

An Acculturation Causal Model: Adaptation of Immigrants from Latin America to Spanish Culture

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Abstract

This paper sets out to study the causal relationships among the constructs that make up the acculturation process. First, the assimilation of the mainstream culture is negatively influenced by identity (cultural identification and ethnic pride). Second, the other dimension that influences assimilation is knowledge, a construct that reflects on the interest in the cultural news, events and music of the host country. Third, we consider behaviour, the other dimension mentioned in the previous literature, not as a direct antecedent of assimilation but as a consequence of ethnic identity. Our data derives from a survey of 560 Latin American immigrants in Madrid (Spain). The results of a structural equation modelling (SEM) corroborate our model. However, the two factors related to behavioural competence are formed by two different constructs: food and other behavioural indicators (affiliation and celebrations). The main contribution of this study is the validation of an acculturation scale that integrates all the steps previously raised in the literature. Moreover, different relations that those proposed in previous research have been verified by the structural model. As regards the international managerial implications, our results can be applied to other groups, countries and nationalities where the language barrier does not exist.

Introduction

Migratory movements experienced by some European and Asian countries in recent years have led to a need to study the acculturation processes in societies other than the U.S., where conflict and cultural diversity seem to be different. Since most published papers have been conducted in the US (Palumbo & Teich, 2004), the research undertaken in other countries or regions may reveal some different aspects.

At the European level, international migration is one of the most important demographic, political and social phenomena of the last two decades. However, there have been different situations, depending on the degree of economic development and certain historical or cultural aspects. Specifically, this is a very recent phenomenon in Spain in comparison with other countries in the EU such as the UK or France. This country has gone from being a source of migrants to being host country in just a decade (the mid-80s to the mid-90s). In fact, Spain has been considered to be a country receiving immigrants from many different countries, mainly in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa over the last five years. Therefore, the most recent models proposed in the US in the 90's cannot be directly

applied to Spanish reality because the majority groups are made up of by first generation immigrants.

Focusing on Latin American immigrants, there are a large number of academic studies both in the field of marketing and in other social sciences, especially sociology and psychology. This is due to the importance that this group has achieved in America, where it currently represents the largest ethnic minority. However, our review of literature reveals that there is an evident lack of integrative research on consumer acculturation. In fact, there are multiple measurement scales, mainly formulated in the 80's and applied empirically in the 90's. Nevertheless, they propose a wide range of different constructs to measure the acculturation process. Moreover, the statistical methods applied are outdated.

Therefore, the contribution of our research lies in proposing and testing a global model that explains acculturation process in Spain by integrating different variables and constructs. Specifically, our aim is to analyze dimensions that have an influence on the assimilation (adaptation) of Latin American immigrants (first generation) into Spanish culture by answering the following questions: 1) Which factors should be included in an acculturation scale adapted from the literature?; 2) Are all variables at the same level or are they different antecedents and mediators?; and 3) What is the effect of these dimensions on adapting to the culture of the destination country?

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. The second section presents a literature review on acculturation, allowing us to establish the conceptual model. In the third section, we explain our methodology. The fourth section discusses the estimated results, after which the final sections summarizes the findings, conclusions, implications, limitations, and future research alternatives.

Background and discussion

International marketing literature contains numerous studies concerning behavioural differences amongst consumers across nations. Although this research has made significant contributions towards understanding differences between nations, there appears to be a gap in the literature about subcultural differences within national boundaries, or intra-national differences (Ogden et al., 2004). However, we have found some empirical studies in the marketing area regarding immigrants from Latin America that analyse different aspects, such as the differences in consumption among Spanish-speaking immigrants and the mainstream population (Tropp et al., 1999), media usage and effective advertising (Kara and Kara, 1996), advertising in-store performance (Webster, 1992) or ethnic food (Verbeke and Poquiqui, 2005), amongst others.

