

2014

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Recommended Citation

Lucko, Jennifer, "'Here your ambitions are illusions': Boundaries of Integration and Ethnicity Among Ecuadorian Immigrant Teenagers in Madrid" (2014). *Education | Faculty Scholarship*. 4.
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JENNIFER LEE

“HERE YOUR AMBITIONS ARE ILLUSIONS”:

BOUNDARIES OF INTEGRATION AND ETHNICITY AMONG ECUADORIAN IMMIGRANT TEENAGERS IN MADRID

With the publication of the Common Agenda for Integration in September 2004, the European Commission declared that it was making “a major commitment” to integration, which it ambitiously defined as “a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.”¹ In an uncanny coincidence, just weeks later, the French government declared a state of emergency in response to a wave of violent protests occurring primarily in marginalized Arab and African neighborhoods outside of Paris. Sparked by the deaths of two teenage boys of North and West African descent who were electrocuted while hiding from the police in a power station, the riots continued for twenty consecutive nights and resulted in 1,000 torched cars and 2,000 arrests.² In neighboring Spain, a country only recently experiencing large-scale immigration movements, the international attention given to second- and third-generation youth rioting against the French police prompted widespread discussions about the integration of immigrant children in Spain, particularly among Spanish professionals committed to building an inclusive democratic society.

This study analyzes the relationship between a discourse of integration in the European Union and the ways in which the ethnic boundaries of segregated social groups of immigrant children are conceptualized in one working-class and immigrant neighborhood in Madrid, Spain. My argument is that the pervasive discourse of integration in the European Union is central to a racialized process of subject formation occurring in Madrid through which the children of immigrants come to be recognized as ethnic outsiders in Spanish society. I use qualitative data gathered during sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork among Ecuadorian immigrant teenagers—collected between 2004 and 2006—to illustrate the unintended effects of European efforts to promote the integration of immigrants in member states. On the one hand, I explore how the discourse of integration as it is commonly used among Spanish professionals works to uphold the widespread perception that Ecuadorian teenagers’ unsuccessful attempts to establish Spanish friendships and their subsequent participation in segregated social groups is “their” failure to integrate with “us.” On the other hand, I trace the struggles of Ecuadorian teenagers in the process of coming to recognize themselves as ethnic outsiders in Madrid. What stands out in this ethnographic study is that the discourse of integration not only shapes how Spanish professionals come to understand the ethnic boundaries dividing social groups of children, but also frames the ways in which Ecuadorian teenagers experience their social marginalization.

My study draws on frameworks that theorize discourse as a system of thought, embedded within historical and material structures of power, which produces its own subject. By analyzing in ethnographic detail how discursive forces intertwine with material constraints to shape the subjectivity of immigrant children in Madrid, this study helps to explain how racialized colonial and postcolonial socioeconomic hierarchies are reproduced in current immigration scenarios. My aim is to demonstrate crucial processes of racialization that remain hidden in

official immigration policies and hegemonic discourses that problematize and stigmatize immigrants. To this end, I document how the discourse of integration eclipses the structural inequalities created by Spanish immigration laws that lead to the social, political, and economic marginalization of Ecuadorian teenagers. Instead, the assumption that integration is an inclusive social process—as well as the perception that immigrants are responsible for their participation in this process—frame how Spanish professionals working with immigrant children make sense of the ethnic boundaries forming in their schools and neighborhoods. Equally important, the same assumptions established through official immigration policies and taken up by Spanish professionals are central to the context in which Ecuadorian teenagers must struggle against their political, economic, and social marginalization. As Johnson (2001) explains, “when you name something, the word draws your attention to it, which makes you more likely to notice it as something significant.”⁴ On the other hand, without naming it becomes difficult, if not “impossible to talk about what’s really going on and what it has to do with us.”⁵ Furthermore, and particularly significant to the context of this study, the power to name is not equally distributed, since occupying either a powerful or powerless position will influence a person’s ability to be heard.

In Spain, the use of integration is ubiquitous in the policies and procedures of public institutions, non-profit agencies, churches, and schools, and many Spanish professionals uphold the ideal of integration as an inclusive social process in a democratic society. Nonetheless, a discussion of integration always implies that fundamental differences must exist between individuals—otherwise there would be no need for some people to integrate (or be integrated) into the larger society. These differences, moreover, are often understood in terms of deficits that need to be overcome in order to integrate into the Spanish culture and way of life. Thus, when integration fails it is generally the immigrant child who is held accountable for the ethnic boundaries of society—as the immigrant must be willing to engage in the project of integration due to his or her difference. However, the focus on personal responsibility and the inability of immigrant children to integrate—rather than the larger social forces that come to produce the distinction between “native” and “immigrant” children—leads many Spanish professionals to gloss over the striking inequalities differentiating immigrant children from their Spanish peers in favor of circular arguments about the insurmountable cultural differences of immigrants and their children. Indeed, I often heard people reason that it was “normal” [a normal tendency] for youth to segregate themselves because of their cultural differences and, at the same time, explain that these children could only be expected to perpetuate the cultural values and practices of their parents because they remained segregated from other Spanish youth. These children, many Spanish professionals infer, must be either unwilling or incapable of full participation in Spanish society.

For the Ecuadorian teenagers who I came to know during my fieldwork, however, the process constituting their subjectivity was more complex than Spanish professionals generally assumed. These teenagers aspired to full participation in Spanish society and hoped to follow the same social, professional, and economic trajectories as their Spanish peers. Yet as they attempted to pursue their ambitions, they became keenly aware of the many forces constraining their ability to participate in Spanish social activities. Unable to confront the larger structural inequalities

differentiating them from their Spanish peers and with little power to publicly name social and economic arrangements contributing to their oppression, many teenagers resigned themselves to their social segregation and began to recognize themselves as ethnic outsiders in Madrid. Compounding this complexity, they often experienced a sense of shame or embarrassment at their own social, political, and economic marginalization and felt compelled to hide the hardships they were experiencing from their Spanish peers. Ultimately, regardless of whether they accepted responsibility for their social segregation or fought against it, they were forced to act within a context that simultaneously celebrates the possibility of a more inclusive democratic society and holds these teenagers largely responsible for this future.

