴ Our translation.

‘accompaniment’ has to be prolonged and extended to the ‘normalized environment’ as far as the ‘full integration’ of the families is achieved.

8. Decisions adopted by the documents

The aphorisms analysed in chapter 6, as well as the analogies and stereotype presented in chapter 7, weigh on the development and the implementation of the measures and initiatives in the domain of housing adopted by the public administration towards the ‘*gitano* population’ in the selected territories. Following Austin (1990), the usage of these expressions has to be interpreted as plain actions, and not only as mere statements.

In the sense defined by Foucault (1985), it is very complex to break down into isolated units the neoliberal government practice, based on networks of knowledge and power. The concept of *dispositif* [apparatus] adopted by Foucault refers precisely to this network through which the power establishes a kind of ‘regime of truth’.

“[The apparatus is] a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements... (Foucault 1985: 128).

The governmental actions analysed in our work consist of a multitude of elements (texts, institutions, expertise, etc.) whose complex interconnection serves to ‘depoliticize’ the public action and to build a ‘social reality’ made of detected problems for which a solution (in terms of truth) is proposed. The apparent objective purpose of the ‘diagnostic studies’ realized in our territorial contexts, as well as of the measures successively designed, shift

these interventions from the field ‘what is debatable’, i.e. the political, to the field of the technique.

Moving from these considerations, here below we present in a very schematic way some governmental actions, common to the examined documents, which are part of the interconnected network of ‘elements of the apparatus’.

8.1 Mandate to the third sector

Public administrations use different formula to refer to the *gitanos* (see chapter 5.2). However, any of the analysed texts offers an accurate definition of ‘who is *gitano*’. This task is delegated to the third sector. In fact, since public subsidies for the development of *gitano*-targeted initiatives are granted to NGOs, *de facto* are these entities that certify the ethnic-belonging of the beneficiaries of the *gitano*-targeted policies, and therefore, are responsible for the definition of the target itself. Furthermore, providing these entities with substantial power and resources, ends up disabling their political and mobilizing potential, and makes them co-participants and co-responsible of public action.

8.2 Eradication of shantytowns, evictions, and rehousing initiatives

In order to ‘eradicate’ the phenomenon of shantytowns, public administrations implement a series of interrelated (or comprehensive) measures. The most evident action in this sense is the relocation into a ‘normalized environment’. In practices, it is about moving the place of residence of these people from one area to another. The elimination of shantytowns is a very complex issue that should be addressed in a comprehensive manner and involve all relevant government levels and by an integrated approach (Vallvé 2009:10). Due to

budgetary cuts or political disagreements, action in these areas is currently limited to social accompaniment (Laparra et al. 2014:29).

8.3 Courses, training, and workshops

The understanding of the target population as a group of individuals affected by a multitude of deficits, lead to the design of training activities aimed to ensure their 'social inclusion'. Training is conceived as a 'road map', i.e. a pathway that the families have to walk through in order to reach 'social inclusion' and 'residential integration' in a 'normalized housing'. Moving from pedagogical theories, these actions seem to infantilize the affected population.

8.4 Residential dispersion

In order to successfully perform the rehousing processes, 'ethnic concentration' should be avoided. In the case of *gitanos*, the 'normalization' happens above all when the subjects leave their inclination to 'act as a group' and their 'inability' to resolve conflicts on an individual basis. So, it is commonly accepted the idea that the rehousing families in a same building (or even in the same neighbourhood) could reproduce these patterns.

8.5 Accompaniment, cultural mediation

The infantilization of the population subject of the intervention, and their relocation in a new 'cultural context' (the 'normalized environment') requires the design of measures of accompaniment and cultural mediation. Accompaniment consist in an 'expert' attending the 'normalized services' outside of the shantytown together with its 'user', in order to

support him in the access to social resources and in the processing of administrative documents. The issue of 'cultural mediation' is normally mentioned in the analysed documents, as if it were a synonym of accompaniment. Since the 'culture of the shantytown' is understood distant from the 'normal culture', there is a need for mediators working as translators between their users and the 'normalized services'.

8.6 Heritagization and museification

The analysed documents provide a sharp distinction between the lifestyle of the 'shantytown population' and the 'gitano culture'. The 'shantytown lifestyle' of the *gitanos* living in *El Vacie* and *Los Asperones* is basically due to their material living condition, and not to their ethnic origin. In fact, the '*gitano* culture' is part of the 'common culture' of Spaniards and Andalusian. Therefore, it should be safeguarded against the hazards of loss or degradation. Moreover, the '*gitano* culture' is also a tourist attraction, since it can potentially produce economic benefits. The heritagization of the *Sacromonte* cave-houses, in strict association with the local history of the *gitanos*, clearly responds to this approach. This process of heritagization involves a wide range of actions: the protection of the 'traditional picture' of the caves against possible irregular rehabilitations realized by their inhabitants; the creation of a museums on the caves; the edition of guidebooks; raise awareness activities on the '*gitano* culture' for school children and the general population.

9. Case study: moriscos, *gitanos*, and hippies in the heritagization of *Sacromonte*

The *Sacromonte* neighbourhood and its cave-houses represent one of the icons of Granada since the beginning of tourism. The centre of the discourse on tourism on this area is the heritagization of the house-caves and their connection with the flamenco and the 'gitano' ethnicity. Public administrations played a fundamental role in the development of this description, enhancing an idyllic imaginary of the neighbourhood and its original inhabitants. Following Comaroff and Comaroff (2011), ethnicity has been converted in consumption good in itself: a commodity. Such *commodification* of 'what is *gitano*' and its commercial exploitation have been carried out by travel agencies, public authorities, and also by some *gitano* residents. A good example of this process is the abundance of exhibition spaces that take as main reference the '*gitano* cave-houses', along with the proliferation of flamenco-caves.