One of the most interesting aspects of immigration movements is acculturation, since it may lead to a change in consumption patterns. It can be seen as a socialization process in which an immigrant consumer learns the behaviours, attitudes and values of a culture that are different from their culture of origin (Lee, 1988)¹. When focusing specifically on consumer purchase decisions the term “consumer acculturation” is defined as the general process of movement and adaptation to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country (Peñaloza, 1994). This phenomenon can affect the dominant culture, the subculture or both groups.

¹ Quoted in Ogden et al. (2004)

The concepts of acculturation and assimilation have been commonly used interchangeably in the literature (Siatkowski, 2007). Nevertheless, they are different. Spector (2000) describes the concept of assimilation as integrating all the cultural and behavioural aspects of the dominant culture. In marketing, the most widely researched two-dimensional approach to acculturation has been Berry's *acculturation framework*. Berry (1980; see Berry, 1997, for a review) which conceptualized four distinctive acculturation strategies: *Assimilation* involves relinquishing cultural heritage and adopting the beliefs and behaviours of the new culture; *Integration* involves maintaining cultural heritage while endorsing intergroup relations; *separation* involves maintenance of heritage culture without intergroup relations; and *marginalization* involves non-adherence to either old or new culture. Therefore, acculturation is the process to achieve assimilation, being assimilation as completely integrating the beliefs, values, and behaviours of the dominant culture and abandoning their original values (Andrews and Boyle, 2003)

Which variables or factors have been used to understand acculturation? Our literature review shows that there are only partial studies in the marketing field, using very different criteria in measure acculturation. Consequently, there are also different forms of measurement, making it necessary to identify the best indicators by analyzing the validity of the scales based on behavioural or psychological indicators.

By exploring the empirical research, the first thing to state is that the scales were developed in the 80's. Subsequently, there is no original proposal in the 90's. In all references found, the authors have adapted very different previous scales for their empirical analysis. With regard to measurement, most of the items used in the marketing literature are based on behavioural (i.e. possession of goods) or self-evaluation psychological indicators (strong or weak identification with some items related to the original and/or the mainstream culture). However, the use of behavioural measurements as indicators of acculturation should be undertaken carefully since they could point to other constructs related to social class. Although self-evaluation scales have their limits, basically being too simplistic and insufficient to effectively measure acculturation (Ogden et al., 2004), they are preferred by most authors who have worked on this topic (Podoshen, 2006).

Moreover, there is no integrative model. The index of "Hispanity" developed by Valencia (1985), a scale based on 24 items, is one of the most quoted reference in marketing literature. Another interesting acculturation scale is developed by Suinn et al. (1987). This consists of 21 multiple choice items covering aspects such as language, identity, friends, behaviour, geographic background / generation and attitudes (Ownbey and Horridge, 1997). However, these scales do not represent all of the possible sources which the acculturation concept has. The other scale that covers more references in earlier marketing literature is developed by Quester and Chong (2001). Despite being large, this scale does not include some of the indicators used in other sources.

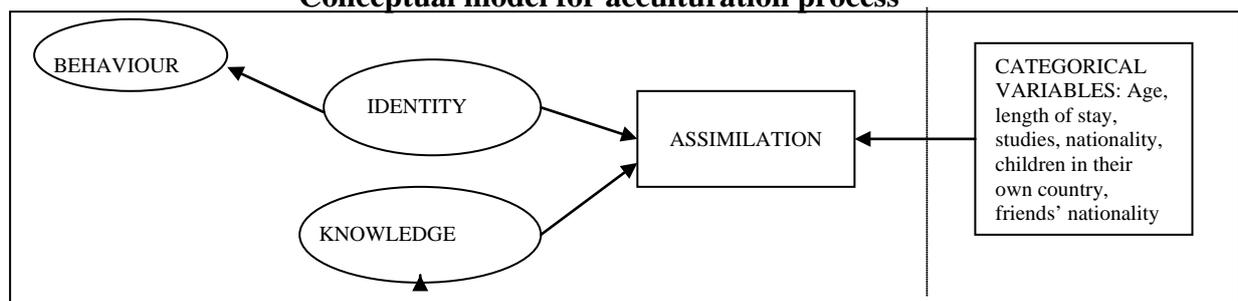
In our view, the acculturation scale built by the psychologists Zea et al. (2003) seems to be an ideal starting point for a subsequent analysis of multiple indicators and measurement scales in the marketing field. These authors find only six studies that met the dual criteria of being bilinear and multidimensional and identify five dimensions for acculturation: behaviour, cultural identity, knowledge, language and values. The first four factors reflect a superficial, intermediate degree of immersion, whereas the fifth factor, values, may be indicative of a deeper degree of immersion. **Behavioural factor** comprises preferred social

affiliation, food, and adherence to cultural social celebrations popular media preferences. **Cultural identity** can be operationalized by an individual's self-identification, affiliation, and pride as a member of the culture of origin or of the host culture. **Cultural knowledge** or competence is related to historical and political knowledge. **Language proficiency** includes use, preferences, and ability. Finally, **cultural values** are usually assessed by individuals' self-reported beliefs about social roles and relationships. In their study, Zea et al. (2003) do not include this last dimension since the values continually change in the host and mainstream culture. The differences between them do not provide an appropriate and valid framework to represent acculturation, because the power may switch in the same direction in the culture of origin and a destination due to its dynamic nature.

In order to propose our model the first consideration concerns the dependent variable. As mentioned before, assimilation (adaptation) is the final consequence of acculturation. Therefore, we will use a single indicator that describes the degree of adaptation of an immigrant to Spanish culture. As regards independent constructs, we have built our theoretical model by grouping all the dimensions developed in the marketing literature together into three of the constructs formulated by Zea et al. We have only excluded one dimension: language². In addition, since we have a first generation phenomenon, we have only considered a single-directional process. Thus we have: a) Cultural Identity: cultural identification, pride and ethnicity attitude, b) Cultural Knowledge: cultural news, events and music from the host country, and c) Cultural Behaviour: food, celebrations or affiliations related to the host country. Our model also differs from the Zea et al.'s proposal in one important aspect: we do not consider that the constructs have the same level. This is one of the main contributions of our proposal. For us, identity and knowledge are antecedents of adaptation (assimilation) and behaviour is a consequence of identity. We have also included some of those independent variables specified by Peñaloza (1994) in the model that could have an influence in the adaptation of immigrants: age, length of stay in Spain, level of studies, nationality, children in their own country and nationality of their best friends. The proposed model appears in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Conceptual model for acculturation process



Methodology and results

Data from a personal survey of 560 individuals over 18 years old who have lived in Spain for over a year is used to tackle the proposed objective. Prior to the surveying, a qualitative study consisting of twenty extensive interviews with immigrants with the four majority Latin American nationalities in Spain was conducted. This information facilitated the

² We do not include language since Latin-Americans and Spanish have the same language. As regards values, Zea et al. (2003) already excluded them in their empirical research for the reasons given previously.

design of the personal survey used to collect the data for the quantitative analysis and was the basis of a first approach to the collective objective of study, so as to obtain useful information to formulate the most relevant variables to be included in the research and to enrich the analysis of results. The choice of both samples has been made through a multistage stratified process according to nationality, age and gender.

Since we have two kinds of variables that could have an influence on acculturation, the estimation must be done in two stages. First of all, we work with the metric variables applying exploratory factor analyses (maximum-likelihood) and structural equation modelling. Second, we analyse the non-metric variables that could influence assimilation using multivariate ANOVA. In order to build the scale, we have selected the items from the literature, specifically some of the indicators proposed by Gentry et al. (1995), Ownbey and Horridge (1997), Quester and Chong (2001), Ogden (2005), Podoshen (2006) and Wilson (2007). First, we conducted an exploratory factor analyses (maximum-likelihood method) and a reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha for the metric variables. The number of initial items was 20. We included only those which lead to a reliability index greater than 0.7 and which have a communality greater than 60%. We have removed six items that did not meet these criteria. Table 1 shows the descriptive results.

TABLE 1
Descriptive Measures

DIMENS.	ITEMS	Mean	Standard Dev.	VC	α
Identity	I am proud of maintaining the traditions and the way of living from my own country	3.38	.890	0.263	0.772
	At home, we continue to maintain the traditions from my country	3.33	.843	0.253	
	I would like not to lose the accent and the language from my country	3.42	.842	0.246	
Knowledge	I am interested in cultural news in my country (artists, writers, etc.)	3.34	.857	0.257	0.708
	I like the traditional music of my country	3.50	.791	0.226	
	I follow current news and events in my country	3.17	.880	0.278	
Behaviour	I visit my country associations in Spain	2.55	1.086	0.426	0.74
	I go to my country typical festivals held in Spain	2.63	1.089	0.414	
Food	During the week, we mostly eat food from my country	3.27	.877	0.268	0.749
	At weekends, we mostly eat food from my country	3.26	.884	0.272	
Assimilation	I prefer to adapt to Spanish customs and living like the Spanish	2.46	.958	0.383	0.687

The exploratory factor analyses conducted with SPSS 18.0. have a total accumulated variance of 68% and forms the expected dimensions but we have to separate food from the other behavioural indicators (Table 2).

Table 2. Exploratory factor analyses (Maximum Likelihood)

	Factor			
	Identity	Knowledge	Food	Behaviour
I am proud of maintaining the customs, traditions and way of life of my own country	.891			

We continue to maintain the customs and traditions of my country at home	.871			
I would like not to lose the accent and the language of my country	.321			
I am interested in cultural news in my country (artists, writers, etc)		.841		
I like the traditional music of my country		.597		
I follow current news and events in my country		.486		
At week-ends, we mostly eat food from my country at home			.799	
During the week, we mostly eat food from my country at home			.692	
I visit my country associations in Spain				.869
I go to my country typical festivals held in Spain				.624
Accumulated variance	18.998	15.55	12.99	12.60

The causal analysis has been conducted with the EQS 5.0 statistical program. The size of the sample obtained in this study allows us to work with enough cases per estimated parameter, because this sample with no missing values has a size of 448 valid cases (we had to eliminate cases with missing values in any of the items). Firstly, we need to question whether we are dealing with reflective or formative constructs. There was no consideration about this question in previous studies. We believe that the dimensions are reflective constructs that configure the different items, making the items manifestations of the construct. Additionally, we have followed Jarvis et al.'s (2003) considerations, finding that there are none of the conditions for building formative constructs.

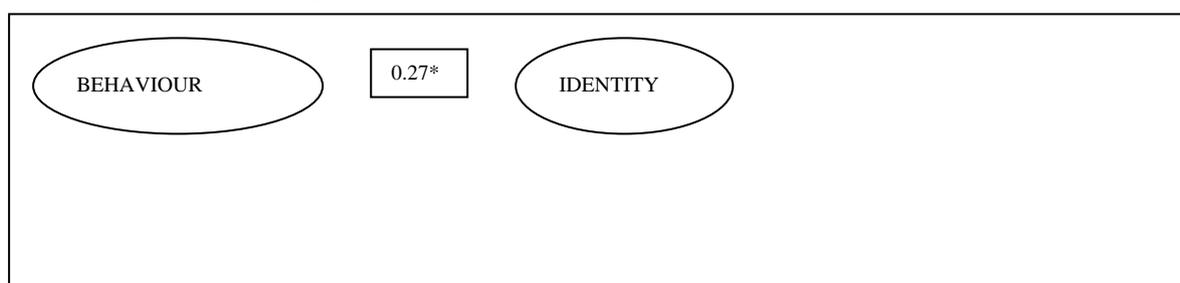
The procedure was carried out in the two phases proposed by Anderson & Gerbin (1988). First, we analyzed the goodness of the psychometric properties of the measurement instrument used through the Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA). Once the measurement instrument's goodness was accepted, the instrument was modified to include the structural relationships proposed theoretically, using a Covariance Structure Model to analyze it.

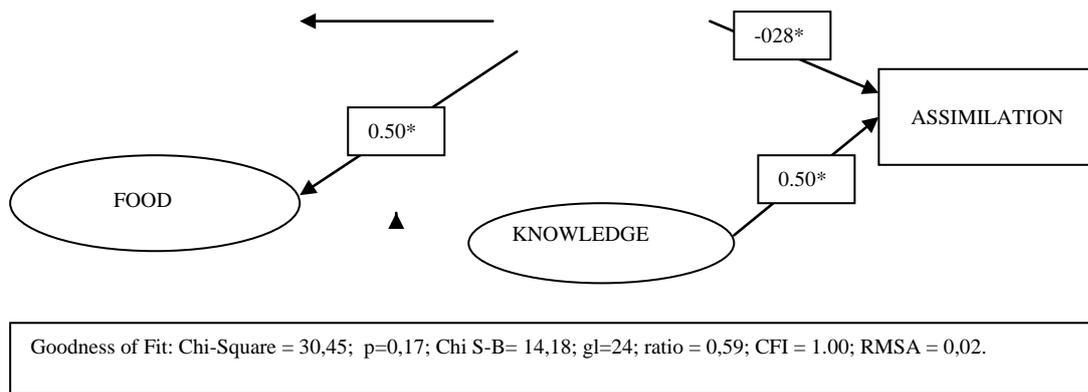
First of all, as mentioned in the conceptual proposal, we introduced only an assimilation indicator. However, we first tested formulations with constructs that combine different items but the confirmatory global adjustment measures suggested we introduce one single item. Respondents established their degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement "*I prefer to adapt to Spanish customs and living like the Spanish*". Second, we could not find the multivariate normality conditions. Therefore, we have applied the robust model that EQS offers.

In relation to CFA, the model satisfactorily fits the data as the measurement scale for acculturation has gone beyond the dimensionality, validity and reliability requirements, which means that it can be used to estimate the structural model. Figure 2 includes the results of the structural model. Each indicator shaped by each of the acculturation dimensions was significant. The goodness of fit indicators, which indicate that the model is appropriate, appear at the bottom of the figure. The parameters are significant to 1% when applying the robustness test.

FIGURE 2

Empirical model for antecedents of acculturation





As regards the non-metric variables that could influence assimilation, we applied a multivariate anova test. The F obtained from the Levene test is 2.053 with a $p=0.0000$. Therefore, the means for the item are statistically different in the whole model. Table 4 shows the results. Length of stay was the only variable that is non-significant. The rest of the variables proposed (nationality, studies, children in their own country and nationality of their three best friends) are statistically significant.

The segment from 41-50 is the one that shows a larger preference for adapting to Spanish culture. Moreover, young people (under 30 years old) are least assimilated. As regards nationalities, there are also differences, with people from Ecuador and Peru being more adapted than those from Bolivia and Colombia. The level of studies shows an inverse effect on assimilation with the less educated people being the ones that prefer to adapt the most. If they do not have children in their own country they are more willing to adapt. Finally, friends' nationality is also an acculturation factor since people who have friends amongst all nationalities including Spanish are more adapted to Spanish culture.

TABLE 4

Influence of categorical socio-demographic variables in assimilation

AGE		NATIONALITY		STUDIES		CHILDREN IN MY OWN COUNTRY		NAC. OF FRIENDS	
<30	2.23	Bolivia	2.42	Primary	2.78	Yes	2.31	From my country	2.29
31-40	2.50	Colombia	2.23	Secondary	2.40	No	2.64	Only Latinos	2.30
41-50	2.60	Ecuador	2.64	University	2.34			All of them	2.65
>51	2.48	Peru	2.57						
F=4.620***		F= 5.028 ***		F= 6.991 ***		F= 10.46***		F=8.259 ***	

Note: *** Significant at 99% confidence level

Conclusions

Nowadays, 12% of the population in Spain are foreigners (INE, 2010). Nevertheless, the latest figures point to a slowdown because of the economic crisis. For example, the Report of Foreign Population registered in the Madrid Autonomous Region reveals that the arrival of immigrants into the region was reduced by 80% in 2009 as compared to 2008 (CM, 2009). Despite this fall, the presence of a large group of foreign people living in certain geographical areas has become consolidated in recent years. Therefore, it is important to research whether they have adapted to Spanish culture or not and explain which factors provide the background to their adaptation.

The main contribution of this study is the validation of an acculturation scale that integrates all the steps previously set out in the literature. Moreover, the relationships among different constructs have been verified by a structural model. Therefore, the relationship between identity and assimilation is negative, so that the larger the first one is (ethnic pride, maintenance of traditions as well as accent and vocabulary) the less adaptation is. In contrast, cultural competence or knowledge (cultural news, music and events of the destination country) has a positive relationship with the culture assimilation of the mainstream country. This means that the more the individual is informed about his/her host country, the higher is his/her adaptation to Spanish culture. On the other hand, there is another dimension that previous literature considered to be the direct background of assimilation: behaviour. For us, identity also shapes behaviour. Accordingly, the two factors related to behaviour (affiliation-celebrations and food) are a consequence of ethnic identity. We have not found a significant direct relationship between behaviour and assimilation.

In addition, all the categorical socio-demographic variables except length of stay have a role in the adaptation of immigrants, with Ecuadorians and Peruvians being best adapted in middle age, with primary studies, no children in their own country and friends from different nationalities.

International and managerial implications

In our model, we have eliminated a major barrier to the successful adaptation of an individual to a destination country: language. This is one of the most interesting aspects of studying the assimilation level of the Latin American group in Spain. Although there are differences in language, Latin Americans do not come across this obstacle when adapting to Spanish society. Considering immigration to Spain as a case study while working with the Hispanic segment, our conclusions can be translated into migratory movements of other groups, countries or nationalities that have the same language.

So far no research on acculturation has focused on study groups that use a common language. Therefore, our work is the first one that takes this feature that we believe is particularly interesting since it can be established as an initial case study that applies to other situations or contexts in which there is no such barrier such as:

- Migration from African, Asian or Latin American countries that have a first or second language such as French, or Portuguese, to France or Portugal or such as English to the U.S. or Great Britain.
- Migration between Arab countries, who can use a common language but with different dialects in each nation

- Internal migration between countries with a large size and subject to large internal migrations, such as China or India

Limitations and future research

The main limitation of this research is that we have only included the variables that could be measured with a metric scale. Our questionnaire has diverse questions related to socio-demographic variables, length of stay, perceived discrimination, nationality of relatives, etc., with our purpose for future research being to test the influence of these variables by building a multi-group factor analysis. Another objective of future research is to compare the shopping and media behaviour of Latin American immigrants with the Spanish population. Nevertheless, we first had to develop a valid and reliable scale in order to undertake future studies and this objective has been fulfilled with this study. We have also answered the three questions that we raised when we began the research. Hence, 1) the factors that can be included in an acculturation scale are identification, knowledge and behaviour, 2) These constructs are not at the same level, with identification and knowledge being the antecedents of assimilation, and behaviour (food and others) a consequence of identity, and 3) the effect of identity on assimilation is negative and the effect of knowledge on assimilation is positive. Moreover, our final conclusion refers to the important role that cultural identity plays, since it is the central construct of an acculturation scale, conditioning behaviours and adaptation.

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