Since the completion of my fieldwork, the dramatic downturn in the Spanish economy in 2008 has drastically altered the economic and sociopolitical landscape in Madrid. Despite these changes, this historic case example occurring during the height of Ecuadorian immigration to Spain is useful for understanding two perplexing questions concerning Latin American immigrants today. First, by tracing the process by which Spanish teachers and service providers come to perceive the children of Latin American immigrants as possessing insurmountable cultural differences I explain why, despite a shared language and colonial history, these children are increasingly positioned as ethnic outsiders in Spain. Second, this study suggests that economic rationality alone does not explain why, in the midst of the current economic crisis, most Latin American immigrants to Spain have chosen to remain and seek work in the widening informal labor market—even with repatriation incentives offered by both the Spanish and Ecuadorian governments. Although continued economic instability in Ecuador, sustained immigrant niches in the Spanish labor market, and the hope for a speedy economic recovery in Europe certainly weigh heavily in an immigrant's decision to remain in Spain, the ethnographic examples in this study illustrate how a discourse of integration becomes implicated in the subjectivity of immigrants in Madrid. Not only do Latin American immigrants imagine their children moving up the socioeconomic hierarchy in Spain in spite of current material constraints, but also a return to Ecuador indicates an individual failure—not a failure of the Spanish state or immigration policies—to advance up the hierarchy.

In what follows, I explore the relationship between a discourse of integration and the subjectivity of Ecuadorian teenagers by tracing two assumptions—that integration is an inclusive social process and that immigrants and their children are responsible for their role in this process—across three levels of analysis. I demonstrate how these common assumptions are grounded in official policies of integration and legal frameworks, circulate among Spanish professionals working with immigrant children, and ultimately frame the context in which immigrant children must struggle to create a better life for themselves in Spain. First, I draw from the work of previous scholars to explain how Spanish immigration law and integration policies create the context of my study. In this overview I highlight the paradox between, on the one hand, a legal framework that creates a cycle of circular irregularity for many Latin American immigrants in Spain and, on the other hand, integration policies explicitly bracket any obstacles connected to illegal status as falling beyond the purview of integration policy. Second, I clarify how my fieldwork site and methods provided the ethnographic lens that brought into relief the relationship between a discourse of integration and the subjectivity of Ecuadorian teenagers.

Third, I turn to ethnographic evidence to examine the myriad ways Spanish professionals in one working class and immigrant neighborhood in Madrid took up the discourse of integration set forth in official policies as they discussed and attempted to understand relationships between immigrants and their Spanish neighbors. Although Spanish professionals employed a discourse of integration in ways that reflected a continuum of beliefs and expectations for integration during my fieldwork, there was a marked tendency to gloss over the striking inequalities created within the legal framework of immigration. Finally, I present an ethnographic case example of an Ecuadorian teenager—caught up within larger structural inequalities that framed her everyday experiences but poorly positioned to name these obstacles in conversations with her Spanish teachers and peers—in the process of coming to recognize herself as an ethnic outsider in Madrid.

COTE OF THE STUDY

Although Spain was primarily a country of emigration for most of the twentieth century, in the first decade of the twenty-first century Spain received more immigrants than any other country in the European Union, and, in 2004, Spain was the second-highest receiver of immigrants in the world (20,000 arrivals) after the United States. This transformation to a country of immigration was extremely rapid and largely unexpected—official statistics document immigrant populations climbing from 402,000 extranjeros (foreigners) in 1992 to 2,04,002 extranjeros in 2002, to 1,040 extranjeros in 2012, or twelve percent of the population. Coinciding with this drastic shift in Spanish immigration patterns, an economic crisis in the country of Ecuador created an unprecedented period of emigration across geographic areas and social classes. 10 As poverty rates jumped from thirty-four to seventy-one percent in the late 1990s, Spain became a primary destination for Ecuadorian immigrants who could enter the country as tourists and overstay their visas. 11 Almost five hundred thousand Ecuadorians immigrated to Spain between 1999 and August 1, 2004, when the Spanish government instituted strict visa requirements for Ecuadorian citizens—by far the largest group of immigrants to Spain from Latin America. 12

Beginning with Spain's first immigration law in 1985, Spanish legislation has consistently required immigrants to secure an employment contract before legally entering the country—a condition that was difficult even during years of strong economic growth due to the absence of connections between employers in Spain and potential immigrant employees, the inadequacy of quota programs, and the lack of resources in Spanish foreign consulates needed to process the immense number of work contracts required in recent years. 13 Instead, the majority of people immigrating to Spain over the last two decades have entered the country without a work contract—either as tourists, as students, or by avoiding border control inspection—and subsequently obtained a job in Spain's vast informal economy, typically estimated to be between twenty to twenty-five percent of GDP. 14

Before immigration legislation in 2004 radically transformed immigration policy in Spain by establishing permanent channels for undocumented workers to obtain legal work and residency permits, undocumented immigrants working illegally in the country could only obtain legal status through government-initiated regularization campaigns. Between 1999 and 2004, over a million

undocumented immigrants working in Spain's informal economy obtained temporary work permits during successive extraordinary regularization campaigns. 1 The largest amnesty provided to undocumented immigrants in Spain occurred between February and May 2000, when nearly 100,000 undocumented migrants applied for work and residency permits, and 11,000 people were granted temporary legal status. 1

The new immigration legislation in effect since 2000, referred to as the Settlement Program, contrasts with previous periodic government amnesties by providing permanent channels for undocumented immigrants to obtain legal status. Although some residency permits are issued to individuals for humanitarian reasons or because an applicant's parents were originally Spanish, the vast majority of applicants in the Settlement Program are required to secure a work contract for one year of duration or prove the existence of prior employment lasting a minimum of one year in order to obtain temporary legal status. Thus, an immigrant's legal right to live and work in the country remains contingent upon his or her ability to secure and maintain a work contract. There are, however, many reasons why immigrants are unable to do so. First, many employers are simply unwilling to give undocumented workers a legal contract. The ethnographic research of Lomares (1999) and Domingo et al. (1999)—conducted in Madrid and Barcelona with immigrants from Latin America, Morocco, and Africa—provide examples of workers who were dismissed from their jobs when they requested a work contract, whose employers refused to grant them a work contract, or who were too afraid to ask for a contract. 1 Second, even when immigrants are able to obtain a work contract their legal status remains temporary and contingent on their employment as the vast majority of work permits must be renewed each year. Since Spanish law mandates that immigrants will only be issued work permits in specific sectors of the economy for jobs that cannot be filled by autochthonous workers, and because these jobs are primarily in agriculture, construction, and domestic labor where the work is usually temporary and more vulnerable to periods of recession, many people lose their work contracts when they become unemployed and are subsequently unable to renew their work permits. Third, immigrant workers are ineligible to renew their work permit if the conditions of the work contract are not upheld throughout the previous year. One common obstacle to renewal occurs when employers do not pay social security taxes for their employees during the year or the employee is hired under the condition that he or she will pay the tax—a common requirement for domestic laborers—and the employee is unable to pay.

