

Gypsy women and intersection of inequalities:
Anthropological analysis based on an "Integration
Program" for gypsy women in Salamanca
النساء الغجريات وتقاطع التفاوتات: التحليل الأنثروبولوجي القائم على

"برنامج الإدماج" للنساء الغجريات في سالامانكا

Sofía Saulesleja*, univarsity salamanca spain

sofiasaulesleja@usal.es

Published:08/07/2020

Accepted:26/05/2021

Received:05/06/2021

Abstract:

This article is an attempt to bring closer those who read to the reality of the gypsy women of Salamanca, because if we bet on the construction of a fairer and more egalitarian world, it will only be possible if we know who we live in. Ethnography has allowed the observant participation (Guber, 2001) of those who write in various spaces where the lives of these women take place, mainly in the "Sara Romí Socio-Labor Promotion and Integration Program" offered by the Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG, in forward), in which I was a volunteer³ for six months. I also had conversations (in the cases that were considered pertinent, by way of a semi-structured interview) with Roma and Clowns (non-Roma), and I carried out 63 questionnaires open to inhabitants of this city. In these lines, due to space, only some of the voices of these people will appear.

Keywords: Roma women, Inclusion program, equality, Salamanca

* Sending author

ملخص:

هذه المقالة هي محاولة لتقريب أولئك الذين يقرؤون واقع النساء العجريات في سالامانكا، لأنه إذا راهننا على بناء عالم أكثر عدالة وأكثر مساواة، فلن يكون ذلك ممكناً إلا إذا عرفنا من نعيش فيه. وقد سمحت الإثنوغرافيا بمشاركة ملاحظ (guber, 2001) لأولئك الذين يكتبون في أماكن مختلفة حيث تحدث حياة هؤلاء النساء، بشكل رئيسي في "برنامج Sara Romí لتعزيز العمل الاجتماعي والتكامل" الذي يقدمه Fundación Secretariado Gitano FSG إلى الأمام حيث كنت متطوعاً 3 لمدة ستة أشهر. لقد أجريت أيضاً محادثات (في الحالات التي اعتبرت ذات صلة، عن طريق مقابلة شبه منظمة مع العجور والمهرجين (من غير العجور)، وأجريت 63 استبياناً مفتوحاً لسكان هذه المدينة. في هذه السطور، بسبب المساحة، ستظهر فقط بعض أصوات هؤلاء الأشخاص. الكلمات المفتاحية: النساء العجريات، برنامج الإدماج، المساواة، سلامنكا.

INTRODUCTION.

The gypsy population in Spain ranges between 725,000 and 750,000 people, approximately 1.5% of the total Spanish population⁴, according to recent data (2016) from the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality. Taking information provided by the FSG, in this city there are around 3,000 gypsies. Gypsy women who participated in the Sara Romí⁵ Program carried out by the FSG between 2016 and 2017, are undergoing multiple processes of inequality, including the "ethnic"

Being part of a historically marginal group, the economic one, due to its material conditions, and gender, due to being women.

In these times, and like many other women, the gypsies of Salamanca continue with the duty to fulfill the functions and roles traditionally assigned to them: housework (cleaning, cooking, among others), care and attention children and husband. However, many of

the participants in the Program expressed a desire for autonomy and a desire to make these demands compatible with joining the labor market in order to have their money and achieve a certain "independence". Stereotypes within their family context, those of the majority society, the almost impossibility of access to day-care centers, their level of schooling and job training have been obstacles for them. In a doubly patriarchal society (the majority society, "paya" and the gypsy, which has a Law prescribing patrilineality, and with it, the belonging of women to the father and then to the husband, it is not easy to be a woman, Spanish gypsy and working class.

Here, then, it is interesting to reflect on the "promotion" and "socio-labor integration" of Roma women, starting from intersectionality as a way of analysis and action, with the strong conviction that anthropology is a weapon to think and transform daily life. . In another article⁶ (Saulesleja and Pena Castro, 2018) the issue has been addressed attending to the three paths of inequality, emphasizing gender. Here the objective is to analyze these paths, stopping at that of ethnic inequality, without pretending to seek an absolute and irrefutable truth, but to take responsibility for the place from which it is observed and dialogue with other perspectives to build maps (Pérez Orozco, 2014, p. 46) that allow us to think of better, more egalitarian worlds.