In this context, the measures of urban development as well as the control imposed by public administration over these buildings are aimed at safeguarding both the 'traditional picture' of the area and its tourist promotion. Nevertheless, the touristic image of the *Sacromonte* is not exempt from paradoxes: the transformation of the neighbourhood into a touristic destination, as well as the public intervention designed to this achievement, has progressively contributed to make of this neighbourhood an 'unauthentic' scenario. Not to mention the fact that today the 'authentic' *gitano* population residing in the area is not greater than in other any district of Granada.

Besides the caves of the touristic area, there is another core of caves located at a higher elevation of the *Sacromonte* hill: the caves of the *San Miguel* hill (the two territories are geographically one the continuation of the other). Before the heavy rains of the 1960s, also the caves of *San Miguel* were inhabited by those *gitanos* who replaced the poorest Moriscos after the *Reconquista*. Successively, starting from the 1970s, this area was occupied by other 'marginal' groups: vagabonds, hippies, immigrants, etc.⁴⁵ Their presence has been a permanent political issue for the local authorities: over the past ten years the city council has repeatedly tried to evict these people from the caves. The last time was on March 20, 2014.

⁴⁵ The local media, as well as certain scholars and local historians, have helped to spread the idea that both the caves of *Sacromonte* as the caves of hill of *San Miguel* have been permanently occupied by 'marginal and exotic' groups. According to this idea, the first inhabitants of the caves have been the poorest Moriscos, before the Catholic conquest in 1492. Then, the caves were occupied by the '*gitano* population' together with the remained Moriscos. Finally, the current occupants are categorized as neo-hippy communities, attracted by the romantic and exotic environment.

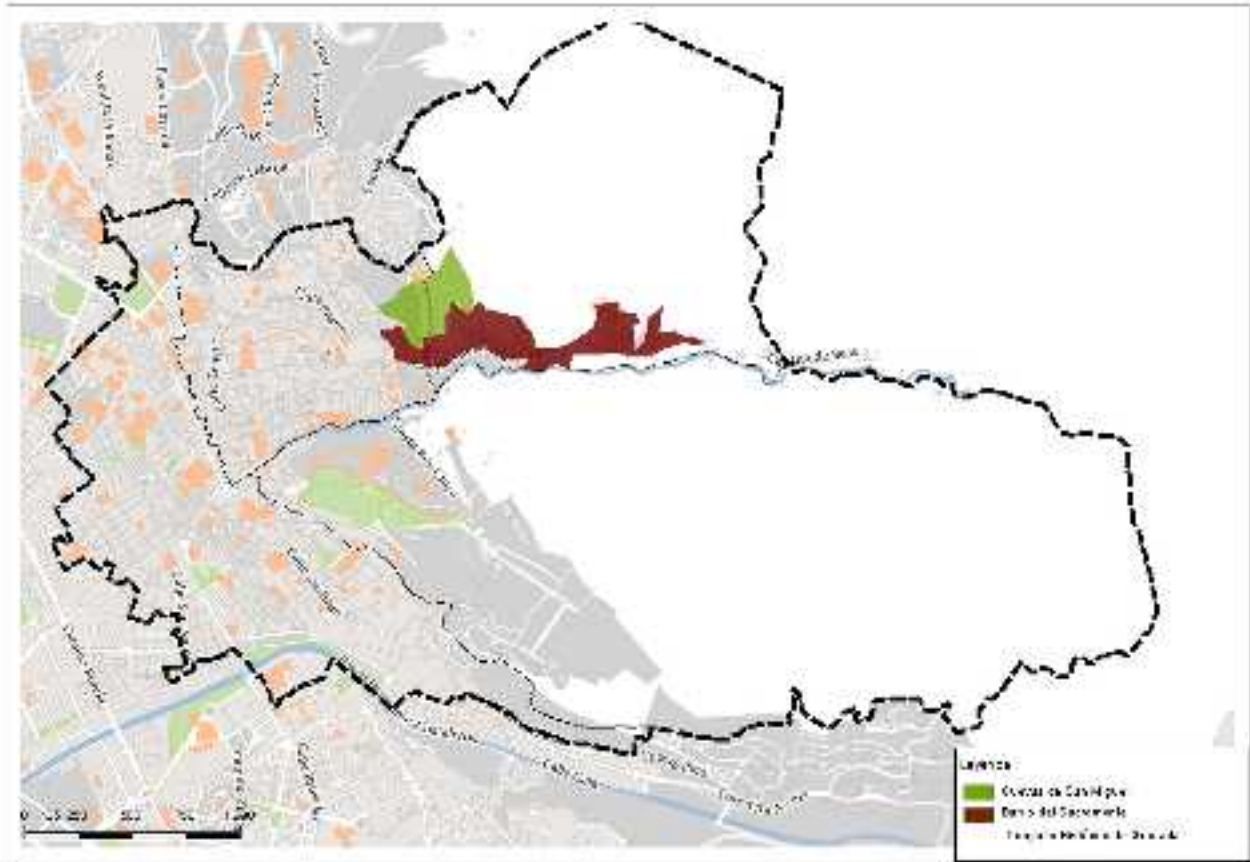


Illustration 2: The *San Miguel* caves (Green) and the *Sacromonte* caves (red) in the delimitation of the town.

The existence of this conflict is clearly opposed to the touristic picture of the area that the local government tries to promote. The occupation of the caves of *San Miguel* by these ‘marginal groups’ represents a political issue for two main reasons. First, their presence is threatening the ‘authentic image’ of the area. Second, they are preventing the touristic exploitation (heritagization and museification) of the cultural and landscape attractions offered by the caves and their geographical location. In this situation, the government’s strategy has been to disassociate in public discourse the caves of *San Miguel* from the caves of the *Sacromonte*. The eviction of the former represents a second step of a political strategy that aims to create and exploit new touristic products.

The stigma of the current inhabitants of the caves of *San Miguel* interestingly discloses some parallel features with the historical stigmatization suffered by the gitano population living in this area. For instance, many of the stereotypes associated to the *gitano* (or Roma, Gipsy, etc.) population in Europe emerged during the research activities of the WE Project also apply to the new inhabitant of the caves of *San Miguel*: lack of hygiene, marginal life style, presence of animals without veterinary supervision, noisy, etc.