The inability to secure an initial work contract or maintain a work contract confines many people to illegal status and subsequent work in the underground Spanish economy. The “3D” occupations most commonly obtained in the underground economy—so called for being dirty, dangerous, and demanding—are also undesirable because they have significantly lower wages than jobs in the formal economy, do not include social security benefits, are often temporary, and hold no guarantees of future employment. 1 Moreover, recent evidence suggests that the current downturn in the Spanish economy has contributed to an increase in circular irregularity (i.e., moving from illegality to legality to illegality) as documented immigrants unable to maintain work permits lapse into illegal status and re-enter the underground economy. 1 In Barcelona, for example, forty percent of applicants who were granted legal permits in 2000 were denied renewal one year later due to their inability to maintain a work contract. 20

Ultimately, an immigrant who is unable to maintain a work contract and annually renew his or her temporary work permit is ineligible for citizenship. For most immigrants to Spain, citizenship can only be obtained after five years of continuous work and residency permits. However, Spanish law provides an exception to Latin American citizens who may apply for citizenship after the second renewal of their residency permit, i.e., after two years of continuous work and residency permits. Although two years is a relatively short period of time, the hardship of obtaining and maintaining work contracts nevertheless results in a fluctuation of people moving from legal status to illegal status—particularly during periods of economic recession. In Barcelona, for example, between 2004 and 2007 nearly a third of applicants from Latin America (28.1 percent) who had been granted legal status in Barcelona with a Labour Settlement permit lapsed back into irregularity after one year. 21

Scholars studying the recent phenomenon of large-scale immigration to Spain have soundly criticized the focus on integration within the European Union, arguing that integration is essentially impossible for the many undocumented immigrants in Spain who are caught in a cycle of circular irregularity and unable to obtain and maintain official work permits. 22 Indeed, the distinction between legal and illegal immigrants has been a cornerstone in EU integration policy since the Tampere Summit in October 1999—the follow-up summit to the Treaty of Amsterdam that established the European Community—when the Tampere Council requested a “vigorous integration policy” with the aim of “granting legally resident third country nationals rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens” (emphasis added). 23 In response to the Tampere Council, in November 2004 the Justice and Home Affairs Council adopted eleven Common Basic Principles (CBPs) that provided the foundation for a European framework for integration. These principles specifically emphasize that participation in the democratic process and equal access to employment opportunities, education, institutions, and public services are fundamental to integration (CBPs 1, 2, 3, 4), but do not address how undocumented immigrants or their children can be included in these identified mechanisms of integration.

The following year the European Commission published The Common Agenda for Integration to provide a framework for member states working to implement the CBPs. In the words of the European Commission, the expansive Common Agenda for Integration “demonstrates that the Commission is giving integration a high place on its policy agenda.” 24 The framework includes National Contact Points of Integration to facilitate communication between member states, three Handbooks of Integration (published in 2004, 2007, and 2010) that offer practical information on integration to practitioners, a European website on Integration (launched in 2007), periodic European Integration Forums that allow members of civil society to discuss integration issues with the commission, and an Annual Report on Migration and Integration published by the European Commission. In 2011, a subsequent European Agenda for the Integration of Third Country Nationals recommended continuing the National Contact Points on Integration, the European Integration Forums, and the European website on Integration—furthering the work begun in the Handbooks of Integration through the development of a “flexible tool-box” with practical information on integration for practitioners—and monitoring the effects of immigration

policies using key indicators of integration in the areas of employment, education, social inclusion, and active citizenship. 20

Building on the framework for integration developed by the European Commission, Spain recently implemented its second Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración [Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration] for the years 2011–2014. 21 On the one hand, the Spanish Strategic Plan promotes the European project of integration as an inclusive process for immigrants in Spain:

El resultado que busca la política de integración con este proceso es la consolidación de una sociedad inclusiva, en la que todos los que contribuyen a construirla tengan las mismas oportunidades, se sientan parte de ella y la sientan como suya. [The aim of integration policy is the creation of an inclusive society, in which everyone who contributes in the building of this society has the same opportunities, feels part of it, and feels that it is their own.] 22

Yet on the other hand, the Spanish Strategic Plan establishes legal status as a prerequisite for equal participation in Spanish society and requires immigrants to take responsibility for their legality:

La falta de autorización de residencia o estancia deja a quien tiene la nacionalidad de un tercer país en situación de irregularidad y de gran vulnerabilidad, con graves consecuencias legales, sociales y económicas no se tiene derecho a trabajar, a obtener documentación, a la libre circulación, a la participación pública, a las ayudas en material de vivienda, a las prestaciones de la Seguridad Social, etc. [The lack of authorization to reside or stay in the country leaves third country nationals in a situation of irregularity and high vulnerability, with serious legal, social, and economic consequences one does not have the right to work, to obtain documentation, to free circulation, to public participation, to material aid for housing, social security benefits, etc.] 23

In beginning with the assumption that integration is an inclusive social process and then bracketing the condition of circular irregularity as a problem experienced by “illegal” immigrants, the second Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration eclipses the role of Spanish law and integration policies in racialized processes reproducing post-colonial hierarchies in Spain. As Calafatas (1999) argues, the inevitable impoverishment of immigrants in the illegal economy is what makes them racialized “others” in Spanish society. That is, “the perception of certain immigrants as racially “other” is the consequence of their social, economic, and legal marginalization, rather than its cause.” 29 Likewise, Cachón (2009) explains that the subjectivity of immigrants derives not only from the dual condition of being both trabajadores [workers] and extranjeros [foreigners] but also from the marco institucional discriminatorio [discriminatory institutional framework] in which the state has the power to establish borders and “administer” (i.e., recognize, guarantee, and deny) the rights of individuals. 30

The ethnographic research of Suárez (2004) provides a case example demonstrating the effects of Spanish immigration policy in a racialized process of subject formation occurring among Moroccan immigrants in a small Andalusian village in the 1990s. ¹ In her work, Suárez considers how Spanish citizenship and legal status were central in the construction of ethnic boundaries between Spanish and Moroccan day laborers. In the 1990s and 2000s, Spanish and Moroccan workers participating in guest-worker programs in the northern European countries of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium had shared common experiences of marginalization and stigmatization as “southern” outsiders. Since the passage of immigration law reform in 1990, however, Spanish immigration law has worked to constitute Moroccan immigrants as a “problem” in Spain by establishing their illegality. Suárez documents how labor inspections in Andalusian villages to enforce the recently established 1991 visa requirement for Moroccans contributed to new understandings of European ethnicity and citizenship rights in Andalusia that emerged along racial and ethnic lines.