If anthropology through its theories, concepts and interpretations has allowed us to approach "the understanding of man and, with it, also of ourselves" (Abati, 2002, p. 147), feminist anthropology allows us to approach a more complete understanding of the human world (Aguilar, 1997), not only half of the population. In the early days of this science, women were studied as "another

feminine” and considered as objects, as an addition to the core of social production (Gregorio Gil, 2006).

Feminist anthropology enables a fairer system based on data input and theories that explain the origin and forms of gender oppression. The proposal is then a “project of gendered knowledge” (Caplan, 1988 in Gregorio Gil, 2006, p.31), which aims to investigate how the existing gender order could be shaken (Thuren, 2008), considering which spaces of There is maneuver for individuals within the given norms, and how those norms can be subverted. To do good anthropology, it is necessary to analyze what emerges and what disappears, and that from the feminist perspective it is more interesting to discover "the strategic points where perhaps we can influence change" (Thuren, 2008, p. 105).

Here we will also use the contributions of the feminist economy, because it moves markets from the center and puts the sustainability of life at the center of the analysis, thus being the very reproduction of life the objective of economic functioning, and not the reproduction of capital (Rodríguez Enríquez, 2005, p.32). Considering the economic content of care approaches involves not only making visible unpaid domestic and care work, but understanding how well-being is produced, distributed and redistributed (Esquivel, 2012, p. 156).

The time of gypsy women, in terms of Ángeles Durán, is being expropriated (Durán, 2011) since each day becomes an endless day (Durán, 1986 in Durán, 2011) 7. The gypsies expressed daily "everything we have to do" and how "overwhelmed" they felt from so much work at home. Rosa said firmly that "The house is boring, work always appears ... but it is always the same, scrubbing,

cooking, washing ...". In this regard, Geli commented privately that "there are many hours for us who do not go out ... then you come home and you have to do everything the same ... yes, if you are at home you do it to finish and rest."

Following Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality allows us to look precisely at the intersection of the different inequalities that cross people's lives. In our case, the economy or social class, ethnicity, gender, overlap and condense in the life of gypsy women in Salamanca. The intersectionalist approach then analyzes the multiple social forces that create inequalities, overcoming those monolithic perspectives that deceitfully isolate one or another form of oppression (Hofman, 2010). I agree with Crenshaw that intersectionality is more than the sum of different inequalities (racism, classism, sexism). We can consider it as an injustice "to the cube" that can be analyzed if we stop before each of these paths, and observe how they cross.

Likewise, I subscribe to the proposal of Brah (2004) not to consider women as mere "victims" since in this way we would continue to conceive them as objects without capacity for action or transformation and it would not be possible to analyze the processes of "promotion" of women. the same. Lastly, Mohanty (1991) argues that western feminism has colonized the heterogeneity of the life of third world women, representing it as "the woman of the third world", which helps us to analyze the difference in gypsies without forgetting that they They are geographically in the first world, but they are not exactly "the woman of the first world." That is, the gypsies do not correspond to the image of a Spanish white woman, with the ideal that since the nation began to establish itself it wants to impose itself. In the case of gypsy women, in Bourdieu's terms

(1995), we see that although they share material conditions with other working-class female clowns, it is probably more difficult for them to reconcile their obligations as “gypsy woman” with their desire to work and gain independence, due to its cultural or symbolic capital.

Ethnic inequality: History of racism

All otherness is conceived and not substantial (Briones, 1994). The gypsies are not "different" in themselves, but they are in that their brands are conceived by others (the majority society) as "different", since there is a relationship "between the ethnicity of the sociological majority of the nation and the group of sectors that are circumscribed as 'culturally different' subordinates "(Briones, 1998, p. 119). To address the institutionalization of difference, it is necessary to point to a deconstruction of otherness through a debiologization of cultural elements (Briones , 1998).

Within the construction processes of otherness, there are the concepts of race and ethnicity, which do not correspond to biological attributes. These ways of naming have changed over time, which hints at its historical mutability. Therefore the concept of ethnicity (which is usually related to a biologization of social experience) is nothing more than an objectification product of social structures, that is, it is not useful to us as a descriptive or analytical tool because these structures are covered up under the veil of biology. However, this concept will be considered for appearing in the field as a native category. The gypsies refer to their group as "gypsy ethnicity", and they refer to the mercheros for example as a different "ethnic group" but with a similar culture.

According to linguistic studies, the Gypsy people seem to have had a common origin in what is now Punjab, in northern India. It is believed that the Hindu caste social structure was deteriorating the most humble and disadvantaged social stratum, which added to the invasion of the Muslims by the Mughal Emperor (Ramírez Heredia, 2000, in Aparicio, 2006), caused the exodus of this group Social. Around the 11th century, emigration began then, crossing Europe and Africa, until finally reaching Spain in the 15th century. In the documents they are described based on their magical arts and the ability to appropriate what is foreign, which is why they caused curiosity and fear (Sánchez Ortega, 1994, p. 326). Currently the gypsies and gypsies with whom I have dealt have doubts and define their origin as "mysterious", but they mention India, Egypt and Romania as possibilities.

San Román classifies the relationship between the Spanish and Gypsy governments in three periods, these are "the reception", "the persecution", and the "equality of law, de facto inequality" (San Román, 1976). The first period, between 1425 and 1499, was "the welcome" or the "idyllic period", since the gypsies were received with kindness and understanding because a priori they did not represent a threat to territorial unification, they presented themselves as pilgrim Christians. The second, between 1499-1633, was the "persecution" or "period of expulsion", one of the hardest stages of the gypsies, while still seeking settlement and occupation in the country, the Catholic kings issued pragmatics⁸ to expel the "Lazy".

Following Stallaert (2012) at that time and in the Iberian colonial-imperial identity project, ethnicity, religion and language were united and clearly delineated, fixed and essential identity borders, in accordance with an ideal of purity. According to this

ideal, the gypsies were on the other side of the border, on the impure side of the blood. Blood as a “universal metaphor for ethnicity” (Stallaert, 2012, p. 272) functioned as a criterion to measure the ethnic quality represented by the “clean Christian”, guaranteed by not having impure ancestors (Moors, Jews, converts or heretics) . This “ethnic identification with Christianity as opposed to Islam and Judaism” is comparable to the notion of casticism (Stallaert, 2012, p. 272) 9. The gypsies and gypsies, although at first they were closer to the pure side of the border, later they were noting that they would not become castizo

Raúl, gypsy and coordinator of the FSG, maintains that there is a continuity in the gaze towards the gypsies and gypsies since they arrived in Spain and until today, which has to do with the rejection of difference, and with the ways in which sectors of They have been considered as power: “Throw us out if you want, but we want to continue being gypsies. That being a gypsy is being different in a field of equality. We arrived in 2017 and there are people who say that, and who do not understand diversity ... you go to a school and a crooked box enters and it comes out straight, everything is squared, there is no diversity, and more here, that there were twenty-something years of right-wing governments , and this influences... ”. Everything indicates that this group has resisted all possible expulsion and conversion attempts, and in spite of that they show that they want to conserve themselves as gypsies and gypsies.

When in 1783 Carlos III theoretically granted the same rights to the gypsies as to the rest of the Spaniards, his history “stopped” to the point of disappearing from the official texts (Rothea, 2014, p. 7). However, between 1936 and 1975, while Spain was under the Franco regime of the extreme right, nationalist and racist, the representations

and practices around the gypsies, of great repercussion in the current social imaginary.

Although Spain did not participate in the genocide and mass murder of Jews and Gypsies in Europe, the specificity of the Franco regime was its fundamentalist Catholic character expressed in the concept of "Hispanicity", which represented the exaltation of the defined Spanish "race" for its Catholic character. The "criminality" of the gypsy people was used by the power in Spain with a social and political objective, since the new regime needed to reunite the Spanish people around common principles. Gypsies were the antisocial enemies located outside of society, and the biologization of crime was also a way to hide the state's inability to solve problems such as poverty (Rothea, 2014, p. 13). It was also one of the ways to generate fear in society, and therefore the need for security and justify the police state and strong social control. This "internal social use" (Rothea, 2014, p. 15) of gypsies as a dangerous or criminal race, was different from "external use". The Francoists needed the money from tourism, and they could not frighten the visitor, so they activated a folk image of the gypsy (Andalusian) to be sold. These good gypsies are beautiful, they dance flamenco, they play the guitar, they have love for their family, nature and freedom, unlike the internal gypsies who are ugly, dirty, kill, fight with each other and steal.

In Salamanca, a city in which in 2017 almost forty years after the end of the Franco dictatorship, his present image continued in the emblematic Plaza Mayor, it is not curious that the discourse that prevails in society continues to be of this bipolarity between the gypsy as another folkloric and another enemy.

This other folklore is made flesh, for example, at the April Fairs in Salamanca, where dozens of non-gypsies of all ages are seen dressed up dancing flamenco. The gypsies “we are not going to that”, but they dance it at their parties, especially at weddings. Another shock with this look was from the words of a 60-year-old man (not a gypsy), who approached us while we rested on an exit to the Jesuit Park, and said "Gypsies, sing", to which China He answered "We follow you, you sing" and Maru "We are clowns, what made you think we are gypsies?" The man finished by saying "It is the only thing they know how to do, sing, dance, and cry." The other enemy appears

The gypsies who "don't want to integrate"

The phrase that is at the head when asking for gypsies an average Spanish inhabitant (white, middle class) is that they "do not want to integrate." As explained, with a history of state consolidation in which identity in relation to the purity of Christian blood has been unified, it is not by chance that a people that is 500 years ago in the Peninsula are considered not integrated, they do not practice Islam or Judaism, they choose to continue being gypsies because it is a "gift" that they carry with "pride", and they identify in opposition to the non-gypsy, to the payo.

A clear illustration of this was in the neighborhood center of Barrio San José where a Carnival celebration was held. Most of the adult women with children were gypsies, they sat while the little ones played. In conversation with the President, I asked her if the Roma and Moroccan families (who attend the Library in the same neighborhood) used to participate in the center, and she replied that "the Roma are not integrated" and the Moroccans "do not participate". That gypsies must be "kept there" because, for example, if you give each one a toy, "they pounce to get more," or they get dirty and don't want to clean, or "they take the chocolate and leave."

With respect to these complaints, it is worth asking how they are expected to "integrate", if not by participating in events such as these, or the library space. In addition, why the fact of leaving "after tea" is considered an advantage by the gypsies and not by the payos. There is nothing new this view that judges the participation of vulnerable sectors as linked to a need (to a profitable benefit), as if going for something was less legitimate than going to go, by the mere fact of participating, without expecting anything from change, although this can also be highly subjected to an analysis of why people participate in social activities. Later we will return to this about what the different sectors refer to with the "integration" of the gypsies.

More examples of these came to light from the completion of the questionnaires. In most of the people who gave their gaze was the recognition that the gypsies value their own, their identity and their family. On the other hand, appreciations towards these people appeared as genetically or culturally "vague", "conflictive", "lacking in manners", "taken advantage", among others, that become indelible marks of the construction of the otherness of the gypsies. According to Briones, from hegemonic praxis and common sense, "divisions in culture" often result in brands that circumscribe groups according to their members share certain common interests and act collectively accordingly, and "divisions in nature" continue to biologize selectively the aggregation of some, about to make it an indelible mark of their alterity (Briones, 1998, p. 28).

In closing, it is paradoxical that in a country with communities that claim their independence and more than five languages, gypsies are considered as possessing an "anti-systemic" "culture" that "get out of line". It is true that somehow they prefer to resolve issues of their sustainability in the gypsy world, or they resell merchandise obtained from the payo world, to gypsies and payos. But like other people circulating on the street, they get involved in commerce, they make use of Social Services, education and public health, etc.

Although the inbred character is one of the characteristics that make gypsies be considered "ethnic" by themselves (and by the majority society) and other groups, not, it is curious that in Castilla y León Basques or Catalans are demonized for example for wanting to become independent, and even the need to "expel" or "assimilate" the gypsies circulate in common sense and in the media. At the boundary between who is wanted inside and who is not, the class issue is probably at stake.

"Take off th At the end of the Program, it has been recognized that although many gypsies express their wishes to transform the dynamics of Roma laws, some claim to have transcended / transgressed some traditions, and others consider fissures as dangerous for their "culture", and they advocate the maintenance of the status quo. Despite this

Heterogeneity, in their evaluations of experience, the gypsies stated as achievements "equality" (knowing themselves equal), "personal valuation" and "motivation to seek employment".

While the coordinator of the Program and the FSG emphasized throughout the Sara Romí that the gypsies could get out of the stigma that they cannot get a job because they are gypsies, the final day of the Sara Romí before the authorities of the representatives of the Institute of Almost without thinking, the

Women and City Council officials said that they did not work outside their home "because they do not catch us because they are gypsies", to which Geli added "because we have no training".e tag"

The representative of the Women's Institute, reinforced the look transmitted over the six months: "It is important to remove the label, because to continue saying that can be dangerous ... that they have it more difficult, yes, but as she (Geli) said, it is probably with a little more training it's easier ". From the heads of the Program, this idea was maintained that although the situation with which they carry is known, it is necessary first of all to be encouraged to break with the stereotype of the gypsy as a woman who cannot work simply because she is, and training to achieve a certain level playing field, and with them more opportunities.

For her part, at the end of the closing ceremony, one of the City Council officials insisted that the "gypsy woman is the engine of change" in the gypsies. This phrase was also repeated at the Flamenco Festival for the "Day of the Gypsy People", and in various media. The City Council official said that "evolution has taken many years", a concept that resonated because although he had found it in the literature on gypsies, he had only heard it from two gypsies to explain the changes between the present and times of yesteryear . Faced with these issues, the FSG and the Women's Institute added

the issue of working with men, even if it is difficult. The coordinator of the program commented that they asked "Why don't they come? 10" while the representative of the Institute said that it was necessary to "go little by little, working with them and with them." This is then a matter of long and slow processes not immediately quantifiable, it is rather

Es interesante pensar en los supuestos básicos subyacentes a las expresiones “*cambiar la mentalidad*”, “*evolucionar*”, “*población no asequible*”, “*comenzar a aportar*” (como si antes no lo hicieran). Por su parte, la concepción de la mujer como “*motor de cambio en la sociedad gitana*” considera a la mujer tanto como depositaria de los valores más tradicionales, como transmisora de los mismos por ser la encargada de la educación de la prole y por tanto “las garantes de mantener la esencia de la identidad gitana”. En ambos casos se deposita el poder y la responsabilidad en manos femeninas para establecer “transformaciones de fondo que afectarían a las claves fundamentales y de esencia” (Asensio Belenguer, 2015, p. 474-475).

Esta postura no está problematizando la pobreza (Escobar, 2007) en la que viven las mujeres gitanas que asisten el curso, y adjudica su marginalidad a una decisión personal, parte de su mentalidad. Pareciera que con esfuerzo y formación, todo se logra,

porque el Ayuntamiento *brinda las posibilidades*, lo que deja entrever una perspectiva meritocrática a la hora de pensar en respuestas para afrontar las desigualdades.

It is important to reflect then on the conceptual lack of the term empowerment, that is, to recognize that even though it is currently on everyone's lips (from varied and even opposing political spaces, for example), it does not necessarily guarantee that they are talking about what same. Addressing the meaning of “empowerment” requires referring on the one hand to the notion of power, and on the other to inquiring “if the effects of cultural, ideological and material domination in the social bosom were not being minimized, leading to unequal distribution from power, and more importantly, to the legitimization of the processes by which power is distributed” (Bentancor Harretche, 2011, p. 3).

In other words, that it is necessary to be careful with this concept, since it is being appropriated by various hegemonic spaces that do not precisely aim at the distribution of power, and could be covering up, naturalizing and legitimizing injustices towards the oppressed (Freire, 1970) , attributing to them the responsibility of being the "Engine of change". It is necessary to approach the issue from intersectionality, since not only telling the gypsies that they are the engine of change will they improve their lives.

The first proposal in terms of alternatives in the field of socio-economic inequality, it goes without saying that the generation of

genuine jobs, as well as the implementation of public and free care spaces for children and adolescents are crucial when thinking in the promotion of gypsy women. No one can work if there is no job, not even with the children in tow.