In practice, 'what is *gitano*' (rather than 'the *gitanos*' themselves) has been integrated into the existing discourse on tourism, mainly due to the interpretation of the '*gitano* heritage' as integral part of the 'Andalusian culture'. On the other hand, the diversity represented by the new inhabitants of *San Miguel* is considered inconsistent with this scope: the 'marginal' inhabitants of the caves of *San Miguel* represent problem to eradicate, as the shantytowns do.

10. Final note

The documents analysed for this study are deeply culturalist. They follow the logic of the European neoliberal policies, and largely reflect the political conceptions of the Spanish state. Although the use of ethnonym is avoided, and a careful use is made of these expression that could be considered 'racist' or 'discriminating', the diagnose of the housing condition of the *gitano* in the selected territories is based on the understanding of poverty as a specific 'culture'. This explains that also the measures proposed are somehow 'cultural': to make conscious, to normalize, to train abilities, etc. As Gunther Dietz (2003: 17) declared: "the political measures taken on *gitanos* in Spain during the last five centuries are often contradictory: they swing constantly between forced assimilation and forced segregation". The contradictions of the contemporary policies for *gitanos* in Spain are inherited from this historical fluctuation between assimilationist and segregationist measures. The process of ethnogenesis fluctuates between the praise of those aspects of the '*gitano* culture' which are basically part of the Spanish culture and folklore; and the necessity to 'eliminate' or 'eradicate' those cultural practices related to poverty that are understood as inconsistent with the lifestyle of the majority population.

The cases of *Los Asperones* and *El Vacie*, reveal the attempt to correct the result of segregationist policies through assimilationist models, both as regard the management of space (residential de-segregation) and as regard culture (normalization). The case of the *Sacromonte* shows how the heritagization and museification of specific elements of the '*gitano* culture' contribute to the fossilization of a certain stereotyped (positive) picture of the '*gitano* culture'.

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ANEXO I – Tables and Pictures

Chapter 1: Relevant aspects of the gathered documents

Table 1. Documents gathered in Spain

	Doc. Political	Doc. Technical	Total doc. By territorial level
Spanish State	13	24	37
Andalucía (Regional Level)	36	43	80
El Vacie – Sevilla (Local)	13	83	96
Los Asperones – Málaga (Local)	21	62	83
Sacromonte – Granada (Local)	27	70	96
Total	110	282	392

Table 2. Primary documents and para-texts (all documents)

Primary documents	147
Para-texts	246

Table 3. Political and technical documents by territorial context

Primary text – Territorial level	Political	Technical	Total doc. by territorial level
Spain (state)	8	1	9
Andalucía (regional)	4	8	12
El Vacie – Sevilla (local)	9	31	40

Los Asperones – Málaga (local)	14	30	44
Sacromonte – Granada (local)	27	15	42
Total documentation	62	85	147

Figure 1. Wordcloud of topics (all documents)



Figure 2. Gathered documents by issuing date (all primary documents)

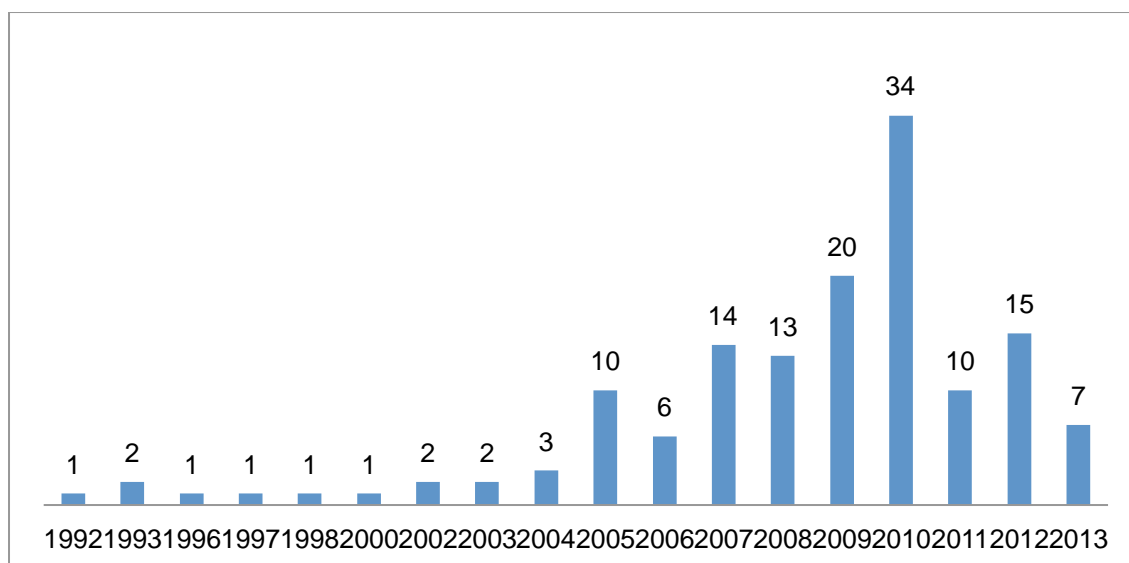


Table 4. Type of collected primary documents at state level (Spain)

Type of documents	Number of primary documents
Royal Decree	2
Agreement	2
Convention	1
Plan	1
Strategic Plan	1
Resolution	2
TOTAL	9