In the following ethnographic material, I extend this literature by examining how the assumption that integration is an inclusive social process—as well as the perception that immigrants are responsible for their participation in this process—frame the ways in which Spanish professionals make sense of the ethnic boundaries emerging in Spain and ultimately become implicated in a process by which immigrant youth come to recognize themselves as ethnic outsiders. The lived experiences of these teenagers, however, are situated within a much longer history of interethnic relationships in which segregated and socially excluded groups of young people have been positioned as ethnic outsiders in Spanish society. Indeed, immigrant teenagers in Madrid enter an educational system that has historically excluded, segregated, or attempted to assimilate ethnic minority children. ² During the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975), for example, Romani children, while not explicitly prohibited from the educational system, experienced low educational enrollment and high drop-out rates due to assimilatory models of education, a noncompulsory schooling policy, and a profoundly unequal educational system polarized between overcrowded, poorly funded public schools and elite private Catholic schools. ³ Moreover, it was not until the Organic Law for the General Organization of the Education System in 1970 (Ley Orgánica de Organización General del Sistema Educativo, or LOGSE) that the Spanish educational system was fundamentally reorganized to include all children in mainstream schools and support students who had experienced educational inequality through compensatory programs. ⁴ In the next section, I explain how my fieldwork site and methods provided the ethnographic lens to consider how the emergence of a discourse of integration in Spain at the end of the twentieth century, coinciding with the dramatic shift in immigration patterns to Spain, undergirds the continued reproduction of racialized colonial and postcolonial socioeconomic hierarchies among young people currently living in Madrid.

FIELDWORK SITE AND METHODS

I conducted sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in the working-class and immigrant neighborhoods of Ciudad Lineal district in Madrid between July 2004 and June 2006. Ecuadorian women first began to move to the southern neighborhoods of Ciudad Lineal in the late 1990s to work in the wealthy northern homes of the district, cooking, cleaning, or caring for children and the elderly. In 2006, Latin American immigrants constituted twelve percent of the total population of Ciudad Lineal (sixty percent of immigrants living in the district) with

Ecuadorians (14,000) greatly outnumbering Colombians (2,002), Peruvians (1,000), Bolivians (1,240), and Dominicans (1,100). 00

The extended period of time necessary for ethnographic research allowed me to trace the trajectory of friendships among Ecuadorian teenagers and develop close relationships important for discussing intimate topics such as a person's sense of belonging or feelings of isolation. During three separate visits to Madrid, I conducted participant-observation and interviews with Ecuadorian teenagers, their friends, families, teachers, and neighbors in homes, schools, churches, neighborhood parks, plazas, nightclubs, restaurants, after-school programs, and community centers. I befriended individual families through my attendance at an immigrant support group, participation in schools, volunteer work at an after-school center, or through snowball sampling as my network of relationships expanded. Open-ended conversations about my research led to invitations to homes and social events, and in return for assistance with my research I offered to tutor children with their studies.

Fieldwork in schools was a central component of my research that was facilitated by my affiliation with the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Spanish Council for Scientific Research) and introductions from Spanish researchers at the council. I first completed three months of preliminary research (February 2000-April 2000) at three high schools in different districts of Madrid (Mallecas, Latina, and Chamberí). During this time I visited each high school once a week for approximately four hours—observed classes—conducted informal interviews with teachers before and after class, during coffee breaks, and while eating lunch with the teachers—and chatted with students during classroom activities, on the recreational yard, and during lunch. When I returned to Spain for eleven months of fieldwork during the 2000–2001 academic year in Ciudad Lineal, I centered my fieldwork within one elementary school (October 2000–April 2001) and one secondary school (January 2000–June 2001) in the district. During this time I visited each school once or twice a week and, while my involvement in the schools initially followed the same format as during my preliminary research, I was able to develop closer relationships with teachers and students as well as engage in ongoing topics of discussion that deepened my understandings of the complex issues of integration facing Ecuadorian immigrant children.

Throughout my research, my relationships with teachers, Ecuadorian teenagers, and their family members were mediated by my status as a white, female student who had returned to graduate school after working as an elementary school teacher in California public schools (when I had initially begun to study the Spanish language). Teachers were interested in my work with immigrant students in the United States, and we often discussed our experiences as teachers. When I visited families in their homes, I was almost always included in female activities—working in the kitchen with mothers, gossiping with teenage girls at home, completing errands outside of the home—but only rarely invited to participate in male social groups. For this reason, my analysis is rooted in my relationships with female teachers who considered me a colleague, immigrant women who treated me as a friend, and teenage girls who positioned me as a member of their peer group and identified me as una joven (a young person).

My findings are drawn from detailed field notes compiled at the end of each day and a series of recorded and transcribed interviews that I conducted with my nine primary participants (P1s) from six different families (F1 through F6). Upon completion of my fieldwork, I coded my field notes and interview transcripts using a grounded theory approach. The chart below indicates each of my primary participants' ages on arrival in Madrid (AOA), length of residence when we met (LOR), grade level when we met (educación primaria [primary education] includes children six to twelve years old and educación secundaria obligatoria or ESO [obligatory secondary education] includes children thirteen to sixteen years old), attendance at a public school or concertado (a private school largely subsidized with public funds), and mother's and father's employment in Madrid.

P1	AOA	LOR	Grade/School	Mother's Work	Father's Work
F1 Isabel	10	1	2nd ESO/Public	Domestic Labor	Unemployed
F2 Ana	12	2	2nd ESO/Concertada	Domestic Labor	—
F3 Blanca	10	0	1st ESO/Public	Restaurant Work	Street Vending
F4 Carmen	12	0	Dropped out	Restaurant Work	Street Vending
F5 Diego	0	0	1st primaria/Public	Hotel Work	Construction
F6 Camila	0	0	1st primaria/Public	Domestic Labor	Construction
F7 Paloma	11	0	3rd ESO/Concertado	Domestic Labor	Construction
F8 Maria	0	4	1st primaria/Public	Domestic Labor	Construction

It is important to note several defining characteristics of my subject group. First, none of the family members had status as a permanent legal resident, and the legal status of various members of the families was continually in flux. Second, all of the parents of my primary participants held working-class jobs in Ciudad Lineal. Third, while the families I came to know best during my fieldwork were all members of the working class in Spain whose legal status made obtaining secure work precarious, at the same time, they considered themselves to be from the middle-class in Ecuador (e.g., one family had operated a restaurant, another owned a grocery store with extended relatives, one father had driven a taxi) and maintained goals of integrating into the Spanish middle class with time and hard work. My conclusions regarding the experiences of immigrant teenagers in this working-class neighborhood, therefore, should not

be extended to children from Latin American families who have Spanish citizenship, secure legal status, or middle-class status in Spain.

