



# El método de historia de vida como herramienta para la exploración del empoderamiento de las mujeres del sur de Asia<sup>1</sup>

## Life History Method as a Tool for the Exploration of South Asian Women's Empowerment

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### *Abstract*

Why is life history a useful research method to advance in the generation of knowledge applied in studies that work with life experiences? This article considers the present question by discussing the application of the life history method in interviews with migrant women from South Asia in the Basque Country. In doing so, we have used this method as a tool to visualize South Asian women by listening to their experiences from early childhood until the present moment. Life history has been widely used in feminist research as an alternative to other methods that have failed at representing women's life in research. After a bibliographical revision on life history method, the attention was brought to our case of study, where we explain how to implement the life history method to carry out the interviews with the participants. This work is in progress, and at the end we present the possible future analysis of the collected data.

*Keywords:* life history, qualitative research, feminist research, South-Asian migration, Basque Country

### *Resumen*

¿Por qué la historia de vida es un método de investigación útil para avanzar en la generación de conocimiento aplicado en estudios que trabajan con las experiencias de vida? El artículo considera esta pregunta, analizando la aplicación del método de historia de vida en entrevistas con mujeres migrantes del sur de Asia en el País Vasco. Al hacerlo, hemos utilizado este método como herramienta para visibilizar las mujeres del sur de Asia, escuchando sus experiencias desde la infancia hasta el momento presente. La historia de vida se ha utilizado extensamente en la investigación feminista como una alternativa a otros métodos que no han logrado representar la vida de las mujeres en la investigación. Después de una revisión bibliográfica sobre el método de historia de vida, llevamos la atención a nuestro estudio, donde explicamos cómo implementar el método de historia de vida para llevar a cabo las entrevistas con las participantes. Este trabajo es trabajo en curso, presentando el posible futuro análisis de los datos recopilados.

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Palabras claves: historia de vida, investigación cualitativa, investigación feminista, migración surasiática, País Vasco.

*Introduction*

The general objective of this work was to portray the process of empowerment of South Asian migrant women in the Basque Country (BC from now on) through the narration of their lives. The specific objectives of this research addressed the factors that contribute to the construction of gender roles in a particular culture, the transformations that a person undergoes through migration (here the intention was to examine how cultural identity converts in the construction of individual identity) and finally, the visualization of women.

As some studies suggest, it was not until the 1970s with the Second-wave feminism, when attention to female anthropology was given. Women, were traditionally forgotten and excluded at that time. It was only then, when women’s exclusion from participation in social life and the behavior of women started to be visible and opened questions for social research (Ortner, 1974; Rosaldo; 1980, Harding, 1987). Considering women’s testimonies on their life experience is necessary for the sake of acquiring new knowledge in research. In spite of the fact that 1970s seem distant, it is a very recent past that testifies to the lack of representation in research, of half of the nation.

In this study we contemplate a current phenomenon. As Geiger (1986) explains, the presence of Third World women and women of color in research is valuable not only for acknowledging their issues, but also because these issues play a significant role in the production of feminist knowledge. The growing number of Asian women that migrate to the BC and the lack of knowledge about their experience as subjects in the BC lead us to ask the question: “How is the life of these women now in this context and how was it in their native countries?” A point that needs to be considered is that the BC is a place with a long migration tradition<sup>3</sup>, but Asian migration is a new phenomenon. Furthermore, studies that address Asian female migration to the BC are scarce, although the number of women from Asia that migrate to the BC is continuously growing as we can see in the following chart (Ikuspegi, 2018).

<b>Asian women in BC 2008 – 2018</b>										
<b>2008</b>	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
<b>3.122</b>	3.633	3.934	4.405	4.833	5.106	5.367	5.717	5.915	6.195	6.438

Chart 1. Female population from Asia in the BC. Years 2008 – 2018

Source: Ikuspegi (2018); Prepared by the authors

<sup>3</sup> The BC has been a place of migration “from” and a migration “to”. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) this territory has experienced the migration of Basques to other places and later with the industrial boom (1959-1973), the reception of Spanish from different provinces. The migration flow is increasing since 1990s and the BC has received many migrants since that year (Larroque, 2006; Vicente, 2006; Otxoa and Esnaola, 2013).