The second proposal has to do with gender inequality, for which I would like to make a caveat. It is important to clarify that not necessarily when speaking of gender the same is understood. While it was initially used more by feminist women, later it was adopted by academics and academics who assumed that gender was a necessary variable to consider in the social sciences. Later on, they began to talk about gender "officials, candidates and rulers who had understood that it was a word that opened doors and gave them a facade of progressives (in addition to giving frequent access to money bags to finance actions that promote equity gender)" (Palomar Vereá, 2016, p. 44), as well as women who "participate in politics and who consider that they need to move other women with the argument that they will be represented for sharing a woman's body with them" (Palomar Vereá, 2016, p. 44).

Returning to the proposal, first of all recognize that these initiatives are framed in programs that have their limiting bureaucratic demands since they emphasize numerical results rather than processes, and that currently funds are available to work with women. Second, and with the support of the GED approaches (which

bet on the relationship of inequality between genders), promote programs with a gender perspective that include men. Inclusion does not only need women, but an egalitarian project, in the mission of transforming inequality, it is essential to involve men. Another related issue

With gender, it is the proposal that feminism (not gypsy) includes gypsy women in their struggles.ome conclusions and proposals

The third proposal is related to ethnic inequality, and it is invited to invest efforts in carrying out actions between the gypsy and non-gypsy population, as well as in relation to the incorporation of the history of the gypsy people in the study plans, as well as in the realization of courses together, aiming to establish relationships between culturally and “ethnically” diverse groups. This is a commitment to interculturality¹¹, which in turn implies a relational, transversal and "intersectional" analysis, emphasizing the interaction between heterogeneous identity dimensions (Dietz, 2009, in Dietz, 2011, p. 21).

In accordance with this, and already focusing on the conclusions, analyzing the heterogeneity and the changes that occurred throughout the history of the gypsies in Spain, favored us to overcome the biologizing and culturizing traditions, and with it the

stereotypes that still today they persist. The approach from anthropology based on intersectionality, has allowed us to analyze the way in which these different dimensions are interwoven in social relations and become flesh in the experiences of gypsy women (Viveros Vigoya, 2016, p. 11).

Now, if the promotion of Roma women is really being pursued, it is necessary to recognize why they are considered non-integrated by the majority society, in addition to asking about the causes of their non-integration. Here a review has been made of the historical construction of the gypsy identity from the perspective of the majority society, based on stereotypes and founded on interests of the dominant sectors.

It is at this point that we find the first paradox, and it is the idea that "the gypsies do not want to integrate." Faced with the marginalization of poor gypsies, as opposed to accepting the folklorized version of the gypsy flamenco artist, The program supports them to "remove the label" and continue training. Not as a guarantee, but as a tool, and as a way of adding possibilities.

In relation to this paradox and the "socio-labor integration processes", it is necessary to transcend the notion of integration, so linked to assimilation, since the gypsies (and the gypsies), although they recognize the damages caused by their identity, saying for

example that "they do not catch us because we are gypsies", they do not want to stop being so, to the surprise and indignation of some. It is time to think about inclusion policies that aim at interculturality, since community development has to be inclusive and intercultural.

A second paradox is to consider the “gypsies as a driving force for change”. It has been proven throughout the fieldwork and from what the academic literature suggests, that gypsy women are more “participatory” than men. In this sense, it is one thing for women themselves to assume themselves as the “engine of change”. But to be imposed from outside, who probably do not know how they live, is another. In this sense, it is necessary to be cautious and think if the “empowerment” of Roma women (or of women, or of the people in general), would not be implying a lack of responsibility on the part of the State, both for not recognizing the situation of poverty in the one that the gypsies live, as if taking over the work with the men.

In this way, responsibility would be transferred to women, assuming that it is "for their culture" that they have to do it, because no one else could. Thus we see that the limit between female empowerment and the woman who does everything and can do it "until the body endures" is very narrow. In this regard, the program has warned about the importance of not overloading the gypsies, and the "negotiation" with women and their families. And of course the

gypsies have suggested that "it is they who have to come." As it has been well said, "a car does not go only with the engine", and even less with how complex the streets of intersectionality are. It is not only the energy of women that will make the change roll, there are other essential parts to make this car work. As if that were not enough, it is not free, it has costs.

It is definitive, it is impossible to understand the reproductive dynamics of poverty that gypsy women go through without understanding the role that gender inequality (not exclusive to "their culture", but accentuated by the character of Law) plays in the current functioning of economic structures and, therefore, in their future evolution (Pérez Orozco, 2012, p. 16-17). In this sense, it is postulated, coinciding with the approaches of the feminist economy, that structural changes are necessary, such as the de-feminization of the responsibility to guarantee decent living conditions (Pérez Orozco, 2012, p. 16-17) and to achieve greater justice. In this case issue it is not a "women's issue" (gypsies and non-gypsies), but an unavoidable step to achieve greater economic and social equity (Rodríguez Enríquez, 2005, p. 44).

Returning to the metaphor of the intersection as intersecting streets, the horizon may be precisely that there are more cars walking

through the streets of the intersection, with fewer traffic jams and smoother trips.

From feminist anthropology, it is possible to imagine and work so that the responsibility of being "a motor for change" does not overload Roma women (or any woman) any more, and we can be "thrown away" at the wheel of our lives and not just accompanying males.

Bibliographie

This article is part of a Master's Thesis and Doctoral Thesis in Anthropology at the University of Salamanca under the direction of María Jesús Pena Castro. Fieldwork took place in this city between December 2016 and May 2017, and has resumed in November 2018.

Master in Applied Anthropology from the University of Salamanca (sofiasaulesleja@Usal.es)

I also volunteered at a Popular Library in the San José neighborhood, where a large part of the Roma population lives. There I interacted with children, adolescents (to a greater extent) and members of the organization.

In 2004, it was estimated that 45% of Roma people are under 16 years old and the birth rate is 64 per thousand, while that of the non-Roma population is 14 per thousand. However, progressively there has been a decrease in the birth rate and the number of children per family. The factors that have influenced this fact have been the progressive incorporation of gypsy women into the formal labor market and the increase in the age of marriage. For gypsy women this age is between 16 and 20 years, and for gypsy men between 18 and 22 years on average (FSG, 2003).

The Program is one of the courses that they had to take as

consideration for receiving the Guaranteed Income of Citizenship. In Salamanca it was developed for the first time between November 2016 and April 2017, 19 started and 17 gypsy women living in peripheral neighborhoods started. They all have children, and only one worked outside the home, and the others worked inside. The Program aimed for Roma women to overcome "social and cultural barriers that hinder their socio-labor integration".

Abati, Francisco Giner (2002). Proyecto audiovisual de documentación cultural comparada. Anales de la Fundación Joaquín Costa, ISSN 0213-1404, N° 19, 2002, págs. 147-153 Aparicio Gervás, **J.M.** (2006). Breve recopilación sobre la historia del Pueblo Gitano: desde su salida del Punjab, hasta la Constitución Española de 1978. Veinte hitos sobre la "otra" historia de España. *Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado*, Sin mes, 141-161.

Asociación de Enseñantes con Gitanos (2010) "Alrededor de teresa San Román". Revista de la asociación de enseñantes con gitanos N°28.- Getafe, Madrid. Recuperado de: <http://aecgit.pangea.org/boletines/boletin28/REVISTA28.pdf>

Bentancor Harretche, **M.V.** (2011). Empoderamiento: ¿una alternativa emancipatoria?. *Revista Margen* N° 61

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1995). Capital simbólico y clases sociales. En *Revista Herramienta*

Brah, Avtar. (2004) "Diferencia, diversidad, diferenciación" En AA VV. *Otras inapropiables. Feminismos desde las fronteras*. Madrid: traficantes de sueños.

Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>

Bretones, E. (2008). Origen, Género Y Generación. Jóvenes Gitanas En Las Aulas: Entre Personas Y Culturas. Aproximación Etnográfica a Discursos Y Prácticas Educativas En El Área de Influencia de Barcelona. Recuperada de: <http://www.tdx.cat/bitstream/handle/10803/5057/ebp1de1.pdf;jsessionid=7AAF0854B9D4DBF4B8E69D257615E6BB?sequence=1>