Figure 3. Collected primary documents at state level (Spain), by date

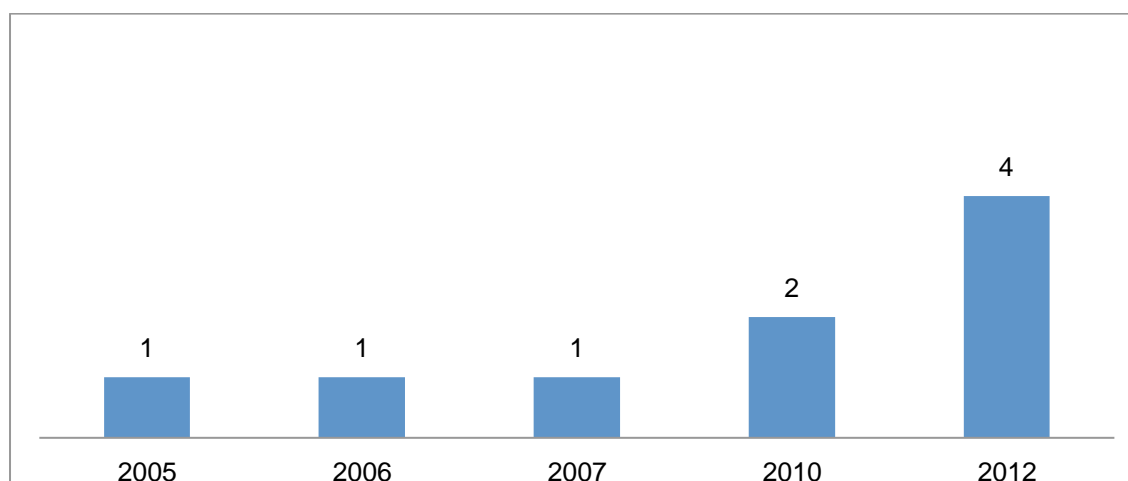


Table 5. Collected documents at state level (Spain), by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Number
Right	3
Left	6

Table 6. Topics of the collected documents at state level (Spain)

TOPICS	Number
Support to Gitano associations	2
National minority	1
Ethnic Equality	1
Development / Gitano	2
Social inclusion / Gitano	2
Prevention of marginalization and integration of Gitano	1

Table 7. Type of collected documents at regional level (Andalusia)

Type of documents	Number of documents
Order	5
Agreement	2
Convention	2
Report	2
Resolution	1

Figure 4. Collected documents at regional level (Andalusia), by issuing date

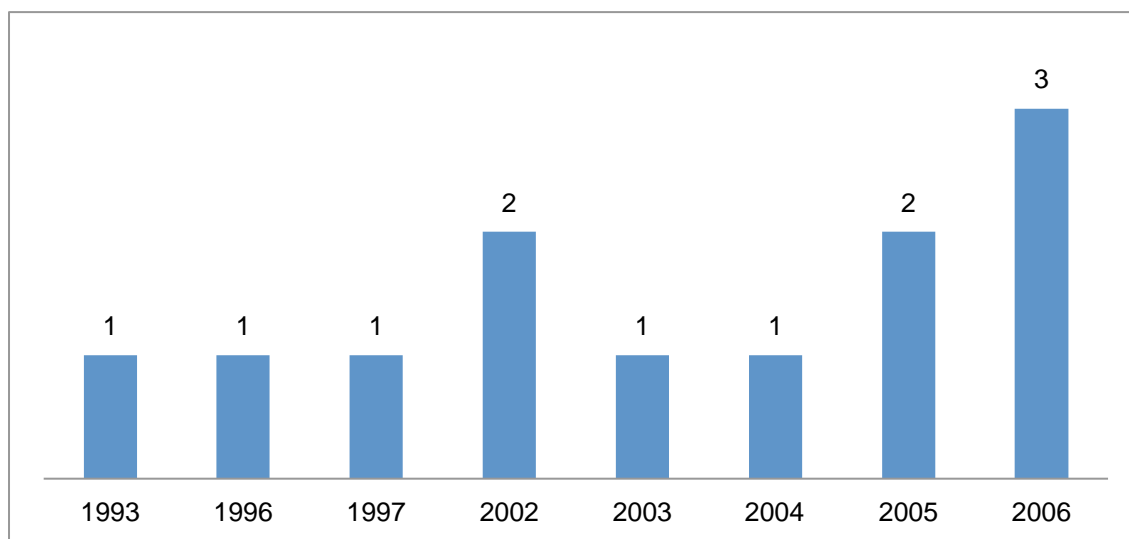


Table 8. Collected documents at regional level (Andalusia), by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Number
Right	0
Left	11

Figure 5. Topics of the collected documents at regional level (Andalusia),

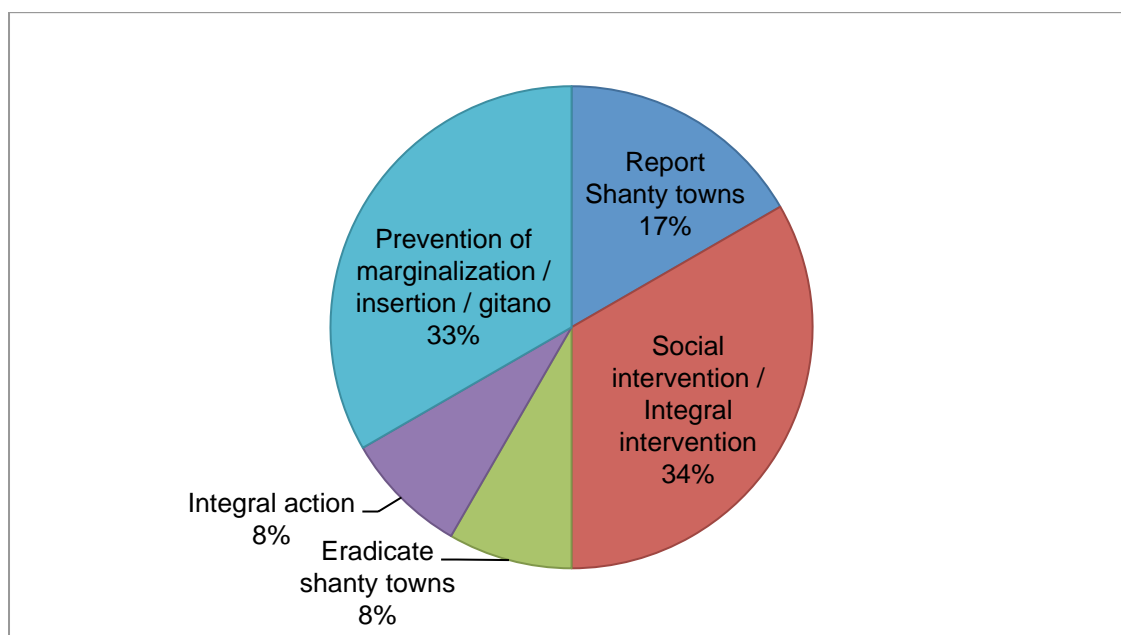


Table 9. Type of collected documents in *El Vacie* (Seville)

Type of documents	Number of documents
Evaluation Format	1
Order	1
Report Format	1
Agreement	9
Awards	8
Actions	3
Grants concession	2
Plan	3
Prescriptions	4
Parameters	1
Budget	2
Banns	1
Dossier	2
Resolution	1
Regulation	1

Table 10. Collected documents in *El Vacie* (Sevilla), by issuing date

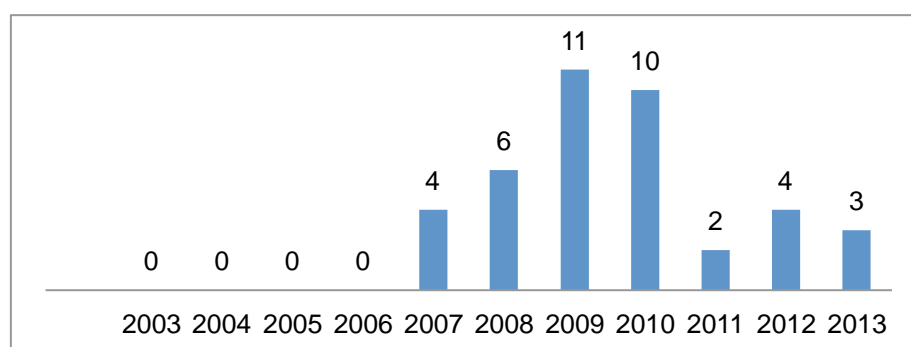


Table 11. Collected documents in *El Vacie* (Sevilla), by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Number
Right	8
Left	30

Table 12. Topics of collected documents in *El Vacie* (Sevilla),

TOPICS	n. doc.
Budget / Gitano	1
Child welfare	1
Eradicate shanty towns	2
Evaluation program	1
Healthy habits / Gitano	1
Homemaking Skills	4
Integral action / hygiene, health, home organization, training, employment	2
Kitchen furniture, electrical appliances	1
Prevocational training	1
Project model	1
Regulation self-governing	2
Rehousing	3
Relocation / rehousing	1
Settlement rehabilitation	12
Social integration / rehousing / eradicate shanty towns / Competence or Aptitude	3
Social Intervention	3
Workshop sewing	1

Figure 6. Topics of the collected documents in *El Vacie* (Sevilla)

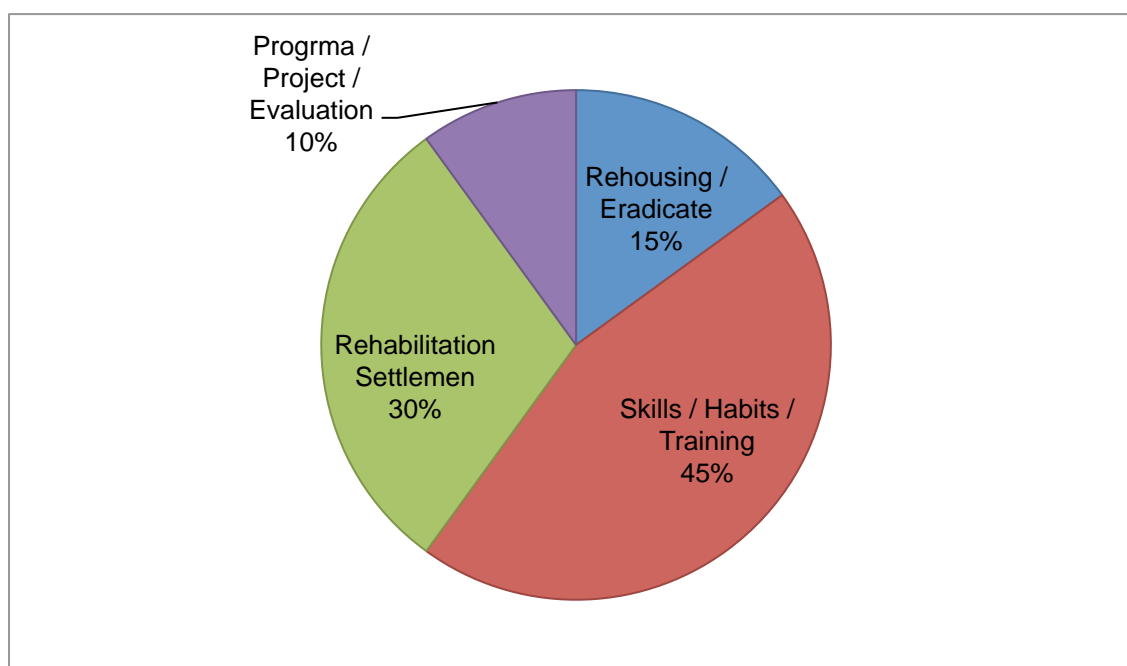


Table 13. Type of collected documents in *Los Asperones* (Malaga)

Type of documents	Number of documents
Convention	9
Agreement	2
Contract	2
Plan	1
Mapping	1
Project of intervention	2
Social profile	2
Technical report	3
Report format	9
Action program	4
Award proposal	2

Protocol to action	1
Resolution	3
Application form	2

Figure 7. Collected documents in *Los Asperones* (Malaga), by issuing date

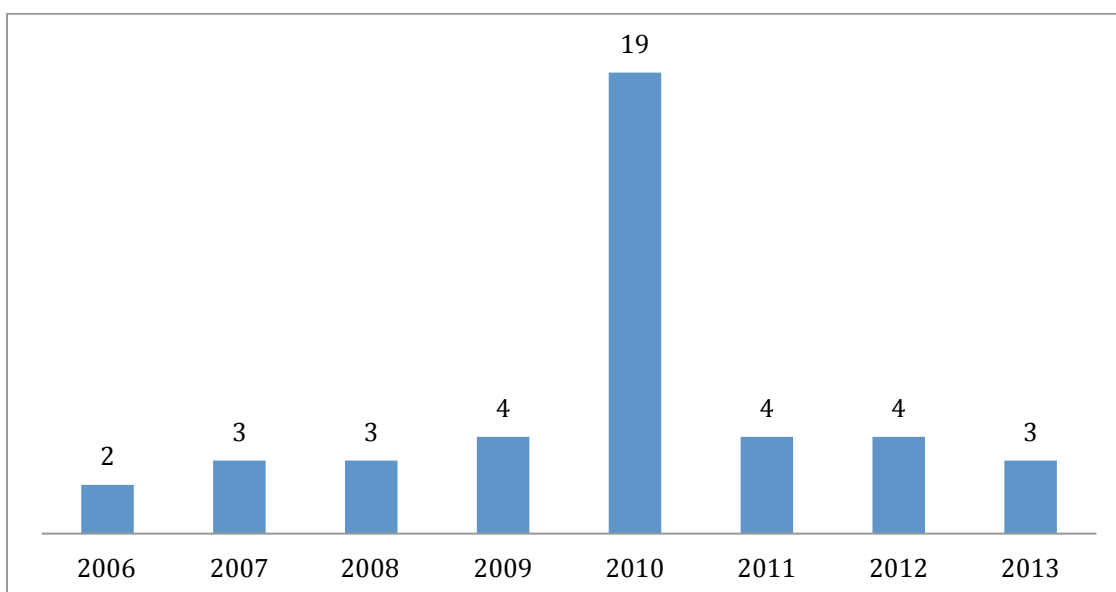


Table 10. Collected documents in *Los Asperones*, by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Number
Right	16
Left	22
Missing	6

Figure 8. Topics of the collected documents in *Los Asperones* (Malaga)

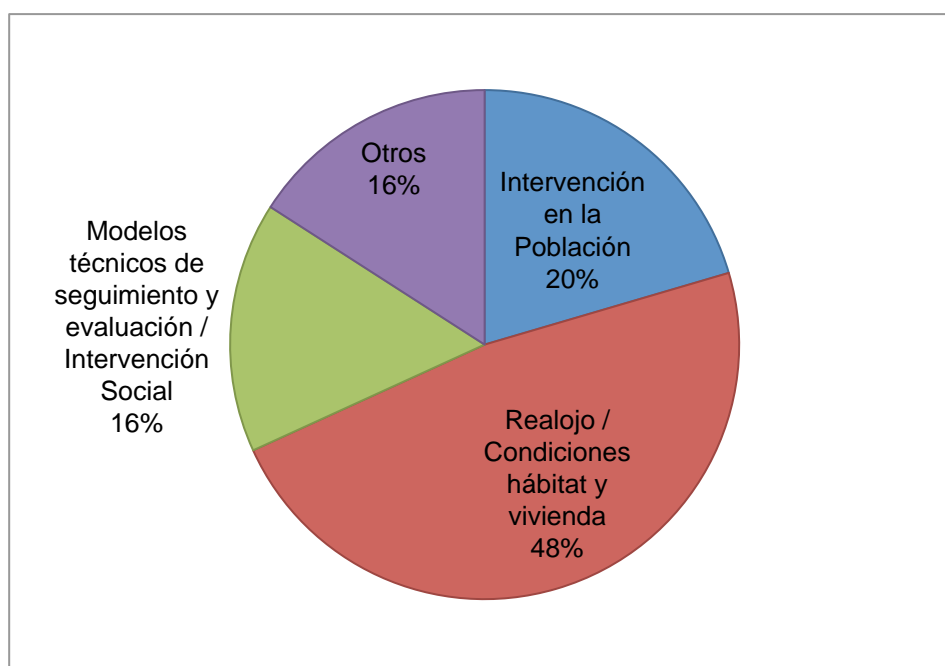


Table 11. Typology of primary documents in *Sacromonte* (Granada)

Type of documents	Number of documents
Minute	5
Official Newsletter	1
Decree	2
Banns	1
Mapping	1
Statutes	1
Dossier	6
Notification	3
Local Ordinance	2
Plan	15
Resolution	2

Judgment	1
Subsidy	2

Table 12. Topics of primary documents in *Sacromonte* (Granada)

TOPICS	n. doc.
Building maintenance	1
Building permit	1
Cave rehabilitation	3
Cultural heritage	8
Gender equality	1
Eviction	6
Gitano cultural heritage	1
Housing rehabilitation	1
Opening licence for a 'show-cave'	2
Subsidies	1
Tourism / Cultural heritage	2
Urban planning	4
Urban rehabilitation / Cultural heritage	11
TOTAL	42

Figure 9. Topics of the primary documents in *Sacromonte* (Granada)

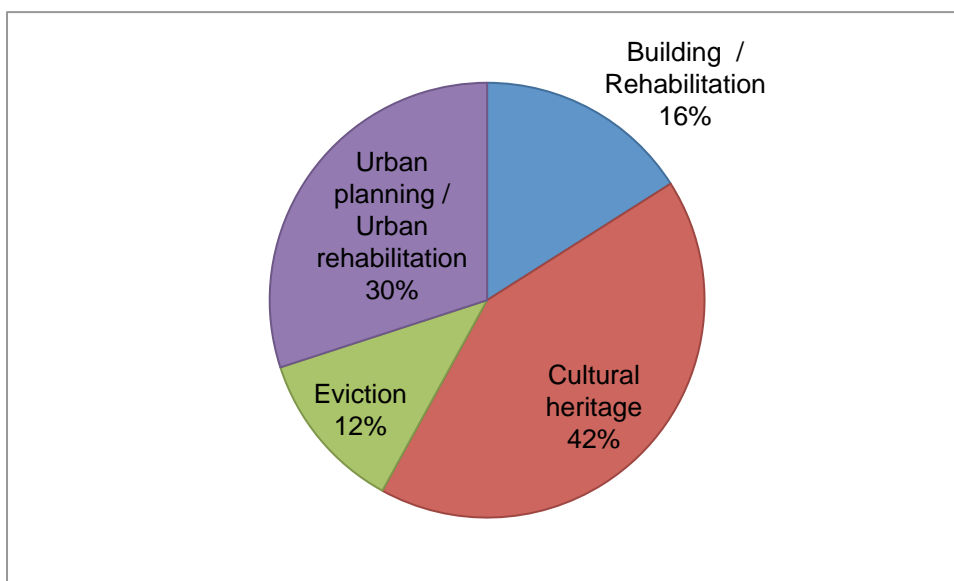


Figure 10. Primary documents in *Sacromonte* (Granada), by issuing date

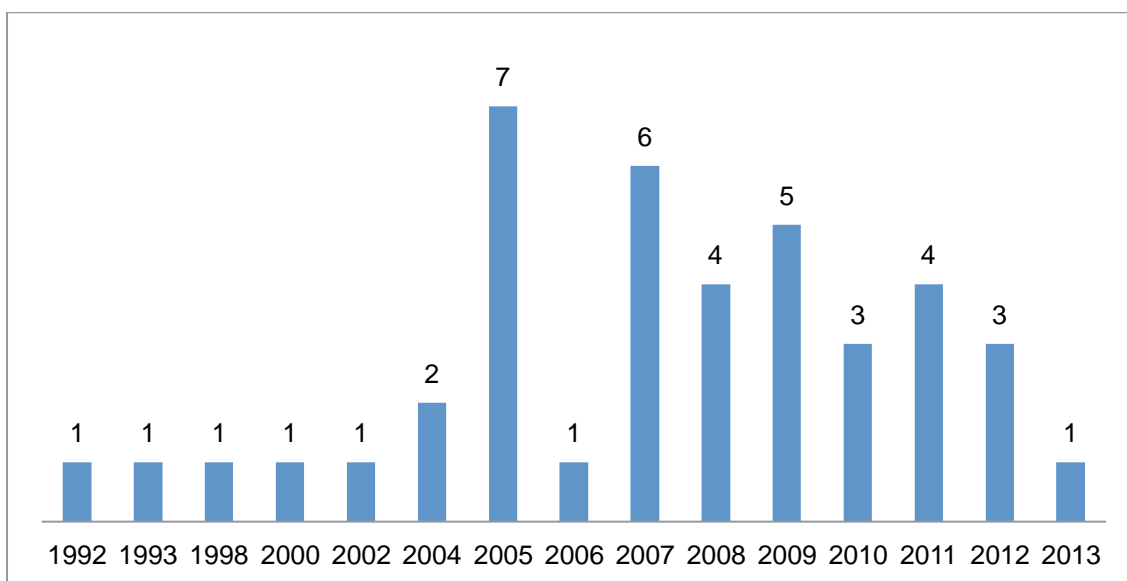


Table 13. Collected documents in *Sacromonte* (Granada), by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Number
Right	28
Left	7
-	7

Table 18. **Para-texts by territorial level**

LEVEL	NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS
State level (Spain)	27
Regional level (Andalusia)	69
Local Level	149
Sevilla	56
Málaga	39
Granada	54
Total para-texts	246

Chapter 3: General view about social housing in Spain and Andalusia

Figure 11. Developments in the construction of different types of housing in Spain (Sánchez-Mora et al. 2013: 72). The list refers to (reading from left to right): social housing started; private housing started; total completed housing; social housing completed; private housing completed.

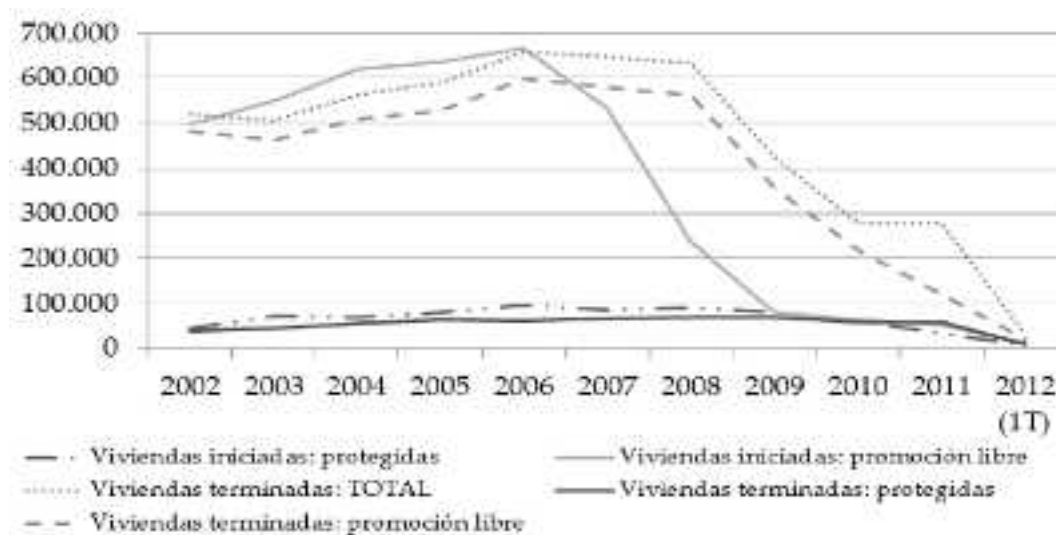


Figure 12 – *Gitano* households in Spain by type of building (Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2008a:75).

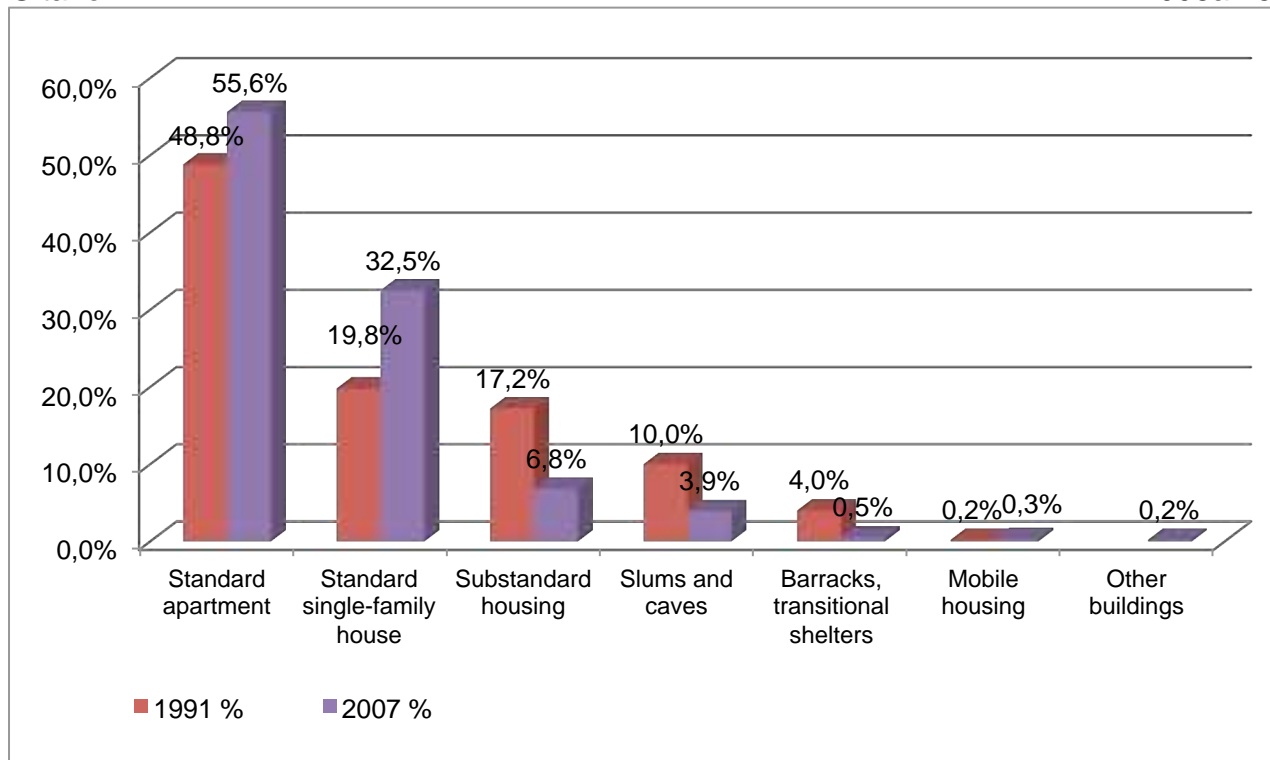


Figure 13 – Classification of Gitano households in Spain depending on the means of accessing housing (Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2008b: 8).

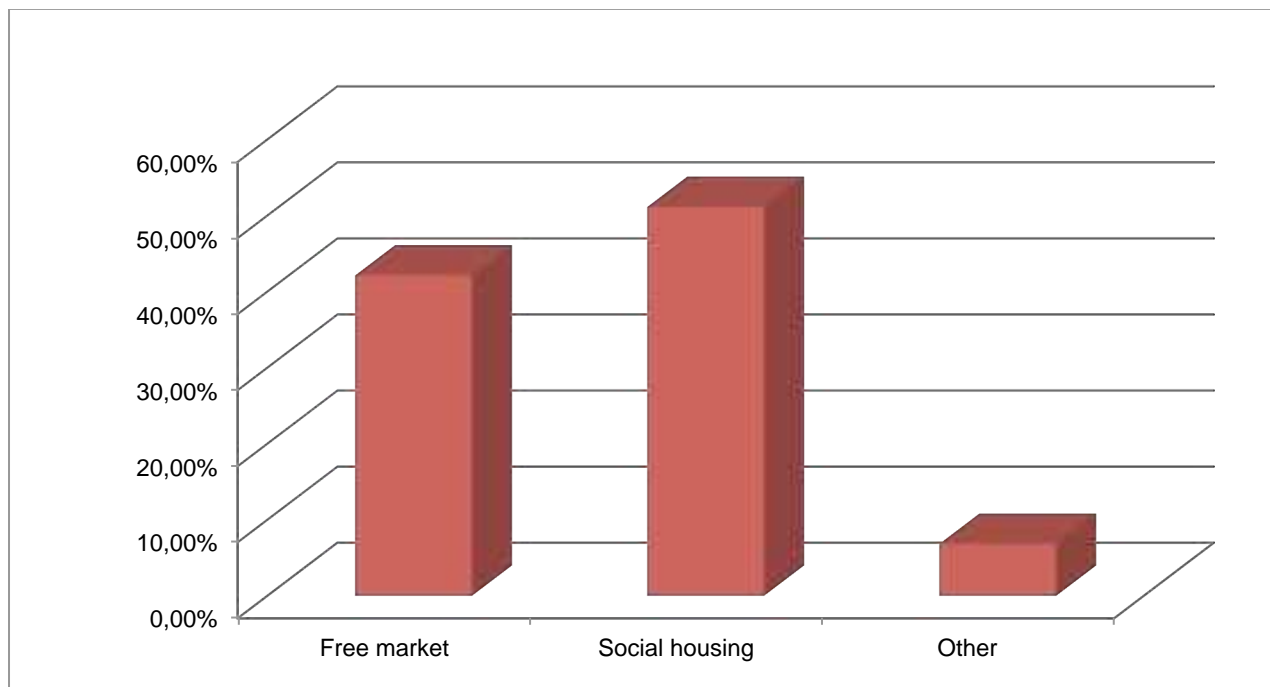


Figure 14 – Gitano households in Andalusia by type of building (Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2008a: 78)