The above-illustrated chart presents the evolution of Asian female migration to the BC in the last ten years. As we can observe, since 2008 until now, the number of women from Asia that migrate to the BC is growing consistently, being 3.633 in 2008 and 6.438 in 2018. This occurrence may be due to the fact that the BC is seen as one of the most prosperous territories in Spain (Emakunde, 2012).

Since Asia is a continent with different countries and diverse cultures, we have decided to examine one particular part of Asia: South Asia. As we mentioned previously, there is a lack of research about South Asian migrant women in the BC. We have consulted studies done with migrant women from South Asia in other geographical territories<sup>4</sup>. In the following section we elaborate on the characteristics of female migrants from South Asia in the BC.

### *South Asian Women in the Basque Country*

South Asia is a region within the continent Asia. We define South Asia as a territory that is comprised of the southern countries of Asia: India, Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In our study we have worked with women from the above-mentioned South Asian nationalities. The inquisitiveness to listen to the stories of these women and present this study with the aim to visualize their existence in the Basque society has lead us to consult the data by Ikuspegi (2018) and to detect the following South Asian female nationalities settled in the BC since 2008 until now:

	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	32	43	44	69	78	86	91	154	154	131	168
<b>NEPAL</b>	12	16	18	25	60	68	99	114	129	159	153
<b>PAKISTAN</b>	137	159	246	450	609	763	909	996	1.087	1.214	1.303
<b>BANGLADESH</b>	7	7	10	24	35	32	61	72	85	92	107

Chart 2. Female migrants from South Asia in the BC. Years 2008 - 2018

Source: Ikuspegi (2018); Prepared by the authors

The chart presents the number of Asian women in the BC from 2008 until 2018. As we can observe, the number of South Asian women in the BC is not big in quantity, but this does not underestimate the value of their presence in the Basque society. Women from Pakistan represent the major South Asian migrants in the BC being 1.303 in 2018. The number of women from India and Nepal is similar, while Bangladeshi women are only 107 until 2018. One thing this chart shows is that the number of women increases in each country.

<sup>4</sup> See Ralston (1991); Dhruvarajan (1993); Naidoo (2003); George and Ramkissoon (2006); Mohammad-Arif and Moliner (2007).



### *Life History Method in Feminist Research*

As many authors claim, qualitative research methods allow the researcher to understand the individuality of the people because they study the individuals in their natural environment (Sandelowski, 1991; Berg, 2001; Álvarez-Gayou, 2003; Mallimaci and Giménez, 2006; Ruiz, 2007, 2012a; Escudero, 2014). In order to develop our case of study we have chosen to exploit life history, i.e. a qualitative research method which consists of exploring the individual's experiences within the social context they inhabit, from the perspective of the narrator (Geiger, 1986; Sandelowski, 1991; Goodson, 2001; Iniesta and Feixa, 2006; Mallimaci and Giménez, 2006; Ojermark, 2007). This method, phenomenological in its nature, was first used by anthropologists and then acquired by sociologists. We claim it to be phenomenological because its aim is to study the subjective human experience (Goodson 2001; Charriez, 2012).

The method flourished in 1920 with a publication by Tomas and Znaniecki (1918), but after ten years, in the 1930s, it experienced a loss of interest by the sociologists because it was a method that did not quantify and was not necessary for understanding human behavior: "Numbers were not collected and statistical aggregation was not produced, and as studies were not judged to be representative or exemplary, contributions to theory remained parsimonious" (Goodson, 2001, p.137). Hence, we have seen life history's moment of glory and its decline. In addition to sample insufficiency and absence of statistical data, the method failed in terms of validity and reliability. Researchers questioned if life history as such could be sufficiently objective when applied (Geiger, 1986; Goodson, 2001). In reference to reliability, the critic is against the fact that the method may exemplify cultural norms treated in the study and deviate from those norms. Regarding subjectivity, it is argued that the interviewees are subjective in their narration and the interests of the interviewers may cross the line between objectivity and subjectivity. An equally significant aspect is the risk of losing the anonymity. Even if consent forms are signed before the realization of the study, anonymity would never be completely guaranteed (Geiger, 1986; Goodson, 2001). Nonetheless after Modernism, sociologists returned to life history to use it in different studies within the social field, making use of its advantages and transforming its disadvantages into useful features for the conduction of life history studies (Goodson, 2001).

Despite the weak points, this method offers a great potential for the interpretation of life experiences. Feminist response towards the criticism against subjectivity was that objectivity is androcentric; the attempt to present a real picture of the reality, failures to portray the truth and the reality for women. Another significant counter-argument was that life history method intends to overcome hierarchy between the researcher and the researched; the narrator narrates her life experience, then the researcher makes the narration textual and only comments on the lived experience. Therefore, the subjective rather than the objective perceptions of the surrounding reality of the interviewee are transmitted by the researcher. They are not trying to change the subjective reality but to communicate it from the point of view of the person interviewed (Geiger, 1986; Goodson, 2001). Since in life history method the researcher analyses the text narrated, by considering ethical, moral and cultural issues, the knowledge is generated from the interaction between agency and structure on macro and micro level. This means that, not only the individuality of people and their lives is discussed, but also the structural conditions that they inhabit: "Life history interviews allow individuals to discuss not only themselves, and their lives, but also the social, economic, and political spaces that individuals inhabit" (Ojermark, 2007, p.3). Even a single life history can contribute to discover the structure of an entire society in the production of life circumstances. (Mallimaci and Giménez, 2006; Ojermark, 2007).



While, life history is a rich source for studying women's experiences in different life cycles, methods that are quantitative limit the interpretation of the data, due to the fact that women's problematics are covert and a relationship of trust is established between the researcher and the researched. Iniesta and Feixa (2006), explain that quantitative research methodology gives the researcher a gullible security because they limit the interpretation of the acts. Furthermore, life history is used as method that analyzes the different dimensions of women's empowerment. Thus, it is not surprising that life history method has been exploited in Feminist research (Miles and Crush, 1993; Dodson, 1998; George and Ramkissoon, 1998; Lie, 2000; Slater, 2000; Richie, 2001; Hall, 2003; Kazmierska, 2003; Carrasco, 2011; Escudero, 2014). We have placed the study discussed in this article in the realm of feminist research and for that reason, in the following section we will focus on the conduction of the interviews and the material used to work with our target group.

### *Our case of study*

#### *Participant's Information*

Before the selection of the participants, we prepared a consent form that guaranteed their rights as volunteers in our research. The total number of participants was ten. They were South Asian women that reside either in Alava, Gipuzkoa or Bizkaia, three provinces of the BC. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were represented by two women from each country and Nepal was the country that had its representation with four Nepali women. Five of them lived in Bizkaia, three women lived in Alava and the last two lived in Gipuzkoa. All of the participants were married and all of them have migrated to the BC as a result of family reunification. The age of the participants varied between 28 years old and 40 years old. The language used for the interviews was either English or Spanish in accordance with the participant's preference. Most of them preferred English over Spanish because English was the language used during their education and in the Public Administration in their native countries. However, others felt more comfortable to speak in Spanish because they did not use English so often in the BC.

We chose the participants through contacting female associations on the territory of BC, associations of migrant women in the BC, feminist associations and personal contacts. Snowball sampling occurred naturally, when after the interviews with the subjects, they indicated other subject that accomplished the previously established criteria to participate in the study. We conducted two to three interviews of approximately one hour and thirty minutes.

In the following section we will discuss the structure of the methodological chart that helped us to formulate the open-ended questions. After that, we will explain the material we used to make the interviews more dynamic.

### *Methodology*

The study consisted of designing and collecting in-depth semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions with women from South Asia that have migrated to the BC in the last two years. We say that this is a work in progress due to the fact that we still do not have results of the analysis. For the conduction of the interviews, we have used life history method. We considered that through life history we could understand the individual empowerment of South Asian migrant women in the BC. First, a methodological chart was elaborated. Then, we established the main theme of interest. After that, we recognized the dimensions. This was followed by the creation of



categories from which subcategories arose. The result was the formulation of the open-ended questions. A chart with themes, dimensions, categories, subcategories and questions is presented at the end of the article as Appendix 1.

We structured the interviews according to the established dimensions. The first dimension encompassed the native culture and identity. Here, the attention was given to the memories from the country of origin in early childhood until the moment of migration, addressing cultural values and traditions, family values and the participants' own values in that culture. We related this to identity as assigned, learnt and individual identity (Lagarde, 2000). In order to understand if our participants were conscious for their identity, we formulated the following question:

Interviewer: "What it meant to be a woman in your culture? What aspects of your culture did you like/ did not like? Did you agree with them? Did you respect them (even if you were not in agreement with them?). What it meant to be a woman for you in your culture? What is to be a woman for you, now at this moment?"

The next dimension was "gender roles". In this part of the interview we developed a discussion on the role of women in the public and the private sphere in the native country of the participants. Then we addressed the role of the participant and other family members within the family. There, the intention was to come to the knowledge if they were in accordance or discordance with the traditional roles; and if they were obliged to play them even if there was a clash between what it was supposed to be done and what their desire was. For example:

Interviewer: "When you reflect on what your mother was doing, and what your father was doing, were there any differences in the roles they played? What about you? What was your role in your family (and of your brother, male close relatives)"

The penultimate dimension was migration. Usually, this dimension was discussed at the second session. During the first session, culture, identity and gender roles were considered. When migration was contemplated, our attention was centered on how migration influenced the individual transformation. There, we asked questions where the participants reflected on their life before migrating to the BC and their life in the host country:

Interviewer: "How do you think your life would have been if you had not migrated? What have you learned from migration? Have you changed?"

The last dimension contemplated in this study was empowerment. The aim was to understand how participants felt at that moment as migrant women in the BC. There, we discussed personal growth, self-confidence, self-valuation, assertiveness, awareness-raising, rights, consciousness and capacity to sororize; as categories that contribute to the empowerment of women (Zimmerman, 1990; Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995; Batliwala, 1997; Rowlands, 1997; Sadan, 1997; Kabeer, 1999; Lagarde, 2000, 2005a; Malhotra, Schuler and Boender, 2002; Mahat, 2003; Mosedale, 2005; Mangar, 2011; Escudero, 2014; Lizana, 2014; Rubio, 2014; Maitra, 2015; PRIO, 2015). For example:

Interviewer: "Can you express your desires freely? Can you achieve your goals? Do you know your rights? Do you defend them when necessary? What do you do to improve yourself? What do you do, to achieve your goals? Do you relate with other migrant or native women?"

Since our interest was to evaluate and to understand the process of empowerment of South Asian migrant women in the BC, together with the gender roles in their native countries, the identity and the transformations through migration; descriptions, memories, photographs, short story excerpts and quotes were introduced during the interviews. Hence, before the conduction of the



interviews, we had informal meetings with all of the women. There, we asked them to bring family pictures and significant objects that reminded them of their life in the past. The pictures were shown and explained when we encompassed the dimension culture and when we discussed family and family values childhood/adolescence memories. We introduced the explanation of the significance of the objects brought when we discussed the characteristics of the native culture and the celebration of the holidays:

Interviewer: "How do you celebrate holidays there? What holidays did you like? Can you show me the object you brought? Can you describe it? Why did you choose it? What is its meaning in your culture? What does it mean to you?"

For the purpose of introducing migration as a topic of discussion, we used an excerpt of a story that narrated the decision of one woman to migrate. The excerpt was the following:

"Believe it or not, I was a very modern woman for those times. My neighbors were shocked because I was driving the motor-scooter dressed in my tailored trousers. Yes, me, your mother! Do not look at me like that, I was young too! What do you think? That we were born with the apron on and with a frying pan in the hand? You're very wrong! I was seventeen and my boyfriends too ... But do not tell this to your father... You know how jealous he is ... Well, a priest told me about the possibility of working at the military hospital of Frankfurt. They needed nurses and I had the opportunity to study there. Me? German? Oh daughter, what I knew was a little bit of English that the nuns had taught me at the ladies' school. The most difficult thing was to convince Carmencita and Mary Pili, because I would have not gone alone and they were stubborn that they did not want, especially Mary Pili, who at that time was with Carlitos Morente, the boy who was working at the biscuit factory. The three weeks prior to our departure were a real torture. Our departure became an event in Zamora and your grandfather was complaining and just spoke to utter a sentence, shouting: "But the girl has no necessity to leave! She has everything, everything ... the piano, the moto-scooter ... even the dowry! "In the end, we left and there we were, the three of us in the bus on the way to Germany with our hats, our neck laces and our gloves well placed, the suitcase under the seat and the tortilla and peppers sandwiches for the trip ... When I arrived, I opened the suitcase in front of everybody and I found the "chorizo" and the "jamón" that my grandmother had put me in ... I almost died of embarrassment! In case you need them, she told me later. And listen, in the end we were happy about it because you cannot imagine the hunger we passed. I had it all. Anything, except freedom to choose my destiny. And I chose to migrate. (Martínez, Leal and Bosch, 2002, pp.46-47).

Other features, presented in the interviews were some quotes from different authors. The idea was to comprehend their condition as women by inciting a debate on the given quote. As an example we have used a quote that served as a tool to start talking about the role of women in their native culture: "There is a good principle that created order, light, and man and a bad principle that created chaos, darkness, and woman" (De Beauvoir, 2010, p.5).

Finally, before concluding the migration section, we asked our participants to describe themselves in one to three words as women, before migration. At the end of the last session, we repeated the same experience. They described themselves in one to three words after migration. We proposed these activities for the sessions, to make the interviews more interesting and energetic.

### *Initial Analysis*

As we have previously mentioned, this is a work and progress and at this stage, we are not able to present the results. However, the aim of this article was not to give the results of our research, but



to explain why life history method is useful for conducting interviews that are interested in the experience of life, as it was in our case. In our study we do not have the document beforehand but our task is to construct a life history grounded on the experience of the participants. The researcher that uses life history method goes through five principles: At the beginning stage, the researcher makes the earliest preparations for the interview. After the preparations the interview is preformed and it is the phase where the researcher recollects the data from what is being said. Then, data is very important and losing it would bring the researcher to the initial stage where they would have to repeat the two stages again. The fourth stage is the advanced one where the researcher reading thoroughly their data, they start the analysis. The final stage is the presentation of the results (Ruiz, 2007).

In our research we are going to use coding for the analysis of the data. We define coding as: “[...]categorising segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data” (Charmaz, 2006, p.43). After the transcription of the interviews, we are going to start the process of coding with initial coding. This would help us to establish the most relevant categories. Subsequently, we are going to work with line by line coding. This means that we are going to name each line of our transcribed data. We have chosen line by line data coding because is useful for identifying implicit and explicit information from the interviews. From this initial phase, we are going to move toward focused coding in order to incorporate and explain larger segments from the written information. At the final stage, we are going to use axial coding. This type of coding will enable us to relate the categories with the subcategories, to identify the peculiarities of the categories and to make the data more coherent for the analysis. We have chosen to work with coding because this, gives us the possibility to ask analytic questions of the gathered data. The researcher views the data in a focused manner by unifying the ideas analytically where preconceptions are possible but not determinant (Glaser, 1978; Straus, and Corbin, 1990; Creswell, 1998; Charmaz, 2006).

### *Conclusion*

Life history method is a feminist research method that examines the experience of life of marginalized or silenced social groups. A significant feature of this method is that it is concerned about the subjective truth of the individual that narrates the experience. The researcher interprets the narration, through converting the spoken into written text and then commenting on the lived experiences. As a method has been first introduced in Anthropology and then taken by Sociology. After being used in qualitative studies, the popularity of the method has declined, questioning the validity and the reliability. In addition to this, it was seen as method that failed in terms of objectivity. However, feminist research has recognized the potential of this method for presenting and studying women´s life.

Our study is a study for women and for the presentation of their life experience. We worked with migrant women from South Asia. South Asian migration is a current phenomenon in the Basque Country and the growing number of women that migrate from their birth place to a foreign country offers the possibility to explore thoroughly their condition as women in the host society. There is a lack of research with women from South Asia in the Basque country due to the fact that it is a new phenomenon. However, we have identified this occurrence in the Basque society and we have undertaken this research by the use of life history method. In this article we develop a critical reflection on the use of life history method in studies that are interested in the visualization and the empowerment of women. In the methodology section, we presented and explained the implementation of this method for the realization of the interviews with the participants. We



consider that the possibility to insert diverse activities for the accomplishment of the interviews makes this method dynamic, interesting and empowering.

Appendix 1. Methodological chart for the conduction of life history interviews

THEME	DIMENSION	CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	QUESTION
	CULTURE AND IDENTITY	Family origin and values	Experiences/memories	Origin, geographical situation, family life and early childhood recollection of events.
		Social class	Childhood and adolescent life	Family values and relationship with the closest family
				Teen years and occurrences
				Friendships and love relationships
				Puberty: Changes of the body and the mind
				Restrictions and liberties
		Traditions of the culture of origin	Cultural features	Familiarization with the culture of origin
			Importance of culture	Holidays celebrations
			Subjective opinion for traditions/customs before migration	Positive/ negative aspects of the culture of origin
				Behaviours shaped by the culture of origin
MIGRANT WOMEN AND CHANGES		Identity	Assigned, learnt, self-identity (subjective) – based on Lagarde (2000)	Identity shaped by the culture of origin



		Religion	Significance of religion before migration	Characteristics of the religion of the culture of origin and practice in the family
		Education	Formal/ informal	Importance of formal education within family
				Schooling experience (if applicable)
				Knowledge gained through informal sources through the process of socialization
		Employment	Occupation of mother/ father/ herself	Jobs exercised
			Labour experience before migration	Job opportunities for women and men (differences)
	GENDER ROLES	Childhood and adolescence	The role of women and men in the country of origin	Constructed behaviors in family and society during childhood and adolescence (mother and father/close family/ friends/ the world outside)
		Family values	The role of women and men in the family	Acceptance/clash/ rejection (subjective opinion before migration)
		Social values (the social structure)	The role of women in the society	Concordance/discordance (subjective opinion before migration)
	MIGRATION	Decision for migration	Reasons and time period	Motives and reflections for the decision to migrate
				Spain and the BAC as host destination



			Family reaction	The response of the family for the decision
		Type of migration	Autonomous/ family reunification	The way the migratory process was completed
		Migratory process	Obstacles/facilities	The experience of the actual migratory process
		Life in the new society:	First impressions after the arrival	Initial perceptions of the new society and its people
		Difficulties	Attitudes of the host society (eurocentrism/stereotypes)	
			Lack of knowledge of the language of the host culture	Assumptions perceived and behaviors of host people (subjective)
			Lack of labour qualification/ recognition	
			Lack of support network	Language impediments
			Other	
			Maintenance of communication with family/friends in the country of origin –	Lower educational levels for opting for certain employment positions or obstructions in the recognition of the qualification titles
			Support network	Not having/ not recognizing assistance and help channels
			Employment	
		Facilitating factors	Social participation in the host country	



			Relations with other people in the new society	Possible support agents from the distance/ Relations
			Type of activities	
				Relatives/friend/ organization
				Guaranteed job position
				Being active in the host society
				Communication with other migrants or natives
				The ways free time is appreciated and spent
		Free time		
		Significance of the culture of origin in the new society)		
		Remodeling of values		
		Impact of migration	Asset/handicap	The effects of migration in the transformation of the “self”, its influence in the family context and contributions to the society.
		(Personal/ family/ social level)	Freedom/continuation of the subordination	
			Personal growth/stagnation	Positive/ Negative aspects



			Language of the host country	
			Awareness-raising	
			Self-esteem	
			Economy amelioration	
			Social advancement	
			Other	
	EMPOWERMENT	Personal factors (individual empowerment – based on Rubio, 2014)	Interior life	Migration as a tool for personal growth, amelioration of self-esteem, gaining self-confidence, capacity for decision making, individualization, independization.
			Vision for the “self”	
			Capacity assertiveness	
			Self-confidence	
			Self-valuation	
			Work for the “individual	Migration as an instrument for identity reconstruction
			Identity reconstruction (from traditional to individual; from constructed to felt	
		Social factors (social empowerment- based on Rubio, 2014)	Transformations on social level	Migration as an empowering mechanism on social level
			Social welfare	Social benefits and progress



			Integration	
				Integration in the new society as a stimulating agent for empowerment
		Collective empowerment- based on Rubio, 2014)	Female associationism	Associationism as an empowering tool
			Sorority/ Alliances between women (migrant/native)	Connectedness with other women
			Support network	
			Collective work	Alliances between women as sustenance agents
				Mutual work and collaboration for the achievement of shared goals

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