EXPECTATIONS FOR INTEGRATION: SPANISH PROFESSIONALS DREAM OF AN INTEGRATED SOCIETY

I had been conducting fieldwork in Ciudad Lineal for several months when the 2005 Paris rioting brought the ideal of an integrated society to the forefront of casual conversations. Across Spain, spectacular images of burning cars and rioting youth in Parisian suburbs were displayed continuously on television newscasts and the front pages of newspapers, while guests of television talk shows discussed the possible spread of violence across Europe. In one newspaper widely distributed during the morning rush hour, for example, readers discovered the sensationalist headline, “Hoy Paris, Mañana Europa” [“Today Paris, Tomorrow Europe”] placed next to an erupting volcano with lava splashing onto a city skyline. As daily accounts of the Paris rioting continued, Spanish professionals working with the children of immigrants were interested in comparing the trajectory of recent immigration movements to Spain with the situation facing the marginalized and socially excluded second-generation immigrant youth living in the segregated suburbs of Paris. Would the sudden wave of immigration to Spain inevitably lead to violent outbreaks in their own neighborhoods? Were recent immigrants in need of increased social services to prevent conflict in Spanish communities?

In conversations about integration during the weeks of the 2005 Paris rioting, I found that Spanish professionals generally maintained several expectations for the children of immigrants as they considered the possibilities for a future Spanish society. First, there was a strong consensus among Spanish professionals that the integration of the children of immigrants into Spanish communities is vital for creating a secure society where all members are treated equally and with respect. That is, there was a widespread assumption that the children of immigrants will follow a logical trajectory of integration for their own benefit and to ensure the greater good of Spanish society. On the rare occasions when people openly criticized the project of integration, I found that it was typically based on a deep, personal understanding of the difficulties facing undocumented immigrants. One such critique of integration surfaced during a meeting at the Centro de atención social a inmigrantes [Center of Social Attention for Immigrants]. As one social worker was discussing the various services that were provided at the center to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the neighborhood, the center’s psychologist interrupted her colleague to interject that integration was an impossibility for the majority of her clients because they were unable to secure work contracts necessary to obtain legal status. Yet the psychologist was decidedly a minority in her position. For most people in Ciudad Lineal, the Paris rioting brought into relief the critical importance of creating an integrated society during this period of unprecedented immigration to Spain.

A second expectation held by many Spanish professionals was that the children of immigrants must actively participate in the process of integration and, if necessary, change their behaviors in order to adapt to the Spanish way of life. During a conversation at a secondary school, for example, one teacher asserted that if she moved to a Muslim country, “Llevaría el pañuelo para

dar respeto. Aquí igual, deben seguir nuestras normas, nuestra cultura” [I would wear a headscarf to show respect. The same here, people should follow our norms, our culture.]

Moreover, during my fieldwork I found that when Spanish teachers or Spanish professionals working with immigrant children engaged in discussions about the differences between immigrant and Spanish children, or Spanish and immigrant families, it was not unusual to discuss these differences in terms of deficits. In one interview with a social worker who worked with a primarily Latino clientele, for example, the woman informed me that the Latino culture is not as “evolucionado” [evolved] as the Spanish culture. She elaborated that Latinos are very religious, sexist, and have many children—unlike Spanish people. On another occasion, a Spanish woman explained to me that South Americans have a “cultura baja” [low culture]. She went on to describe how it is nearly impossible to have a conversation with South Americans because Spanish people and Latinos do not have a common basis of understanding.

Once difference is recognized as being a deficiency of the immigrant person, people generally expect immigrants to make any necessary changes to their behaviors in order to integrate—even if immigrants must possess the individual wherewithal to overcome existing (albeit regrettable) inequalities during this process. This is not to suggest that Spanish professionals do not understand the important role of Spanish citizens in the course of integration or are insensitive to the negative effects of racism, inequality and discriminatory practices on a child’s ability to integrate. Nevertheless, there is a common tendency to focus on the behaviors of the immigrant child rather than larger social, political, and economic forces that structure the processes creating ethnic boundaries between segregated social groups of children.

A third expectation common among Spanish professionals pertained specifically to the children of Latin American immigrants. Despite comments about the “unevolved” or “low” culture of immigrants from Latin America, people generally expected their children to integrate more quickly and easily into Spanish society in comparison to children from other immigrant groups. People reasoned that most Latin American children shared a common language, religion, and many cultural traditions with their Spanish peers, and therefore should be able to quickly learn Spanish values and norms as they integrate into Spanish society. One Spanish teacher explained:

En 20 años, no se podrá distinguir el hijo de un inmigrante latino de los niños españoles. Los marroquíes no se pueden integrar porque su cultura y su lengua son diferentes, pero los niños latino americanos serán integrados completamente. [In 20 years you won’t be able to distinguish the children of Latin American immigrants from Spanish children. Moroccans can’t integrate because their culture and language is different, but Latin America children will be completely integrated.]

When these widespread expectations—that immigrant children will follow a logical trajectory of integration for their own benefit and the greater good of Spanish society, that immigrant children must discard their different or deficient behaviors in order to do so, and that the children of Latin American immigrants will be able to quickly and easily integrate into Spanish society—people were often confused and frustrated when the children of Latin American immigrants participated

in segregated social groups. One high school teacher supervising a recreational break between classes pointed out the various ethnically segregated groups of students to me and lamented:

Los chicos están completamente separados en el patio, los latinos, los rumanos, los españoles, ¿qué podemos hacer si se segregan cada vez que tienen la oportunidad? The kids are completely separated on the yard, the Latinos, the Romanians, the Spanish. What can we do if they segregate themselves every time they have the opportunity?

In what follows, I highlight the structural forces leading to the formation of ethnic boundaries between segregated social groups of teenagers in Ciudad Lineal that were typically overlooked due to common expectations for the children of immigrants. It is important to note that during my fieldwork I generally found Spanish teachers to be very sympathetic to personal hardships their students experienced as immigrants in Madrid. These teachers attempted to support individual students by privately encouraging them to work hard and persevere with the hope that immigrant children would ultimately overcome existing inequalities. At the same time, however, I found that many Spanish teachers, neighborhood residents, and classmates were critical of Ecuadorian teenagers for segregating themselves and failing to participate in Spanish social groups. Many came to the conclusion that Ecuadorians were unwilling or simply incapable of integration due to the overwhelming cultural differences of their ethnic background.

BECOMING AN ETHNIC "OTHER": A CASE EXAMPLE

In the fall of 2004, at the same time that I was watching images of burning cars on television and discussing rioting Parisian youth with Spanish teachers and social service providers, I was also strengthening my relationships with several Ecuadorian teenagers enrolled in the after-school programs and schools where I was conducting fieldwork. In this section I present a case example of one Ecuadorian teenager in order to trace in ethnographic detail how the discourse of integration intertwines with the material constraints in children's lives to position them as ethnic outsiders in Madrid. I regularly visited Ana and her family—usually several times each week—during the 2004–2005 academic year and conducted participant-observation at her secondary school between January and June 2006. Ana's experiences exemplify racialized processes constructing the children of immigrants as ethnic outsiders, first, because the drastic hardships Ana was experiencing in her life had obvious effects on her efforts to make friends with her Spanish peers, and second, because her own poignant analysis of her life in Madrid reveal the imbricated layers of frustration, disappointment, and resignation in her emergent subjectivity as an ethnic outsider in Madrid. I argue that Ana came to recognize herself as an ethnic outsider through a process specific to the current historical context of Madrid in which the possibility of a more inclusive democratic society is widely celebrated—and immigrant children are considered largely responsible for this future. Yet while I focus on Ana's story below it is important to note that her experiences were not unique among the primary participants in my study. Each of these teenagers was engaged in a struggle against their marginalized position as ethnic outsiders in their schools and neighborhoods as they attempted to reconcile the tension

between their own hopes for social integration and the larger structural forces constraining their ability to participate in Spanish society.

Ecuadorian Teens Attempt Social Integration

The ideal of an integrated society that was brought to the forefront of casual conversations during the Paris rioting mirrored the everyday discourse of integration ubiquitous in schools, churches, government-sponsored programs, and nonprofit organizations working with immigrant youth in Ciudad Lineal. The after-school program at a neighborhood school listed as one of its primary goals “mejorar la integración de los adolescentes en el ámbito educativo” [improve the integration of teenagers in educational contexts]. A local church hung a large poster at the main entrance proclaiming, “nos encontramos ante el proceso de la integración” [we find ourselves in a process of integration, with the word “integration” written over the crossed-out word “immigration”]. The government of Madrid organized a conference for educators entitled, “Jóvenes latinos: estrategias socioeducativas para su integración desde el ámbito local” [Young Latinos: Socio-educational Strategies for their Integration at the Local Level]. The organizations serving the large immigrant population in Ciudad Lineal were clearly aligned with the European Framework for Integration and the Spanish Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration—the concept of integration was ever-present in institutional policies and practical guidelines addressing the needs of immigrant youth.

While Ecuadorian teenagers were certainly familiar with the word *integración*, unlike the professionals working in their schools and after-school programs, this was not a term they used in their everyday conversations. Nevertheless, there were several ways Ecuadorian teenagers signaled their awareness of and sensitivity to the expectations of their Spanish teachers, neighbors, and peers to integrate into Spanish social groups. Not only were these teenagers keenly aware of the increased social status afforded to immigrant teenagers who develop Spanish friendships, but also many sensed that their long-term personal and professional opportunities could be expanded with integration into Spanish social networks. Indeed, throughout my research it was common for Ecuadorian teenagers to highlight the social activities they had participated in with their Spanish peers when I raised questions about their friendships in Madrid. While further ethnographic research revealed that the Ecuadorian teenagers in my study were largely segregated from their Spanish peers, it is important to note that in my initial conversations with Ecuadorian teenagers about their friendships, or casual conversations with Ecuadorian teenagers in the schools or after-school programs where I was conducting research, teenagers consistently maintained that their friendships were not defined by their ethnicity or national origin, but based on their interests and hobbies in Madrid or individual personalities. It was only after developing a deeper confidence with the primary participants in my study that teenagers began to discuss the difficulties they experienced when attempting to make Spanish friends or confide that, despite their best efforts, they had failed to make long-lasting friendships with Spanish teenagers.

When I first met Ana at her home, for example, she made a point of explaining that she was friends with all the students in her class. I had met Ana’s mother, Cristina, during a support group for immigrant women at the Centro de Atención Social a Inmigrantes [Social Services

Center for Immigrants in September 2001. Cristina invited me to her home with the understanding that she would share stories of her experiences in Madrid to help me with my research project, and in return I would tutor her teenage daughter in English. I soon developed a friendship with both Cristina and her daughter Ana.

In one of our early conversations about her friendships at school Ana explained that she was able to easily make friends with her Spanish classmates. She clarified that due to Spain's colonial history in Ecuador she spoke Spanish as a native language and shared the cultural practices and values of other Spanish teenagers. In subsequent conversations, Ana further aligned herself with her Spanish peers when she made disparaging remarks about Moroccan immigrants or los gitanos [the Roma people, pejoratively referred to as "gypsies"] who, in her opinion, refused to follow Spanish norms and customs.

A comment made by another Ecuadorian teenager during a taped interview effectively illustrates the pervasive belief that Latin American and Spanish teenagers share a common language and culture that facilitates social interaction. In the interview, I asked the teenager to describe any difficulties that she had experienced when communicating with Spanish people, and she responded, "Yo creo que ninguno porque casi el idioma es igual, y nos entendemos muy bien, ellos me entienden y yo los entiendo" [I don't think any because the language is almost the same, and we understand each other very well, they understand me and I understand them]. When I persisted in attempting to solicit examples that illustrated the ethnic boundaries forming between Latino and Spanish teenagers, she argued, "yo creo que aquí, la gente . . . no hay diferencias, se adaptan a lo que hay aquí, a lo que es aquí y ya está" [I believe that here, the people . . . there are no differences, you adapt to what there is here, to what it is here and that's it]. In this teenager's response, she rejected the premise of my question that an immigrant teenager from Latin America would have difficulty making Spanish friends by insisting that her language and immigrant background did not interfere with her ability to interact with her Spanish peers.

However, it was not only the fact that Ana was noticeably eager to highlight her social interactions with Spanish students that led me to conclude that Ana had internalized the discourse of integration in Madrid. On several occasions, Ana also expressed acute discomfort at being recognized as part of a segregated immigrant community. Perhaps most strikingly, one Sunday afternoon when I was talking with Ana in a public park where Ecuadorians regularly gathered together to share a meal, relax, and socialize, Ana remarked, "Te da un poco de miedo, el ver tanta gente del mismo color, de tu mismo país, en un mismo lugar" [It makes you a little afraid, seeing so many people the same color as you, from your country, in one place].

It was clear that day that Ana's reaction to the people in the park was not rooted in a fear of physical violence, but rather stemmed from her fear of being recognized as a member of a racial minority group in Madrid. When I first suggested the idea that we have lunch together and explore the roles of vendors selling their products in the park on Sunday afternoons Ana had blatantly refused to participate (her mother later compelled her to join us). I had not been entirely surprised at her reluctance since the gathering of large groups of immigrants in public

parks and neighborhood plazas was publically discussed as a social problem emerging in the wake of massive immigration movements to Madrid. Like the other Ecuadorian teenagers who had expressed embarrassment or shame when I suggested going to the park (e.g., one teenager remarked, “¡Que Verguena!” [How shameful!]), Ana indicated that participation in the segregated social activities in the park was highly stigmatized in the larger Spanish population. Moreover, Ana’s comment revealed the racialized undercurrent in the discourse of integration that positioned the group as racial outsiders in the city.

I was able to gain considerable insight on Ana’s friendships not only because of the close nature of my relationship with her and her mother that developed in the fall of 2000, but also because Ana introduced me to the principal of her school in January 2000, and I obtained permission to conduct participant-observation at the school for the remainder of the academic year. Although I was able to observe in several different classrooms at the school, I spent the majority of my time in classroom 2B of the ES, where Ana was one of two immigrant students in the class. I generally sat in the back of the classroom during class to observe, although occasionally I was called upon during English lessons to read aloud or to help with a translation. During the recreation periods and breaks between classes I stayed with Ana and participated in her conversations with her friends. The students in this class ranged from thirteen—the typical age for entering the second year of the ES—to sixteen—Ana’s age after her birthday in April.

During my observations I was particularly interested in exploring Ana’s claims about her friendships with her Spanish peers at school. I often observed Ana interacting with her Spanish classmates and witnessed numerous examples of Spanish students attempting to include immigrant students in their social activities. One clear example occurred one morning before class when as I was chatting with Ana about an argument she was having with her close friend, a Bolivian immigrant who was placed in another class. Estefanía, a Spanish student, drifted over to say good morning to us and immediately noticed that Ana was upset. She gently asked Ana what was wrong, but as Ana started to speak she was overcome with emotion and tears came to her eyes. Noticing the delicate situation and the fact that other students in the class were becoming curious about the conversation, Estefanía discretely suggested that the two girls go to the bathroom to talk so that they could find some privacy away from prying eyes. Ana accepted her invitation and the two teenagers hurried away with their heads close together, deep in conversation and obviously confiding in one another.

This girl’s gesture of friendship towards Ana was not unusual in the class. Although not all the students in the class were equally friendly—Ana in fact had numerous examples of exchanges that she interpreted as racist—I often saw girls approach Ana to include her in class activities or simply to start a conversation. Yet I found that even though Ana was friendly with the Spanish girls in her class, she almost always spent her recreational breaks, lunch periods, and time after school socializing with teenage girls from Latin America in other classes at the school. As soon as a break from instruction began, Ana would go off to find the other Latina girls in the high school. On the patio she would stay with this group instead of interacting with the Spanish girls from her own class. There were approximately fifteen Latina teenage girls in the high school—from Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic—that formed a segregated

social group at the school. At times Latina and Spanish girls could speak to one another, but the group of Latina teenagers was always a presence on the school patio that was conspicuously separated from the activities of the other students.

The sharp contrast between the expressed desire of Ecuadorian teenagers to make Spanish friends—as well as the oftentimes friendly overtures of Spanish teenagers—and the clear ethnic boundaries between social groups of students at secondary schools presents a paradox. Why were the students segregated at Ana's school? These segregated social groups of teenagers at Ana's school were an obvious source of frustration among the many teachers who valued the ideal of an integrated society. As quoted above, one teacher at Ana's school once commented to me in dismay, "¿Qué podemos hacer si se segregan cada vez que tienen la oportunidad?" What can we do if they segregate themselves every time they have the opportunity? Many teachers concluded that the immigrant students were choosing to segregate themselves because they were ethnically and culturally different from Spanish students. In fact, Ana and her immigrant friends were struggling against their marginalized position as ethnic outsiders but constrained by larger structural forces in their ability to participate in the social activities of their Spanish peers.

Madrid 2006: Hard Times for Ana and Her Mother

As my relationship with Ana progressed over the course of the school year, our conversations often centered on the nuances of the social relationships at the school (e.g., a discussion about which friend had a crush on a boy, an analysis of a disagreement between friends, an explanation of a teenage crisis with an account of who had been appropriately supportive and who had failed to act as a good friend). Ana enjoyed these opportunities to contemplate the social dynamics at the school, and they provided opportune moments for me to ask Ana to reflect on her friendships. Initially, when I pointed out her obvious tendency to spend time with the other Latina girls at her school and contrasted her behavior with her previous descriptions of her Spanish friendships, she explained that she had recently come to the realization that when she was with Spanish girls she had to behave like a *pija* "snob" and she no longer wanted to act in this way. This was a common term, and I often heard Ecuadorian teenagers and even younger Latin American girls complain that they did not want to play with Spanish students because they were *pijas*. Still, given the friendly nature of many of the girls in her class, I encouraged Ana to expand her analysis over the course of several conversations. After further reflection, Ana told me that she was tired of trying to pretend that she was someone who she was not, and she could only be herself when she was with her Latina friends. She felt that the Spanish girls could never really understand her life and her problems.

Since I was regularly visiting Ana and her mother Cristina several times a week at that time, I recognized that Ana was referring to problems that reached far beyond the realm of understanding for most of her Spanish classmates. Cristina had immigrated to Madrid as a single mother with Ana two years before we met, when Ana was almost thirteen years old. Cristina did not have legal status when I met her and had been unemployed for several months while undergoing treatment for breast cancer. Once she was officially in remission she began visiting the Centro de Atención Social a Inmigrantes to obtain assistance in finding employment.

Due to her illness Cristina and Ana had been living with Cristina's older daughter, Angie, who had previously immigrated to Spain with her husband in search of economic opportunities. There was considerable tension, however, between Cristina and Angie about the shared responsibilities of childcare, cooking, cleaning, and paying rent, and Cristina was eager to find work and a separate apartment where she could live with younger daughter Ana.

In early January 2006, after several months of searching for employment, Cristina found part-time employment as a domestic worker. She earned 600 euros (810) a month for working five hours a day, five days a week. She was required to clean the house, cook and care for a sick and elderly man who lived in the house, be ready to respond to his needs whenever he requested assistance, and take his two large dogs to the park twice a day (a chore she found particularly distasteful). Despite the fact that she felt that she was being exploited, she told me that she could not complain because she could be fired and easily replaced by one of the numerous unemployed Latina women in the neighborhood. She also felt that it was imperative to maintain employment so that she could take advantage of the regularization campaign that was occurring in 2006 and apply for legal status for herself and Ana.

As soon as she was employed Cristina began searching for a new apartment to allow for some autonomy from her older daughter's household. At the end of January 2006, I helped Cristina and Ana move into a different apartment a few blocks from where they had been living. As we moved their belongings into one of the bedrooms it was impossible not to notice the run-down appearance of the apartment. The living area was cluttered and piled with the belongings of the "landlord" (i.e., the person who had signed the lease) who lived in one of the bedrooms with his wife and two-year-old child. Another couple occupied a third bedroom. The six adults in the apartment shared a bathroom with a broken toilet seat and tiny kitchen that could not accommodate more than two people. The small water heater in the apartment required that the occupants constantly negotiate the consumption of warm water for washing dishes, laundry and bathing. In the room that Ana and Cristina rented for 600 euros a month (800), there was only space for the twin bed that they shared, a chest of drawers, and an armoire (there was no closet in the room). When their possessions were piled along the wall next to the chest of drawers there remained only a small hallway that one person could squeeze through in order to reach the armoire at the other side of the room.

Cristina was under an enormous amount of stress as she struggled to pay her bills and buy food for herself and her daughter each month. In addition to the monthly rent of 600 euros, she was required to pay 14 euros for her daughter to attend the semiprivate high school (concertado) that was widely considered to have higher academic standards than the local public high school. At the end of January Cristina also found out that her employer refused to pay any of her social security taxes even though he had promised to pay half of the taxes when she was hired. After the rent, the additional 100 euros in social security tax, and Ana's school fees she was only left with 40 euros (40) per month to buy groceries and other necessities. She felt, however, that it was imperative for her to pay the taxes—not for her own benefit—but because if she did not Ana could lose the possibility of legal residency and the ability to ultimately gain Spanish citizenship.

She was also reluctant to send Ana to the local public school because of the school's poor academic reputation.

The fact that Cristina could not make it to the end of the month on her salary was certainly not due to her lack of effort in trying to find additional employment. Cristina went out nearly every afternoon looking for part-time work in order to supplement her income. Her work permit restricted her to domestic labor, so any additional employment could only be obtained in the underground economy. On several occasions she was hired by a wholesale shop to take two hundred pairs of earrings out of small plastic bags and arrange the earrings onto pieces of thin white cardboard. This work was slow and tedious, since each earring had to be individually fastened onto the piece of cardboard. One evening, Cristina, Ana, and I worked steadily for almost four hours to complete an order from the wholesale store. Cristina was paid 40 euros (€40) for the work, a wage she described as fair because she could complete the work at home with the help of her daughter. Yet Cristina needed to continually search for additional employment because the work was not a steady source of income. In addition to going to different employment agencies every few days to inquire about job possibilities, she attempted to supplement her income using her tailoring skills. The going rate to hem a pair of pants at the time was 2 euros so Cristina put up signs in the neighborhood offering to complete the same work for 4 euros. She also made doll clothes and presented them to neighborhood corner stores for sale. Despite her efforts, she was unable to establish a clientele in either business.

Ana and Cristina spoke openly about their economic difficulties and the stress that was caused by living in such crowded conditions. An excerpt from my field notes provides an example of the stress level in the household:

After school we went back to the apartment and Ana started making rice. Shortly afterwards Cristina came home, and when I asked her about her day she started crying. She said she couldn't find work for the afternoon. She was distraught and said that things are just getting worse for them here, that they are not getting ahead, they are just falling further behind, that she has to borrow money from the landlord each month because she can't pay both her social security and Ana's school fees. She also told me more about work, how it was abusive because she was not allowed to take a break. When Ana tried to console her she sobbed, "Do you think I want to shut myself up (encerrarme) in that house every day?" She also complained that Spanish people don't treat Latinos like humans—they treat them like animals. Fieldnotes, April 1, 200

Given these difficult circumstances it was not surprising that the children of Ecuadorian immigrants were extremely aware of the economic differences between their families and the families of their Spanish peers. During our months of conversations about the social relationships at the school, Ana regularly pointed out examples of social situations that were problematic for her and explained why she could talk openly with her Latina friends in a way that was impossible when speaking to a Spanish girl. For example, with the other Latina girls at her school she did not have to make up excuses about why she could not stop for a drink after school or pretend that she was going to buy a cell phone soon—a nearly universal possession among

her Spanish classmates but an economic impossibility for Ana. She did not have to be embarrassed that her mother worked as a housecleaner or that she never went on vacation during school holidays. She pointed out that her Latina girlfriends also lived in overcrowded, shared apartments, so she did not have to hide the fact that she shared an apartment with two other families. Moreover, due to Cristina's difficulty paying rent and buying groceries, Ana could not participate in any activity with her Spanish peers that involved money. Once, when Ana was discussing the stress of her home life, I foolishly suggested she join the school soccer team to alleviate some of her tension because she had recently told me that she had enjoyed the sport in Ecuador. Ana gave me an incredulous stare before patiently explaining that there were many costs involved with the school soccer team—money was required for the uniform, for travel, for team pictures, for snacks during practices and games—that made her participation in the school team a ridiculous impossibility.

"Here your ambitions are illusions": Ana's Emergent Subjectivity in Madrid

Spanish teachers and professionals—and even more so sensitive and friendly Spanish students like Estefanía—were unprepared to enter into conversation with Ana about the harsh inequalities she was experiencing. In our discussions about the social dynamics at her school Ana was keenly aware of the many forces constraining her ability to participate in Spanish social activities. Yet at the same time, she was ashamed and embarrassed about her living conditions and did not feel that she could discuss her own social, political, and economic marginalization with her Spanish peers. Not once did I observe her initiate a critical conversation about the extreme hardships in her life with her Spanish teachers or peers. I suggest that the discourse of integration, by celebrating the inclusive process of integration and foregrounding the individual responsibility of immigrants in this process, undergirded the pervasive silence surrounding topics of structural inequalities at Ana's school. Unable to confront the larger structural inequalities differentiating her from her Spanish peers and positioned as an ethnic "other" in the school, Ana became resigned to her social segregation—and began to recognize herself as an ethnic outsider in Madrid.

Towards the end of the school year, Ana announced that she wanted to attend the neighborhood public school the following year. During a conversation that I observed between Ana and her mother about her desire to change schools, Ana explained that although she thought that the semiprivate schools demanded more from their students and could provide her a superior education, she wanted to go to a school where the students were "como yo" [like me]. Cristina, however, was openly opposed to the move. She lamented that all of their sacrifices as immigrants had been made so that Ana could receive a good education and obtain professional employment in Spain. At the point of tears, Cristina nearly shouted at her daughter that they hadn't immigrated to Spain to remain poor—they could have stayed in Ecuador if that was the case. From Cristina's perspective, Ana was failing to pursue the middle-class dream they had already worked so hard to obtain.

Ana was noticeably upset by her mother's emotional reaction to her announcement that she wanted to change schools. Like her mother, she knew that transferring to the public high school

could make it increasingly difficult to continue on to the university and eventually obtain professional work. Yet Ana felt that dropping out of the semiprivate school was inevitable. In a private conversation that followed, Ana told me that she was tired of being a minority at her school—of pretending to be someone she was not—and she was confident that she would be able to make more friends at a public school because of the large immigrant student population. She commented that although many of the Spanish girls at her school were “muy majas” [very nice], the Latina girls “me entienden mejor” [understand me better]. