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The Challenge of Cultural Diversity in Europe
(Re)designing Cultural Heritages through Intercultural Dialogue

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Abstract: Western societies have constructed their collective imaginaries through the recuperation of objects and traditions that define them best. Europe mythically shaped its self-definition by “whitening” it, denying any recognition whatsoever of the cultural diversity of the people who inhabited the region for centuries. Since the 15th and 16th centuries, with the Renaissance, the invention of a common past involved emphasizing the Greek and Latin past, disconnected from any type of relationship with other cultures, religions or skin colors. The white marble of Roman sculptures, which many farmers found while tilling their land, became the desired color, the symbol of a Europe that nullified any presence of cultural and religious difference. Within this chosen definition, the chromatic spectrum of the others and their everyday objects were first defined as the war booty of dominant aristocracies, and later, as objects fit for ethnological museums. Today we have diversity in our streets and not just in our museums. When we walk through our cities, new strokes, colors and styles of clothing take us by surprise—those of foreigners from outside the European community, those who remain outside the Europe of their dreams and do not enjoy the citizenship rights of inhabitants of the European Union’s member states.

I. INTRODUCTION: MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES AND COLLECTIVE IMAGINARIES

“Ponte en su piel” (“Put Yourself in Her Skin”) was part of a sensitivity campaign promoted by the city of Tarragona in 2006 that puts into context many elements of the debate we aim to expose in this article. At first glance, it speaks to us of the so-called “new immigration” of people from countries outside the European Union who have arrived in Catalonia in the past few decades and who now live in our cities, creating new realities and bringing to the fore new challenges and defining society’s new needs in the early years of the 21st century (Pajares 2005; García y Barañano 2003). But it also speaks to us of our anxieties and obsessions, our fears and our way of perceiving “others.” Western societies have constructed their collective imaginaries
through the recuperation of objects and traditions that define them best (Anderson 1993). At the time of the birth of nation-states, in the colonial and post-colonial eras, and in the current period of globalization, the icons and symbols that are a part of this community have been abstracted from their original locations and brought into those great storage areas we call museums. As a product of the era of the birth of nationalisms, museums clearly define, through the selection of cultural artifacts, who has belonged to a community and who has not, who “we” are and who are the “others.”

Europe mythically shaped its self-definition by “whitening” it, denying any recognition whatsoever of the cultural diversity of the people who inhabited the region for centuries (Shohat and Stam 1994). Since the 15th and 16th centuries, with the Renaissance, the invention of a common past involved emphasizing the Greek and Latin past, disconnected from any type of relationship with other cultures, religions or skin colors (Mignolo 2003). The white marble of Roman sculptures, which many farmers found while tilling their land, became the desired color, the symbol of a Europe that nullified any presence of cultural and religious difference. Within this chosen definition, the chromatic spectrum of the others and their everyday objects were first defined as the war booty of dominant aristocracies, and later, as objects fit for ethnological museums (Chakrabarty 2000).

Today we have diversity in our streets and not just in our museums. When we walk through our cities, new strokes, colors and styles of clothing take us by surprise (Barkan and Denise 1998)—those of foreigners from outside the European community, those who remain outside the Europe of their dreams and do not enjoy the citizenship rights of inhabitants of the European Union’s member states. As we have stressed in other studies, the definition of European identity has been linked with the idea of a cultural homogenization, but above all, as the philosopher Rosi Braidotti has written, “this myth continues to be crucial for the legend of European nationalism.” For this author, the reason European unification has taken 50 years to bring questions of culture and education to the agenda, above and beyond economic and military questions, has to do with the complexity of the definition of these concepts for each and every member country. Various identities—or figurations as Braidotti calls them—“remain outside this Europe: the migrant, the exile, the refugee or asylum-seeker, the undocumented foreigner, the homeless and the uprooted, the Filipina nanny who has replaced the more familiar figure of the “chica canguro” [babysitter] or au pair girl....” These immigrants, who have lived among us for decades, receive scant attention from the media, which often associate them with situations of criminality, underdevelopment or subalternity, reinforcing the cultural imaginaries that negatively affect our perception of other cultures (Rodríguez 2005). The same does not go for Euro-American globalized cultures, such as the Hollywood culture industry, consumer modes and products, music or fast food. These cultural products or products of consumption have become globalized to such an extent that it is difficult to know which country we are travelling in and this complicates our task of figuring out what to take pictures of in order to show to our friends after our trip. Néstor García Canclini, the Argentinian anthropologist living in Mexico, pays close attention to these new cultural mappings in his work 1

1 Braidotti warns that the European Union’s project may be subject to the “Fortress Europe” syndrome, that is, a Europe that protects itself against the “invasion” of foreigner and foreign customs and traditions. See Braidotti (1999: 27-46). These questions are also addressed by authors such as Floya Anthias, Philomena Essed, Helma Lutz, Nira Yuval Davis or Avtar Brah.
“Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados. Mapas de la interculturalidad” [“Different, Unequal and Unconnected: Maps of Interculturality”], noting that

…the identities of subjects are formed today in inter-ethnic and international processes, through flows produced by technologies and multinational corporations, globalized financial exchanges, repertoires of images and information created in order to be distributed throughout the planet by the cultural industries. Today we imagine what it means to be subjects not only from the standpoint of the culture into which we were born but also from the standpoint of an enormous variety of symbolic repertoires and models of behavior that we can cross-breed and combine. (García Canclini 2004:161)

A billboard slogan that greeted strollers along the Rambla Nova of Tarragona carried the following warning: “May the color you desire for your skin not become your cross to bear.” It made evident a new reality that went beyond the canons of beauty. Today we wish to have tanned skin by lying on the beaches of the Costa Dorada; we no longer need the hats and wide sunhats worn earlier by the women of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. In spite of this, the golden skin of the Muslim girl (with the icon of religious affiliation, the hijab or headscarf) is seen as a representation of her cultural difference and serves here as a reason to refuse discourses based on xenophobia and cultural racism (Martín Muñoz 2005).

The presence of immigration from outside Europe, and Muslim communities in particular, makes evident this symbolic negation that continues to operate in our collective imaginary, whether we define ourselves as coming from a certain religious culture or as being secular or agnostic. It provokes us to redefine our historiography in order to see others in order to know ourselves better. As García Canclini has written:

In times of globalization, the most revealing object of study and the one which most questions ethnocentric or disciplinary pseudo-certainties, is interculturality. The social scientist, through empirical investigation of intercultural relations and the self-reflective critique of disciplinary fortresses, attempts to think from the position of exile. To study culture thus requires turning oneself into a specialist of intersections. (García Canclini 2004:101)

II. INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND CULTURAL POLICIES IN EUROPE

As a reflection of this situation, and from a perspective of seeking new attitudes and confronting new challenges, UNESCO dedicated the year 2008 to the defense of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. Emphasis was placed on implementing the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which was approved in Paris on October 20, 2005, and came into effect on March 18, 2007. As the UNESCO website states:

2 The “Rambla Nova” is the main street of the city of Tarragona. According to indices of the number of immigrants as of January 1, 2006 in the province of Tarragona, there were 105,211 persons of foreign nationality in the province of Tarragona, or roughly 14.3% of the total population. This percentage is higher than the overall percentage for Catalonia—13.1%—and for the province of Barcelona, 12.4%. See Gregorio Vizcaino, La población extranjera en Tarragona. Presente y evolución histórica, Fundación Bofill, 2007.
the main objective of the convention consists of creating an ever more interconnected world, an environment that allows all cultural expressions to manifest themselves in their creative richness, to renovate themselves through exchange and cooperation, and to be accessible to all for the benefit of all humanity. (http://www.unesco.org)

Our interconnected world of the beginning of the 21st century is also a disconcerted world. Economic and cultural globalization requires us to face new challenges which make visible the fragility of certain societies in the face of the rapidity of communications. Among the studies that clarify these issues the most is the work by communication specialist Armand Mattelart, *Diversité culturelle et mondialisation*. Mattelart points out the difficulty of formulating stable definitions of terms in an era of globalization, especially in the area of culture (2006:93). He reminds us that the UNESCO convention is the fruit of a long process that began in 1982 with the World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico, during which the basic terms of a cultural policy based on the recognition of diversity were formulated:

A policy which, by defining as its objective the development of creative faculties, both individual and collective, no longer limits itself to the area of the arts but is extended to other forms of invention (...). Nonetheless, 20 years had to go by before a new configuration of actors tried to convert this abstract principle into a practical juridical instrument capable of removing “cultural expressions” from the uniform logic of commodities.

Economic rules and cultural ones evolve at different rhythms. The rhythm of artistic and cultural expressions of minorities not included in the hegemonic forms of cultural production and reproduction is one that manifests itself outside these cultural circuits and creates others. Joost Smiers stresses this idea in his excellent and provocative study *Un mundo sin copyright. Artes y medios en la globalización* (“A world without copyrights: Art and media in a context of globalization”) (Smiers 2006:257), in which he speaks of a democracy that prospers when the viewpoints of minorities too are able to play a key role in social and cultural life. He writes: “Many artistic expressions are not taken into account in public debates over taste, language, design, musical genres, theatre, and the narrative structure of films or television programs. And this represents a loss for democracy.”

The “European Year of Intercultural Dialogue” was proclaimed with the objective of calling attention to the dialogue among cultures as a matter of priority in Europe, given the challenges of globalization, and seeking the joint participation of governmental actors and civil society. In the aim of adapting this dialogue to the environment of the Spanish state, Royal Decree 367/2007 of March 16, 2007 created the “National Commission for the Encouragement and Promotion of Intercultural Dialogue,” charged with reflecting on

... the cultural diversity that derived from the successive enlargements of the European Union, the mobility resulting from the single market, migratory flows and exchanges with the rest of the world. Today it is a reality of our societies, which require adequate decision-making for Europe and for Spain. Since culture is a factor of social integration and the development of citizen identities, promoting and facilitating intercultural dialogue as a declared priority contributes
to social cohesion and the acceptance of different cultural identities and beliefs within European citizenship. From this perspective, intercultural dialogue is a factor of growth and quality of life and we must invite European citizens and all those who live in the European Union to take part in the management of this cultural diversity.3

In this spirit, many other authors advise us of the ever more important role of concept of culture and its necessary convergence with that of diversity. The French sociologist Alain Touraine stresses that the new century is defined by the rise of what he calls the new “cultural paradigm” (Touraine 2006). Other approaches, such as that of the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, bring to light the fact that these new challenges require some profound changes in perception in order to allow for cultural pluralism that is sustainable over time, dynamic and without preconceived limits:

The term cultural diversity speaks of the coexistence of groups of different cultural identities. This coexistence must have sufficient longevity, security and sustainability to allow the identities in question to produce themselves. For a cultural identity to be more than a slogan, it must evolve over time in a creative way and, given that the relations among groups are always evolving, the challenge is how to guide this evolution in a creative and sustainable way. (Appadurai and Stenou 2000:111-123)

With these words we enter discussions that are gaining more and more ground. In recent years terms such as “cultural rights” and “cultural citizenship” have gained more strength. From this perspective, a cultural right is defined as “the right to take part in the cultural life of a city.”4 Arjun Appadurai encourages us to reclaim the radical character of this concept (Appadurai y Stenou 2000:111-123):

The very idea of cultural rights represents a radicalization of liberal social theory and goes significantly beyond the ideas of tolerance and recognition. It recognizes that the right to culture in daily life is fundamentally political and requires a significant level of autonomy, legal, juridical and spatial. It imposes on the states the obligation to provide spaces of cultural expression. The most radical form of this conception gives rise to cultural citizenship, which requires, in reality, the voluntary sharing of state power regarding law, language and territory.

To give autonomy to cultural and artistic expressions of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities of a given state would involve a great Copernican change in the new century: the creation of a cultural citizenship. I think this would cause cultural minorities and the state to be situated in a common cultural space, in which citizenship would have to be re-signified through the concept of difference. Other voices in Europe have echoed this


4 Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Interarts Foundation, in collaboration with UNESCO and the AECI, organized the Diálogo sobre Derechos Culturales y Desarrollo Humano [Dialogue on Cultural Rights and Human Development] in the framework of the Forum de las Culturas of Barcelona in 2004. They developed an interesting questionnaire on the subject, with the aim of gaining a clearer vision of perceptions, at the regional, local and individual level, of cultural rights and the role of culture in development. See http://www.interarts.net
idea. Among them is the journal Eurozine, whose web page contains a text that reads as follows:

The concept of cultural citizenship responds to the development of the centrality of cultural production and consumption as necessary elements for benefiting from the rights of citizenship. Cultural citizenship is thus not assimilable to the concept of nationality, assimilation or tolerance but, rather, more closely related to the notions of recognition and empowerment. This concept is a vital instrument for the rethinking of identity and difference, and more specifically for conceptualising a Europe in which attention to political and social rights includes a full recognition of minority groups and cultural diversity.

This new Europe would not only recognize the cultural diversity that exists in its states (that is, their internal diversity and that which originates from immigration) but would also promote dialogue with the countries around it, in particular those of the Mediterranean. The attempt has been made to maintain such a climate of debate in Catalonia since the signature in 1995 of the so-called “Process of Barcelona,” dedicated to developing different international discourses on these new attitudes toward the phenomena of immigration and cultural globalization.

The debates on cultural diversity in our societies will necessarily become a resource in the early part of this century, defined as it is by fragmentations, fissures and a sense of the ephemeral, and interested as it is in material and immaterial heritages—that which is fleeting and fragile and must be preserved and protected. The cultural ecosystem needs attention and spaces of expression, just as if it were a natural resource. As Smiers has stated (2006:17), cultural diversity and biodiversity will be two major social movements in the 21st century, since “economic globalization of the contemporary world does not guarantee the persistence of the cultural legacies to which we are heirs.” The delicate balance of the cultural ecosystem needs a movement in which culture becomes conscious of its precarious state in the face of the laws of economics and consumption and develops networks that create alliances in local, regional and global settings.

III. CITIES THAT EDUCATE: BREAKING DOWN THE WALLS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND CULTURAL AGENDAS

In the international context we have just described, cities take on a renewed importance in many cultural and educational discourses (Mascarell 2005). They take on a new role in nascent societies, in the midst of a full-scale crisis of hegemonic nation-states. The society emerging from the new social and technological transformations of globalization becomes volatile, permeable and changing—or, as Bauman says, “liquid” (Bauman 1999). García Canclini situates this phenomenon when he speaks of places and identities that change quickly in times of globalization:

What is a place in globalization? Who speaks, and from where? What is the meaning of these contradictions between games and actors, military triumphs and political-cultural failures, worldwide dissemination and creative projects? The fascination of being in all places and the unease of not being with certainty in any, of be-
ing many and none—all this changes the terms of the debate about the possibility of being subjects. (García Canclini 2005:25)

An example of this new role of municipal policies was the creation of the “Agenda 21 de la Cultura,” promoted by the Ayuntamiento [city government] of Barcelona in the framework of the Forum Universal de las Culturas [Universal Forum of Cultures] of 2004, and approved on May 8, 2004, with the celebration of the IV Foro Autoridades Locales [4th Forum of Local Authorities]. The intention of this document was to promote the common efforts of cities and local governments on a world scale that were committed to human rights, cultural diversity, sustainability, participatory democracy and the creation of conditions for peace. It sought indeed to be the first document with a worldwide vocation seeking to establish the bases of a commitment of cities and local governments to cultural development. In order to assume this ambition, it proposed that May 21st of each year be celebrated as the World-wide Day of Cultural Diversity. As it stressed on its website:

In many parts of the world it may be observed that many problems of cities have to do with the relationship between culture and human development: linguistic and cultural rights of (so-called) minorities, struggles against poverty, migrations... In this context, many solutions call for giving cultural policy a more central role in local government (...). Concepts that belong to the world of cultural policy, such as memory, creativity, rituality or diversity, are now more essential than ever, in order to define local policies that are in the service of democracy and a freer form of citizenship.

The importance of local administration is also recognized in the area of education, shifting the outlook from the start toward ways of transmitting knowledge in a global world. The network of municipalities of the Diputación [provincial council] of Barcelona dedicated its most recent symposium on local educational policies to reaffirming the role of cities in all aspects and stages of knowledge. “Ciudad.edu: nuevos retos, nuevos compromisos” [“City.edu: new challenges, new commitments”], celebrated in October 2006, sought to concentrate on evaluating the adaptation of educational models to social change and making services adequate to emerging needs and realities—among them, making cultural diversity a serious and visible priority. The role of local administration in addressing this objective was underlined:

Municipalities are one of the main actors in education policy, since it is on a territory that all agents of the educational system come into contact and that proximity takes on all its value (...). We begin with the strong conviction that territory is an actor of education which, when tightly enmeshed with the school system, causes the borders between formal and informal education to fade and fulfills its potential thereby. In this sense, the [local] environment must facilitate the carrying out of strategies and be endowed with resources for the fulfilling of its educational function, taking into account as well that community space is one of the elements that best helps to define their own identity.6

6 Dossier of the convention “Ciudad.edu: nuevos retos, nuevos compromisos,” World Trade Center, Barcelona, October 9-11, 2006. Special note should be taken of the session dedicated to the revision 10 years later of the Delors Report, at which Federico Mayor Zaragoza was present.
From now on, schools and cities must be permeable and must cooperate in developing the cognitive processes of pupils from the beginning and understand that contemporary knowledge society is preparing a world that is ever more interconnected, in which cultural and community referents take on more importance. The relationship between school and family comes into new relief in the context of this new attention paid to social cohesion and the relation between school and environment, between education in a given territorial space which is no longer simply a physical territory but also symbolic and expanded through connections with the media such as internet or television. Schools break down walls by recognizing that they are not the only way in which pupils form a consciousness of their identities. The old school walls are now painted with new graffiti which speak to us of the importance of youth and urban culture, and which claim their space for the construction of identities that are shaped in multiple ways, via a broad spectrum of symbolic, visual and virtual resources. They manifest themselves rapidly and in changing ways, since the hybridization of cultural identities is imperceptible or, as Appadurai has written:

In an era when cultural groups may change their styles, when new groups arrive suddenly and disappear unpredictably, when young people revise their identities at dizzying speed, when cultural identities may change or realign, both externally and internally (...), the conception of cultural pluralism must be strictly directed toward the present. This will require the imagination of ordinary people to be agile and thus open to new regimes of diversity. (Appadurai and Stenou 2000:111-123)

The approach to cultural diversity and to the different cosmologies of the cultures that make up immigration from outside the European Community, present today in our classrooms, implies that we must take into account the inclusion of these practices as a tool of intercultural communication between immigrant pupils and native ones. The Basque educator Imanol Agirre mentions this idea in his work on “Teorías y prácticas en educación artística” [Theories and practices of artistic education]:

The new times are characterized by a growing tendency toward a respect of difference, indeed a cult of difference, which should not constitute an obstacle to human relations. In education above all, attention to diversity (be it cultural, social or biological) is one of the main principles of politically correct and democratic education. Indeed, no one doubts that humanity, far from being a homogeneous whole, is a broad mosaic of ethos and world views, a plurality of manners of seeing the world that corresponds to a great variety of models of social configurations, systems of values, habits and customs and cultural productions (Agirre 2005:293).

IV. CLASSROOMS AND MUSEUMS FACING CULTURAL DIVERSITY: THE MUSEUM OF THE HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION OF CATALONIA

From the standpoint of the responsibility of informal education toward cultural diversity, museums too are raising questions about their collections, asking what version of history they are transmitting via their educational workshops which now include pupils from different cultural heritages and traditions (Calaf 2007). As we
have seen, this discussion has little by little taken on more importance at the local, national and international level. Reference is often made to an issue of the UNESCO journal *Museum International* dedicated to the cultural heritage of immigrants. The issue speaks of the creation of new museums of immigration and the attention currently given to migratory processes. It introduces the debate on the necessity of deconstructing negative perceptions about the role of immigrants in contemporary societies and of implementing cultural and educational policies that interact constantly with society, aimed at promoting a non-stereotypical vision of their cultural resources in order to stake out the path of a common history in today’s world. In its pages the issue further points out that attention to the cultural heritages of immigrants demonstrates the specific role of culture in processes of development—a key theme in UNESCO’s work in recent decades. The ultimate goal would be to recreate a cultural heritage that includes the artistic practices of immigrant communities in order that these too may become cultural referents for the entire society.

For this very purpose we organized in 2006 the exhibit, commissioned by the Museum of Immigration of Cataluña and the Museum of Hospitalet, a suburb of Barcelona, on the associations of immigrant women in Catalonia. In search of a title for the exhibit, we chose the following one: “Viajando vidas, creando mundos. La experiencia y la obra de las mujeres migradas en Cataluña” [“Traveling lives, creating worlds. The Experience and the Works of Immigrant Women in Cataluña”], which emphasized the agency of these women and the magnitude of their experiences. The exhibit had the support of the Diputación of Barcelona and it travelled to various museums belonging to the network of local museums of the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The museographic project was centered on bringing out the historical aspect of the diasporic migrations and their geographical and cultural origins, but it stressed in particular the processes of construction of new identities in the destination cities and the agency and empowerment of these women through their management of a diverse array of associations. In the effort to express the cultural questions that each woman carries with her when she travels, as if they were a suitcase, special importance was given to the practices of cultural and artistic production, to the symbolic production that becomes re-signified in the destination city. As we have emphasized in this article, the processes of creation in exile or in diaspora manifest themselves as a series of values of different character: the transit, the voyage, the diaspora, needs new forms of expression and new creative impulses—new works with new languages for new spaces with a different public, new contexts and new pretexts for artistic creation which does not stop because of these conditions. The artists invited to expose their work in the exhibit showed how this symbolic production becomes an enriching contribution that is hardly visible in the media and barely present in the city’s museums of contempo-

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7 This debate is still incipient but ever more present in museological contexts. See, for example, the “IV Jornadas de Pedagogía del Arte y Museos” [Days of Art and Museum Pedagogy] organized by the Museo de Arte Moderno (Modern Art Museum) of Tarragona and dedicated to the theme of “museums and education for cultural diversity from the arts,” April 18-25, 2007, Tarragona.


9 This museum was founded in 2004 in Sant Adrián del Besós, Barcelona and is dedicated to the expression of the historical memory of internal migration (that is, originating from other regions of Spain) as well as extra-European migration. It seeks to contextualize discourses on migrations and what these represent in the construction of new common identities.

10 The exhibit was commissioned by the Guinean Remei Sipi, president of the association E’waio Ipola, an association of women of Equatorial Guinea.
rary art. Their works used the most varied mediums of expression—such as contemporary dance, theatre, audiovisual media, painting, sculpture, literature, photography—and turned themselves into surprising instruments of communication and social cohesion. They constitute materials of great worth that open new and positive meanings, far from stereotyped images, and show us very compelling life stories and professional paths. They speak of the need to visualize one’s cultural heritage, present in all societies although it is often unrecognized. But they further placed on the table the need to transform these collective imaginaries into a common and renewed heritage, in a Europe that recognizes both its internal diversity and that which comes from extra-European migration, providing it with places of expression in its cities, its classrooms and its museums.

V. IN CONCLUSION: BRUSHSTROKES FOR A DEBATE WITHOUT LIMITS

The cluster of concepts in circulation in this early part of the century mobilizes all our attention and capacity for understanding: diversity, citizenship, democracy, rights and law, tourism, cooperation, the ecosystem—all these need to be more cultural than ever. Cultural and liquid, in the sense of permeable and flexible, for the construction of a sustainable pluralism that goes beyond consensual discourse, pleasant words and images, which too often turn into sand that slips through our fingers. The consciousness of cultural diversity in our cities, regions and countries tells us as well, as we have seen, of our genealogies and heritages—cultural, social, family and personal. We always project a potential for utopia on the coming generations and that is why we attribute great importance to education, but the rapidity of the changes we are living through must now lead us to rethink these heritages starting from the present moment, from the very second we are consuming.

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11 Name of the immigrant women’s artists in Catalonia: Margarita Pineda y Consuelo Bautista (Colombia); Samira Badrán (Palestine); Xia Hang (China); Motoko Araki (Japan); Nílofar Mirhadi (Iran); Jesús Leung (United States); Natividad Oma, Montse Kondo, Paquita Belobe (Equatorial Guinea); Luz Cassino, Guigui Kohon, Paula Mariani (Argentina); Karél Mena (Venezuela).


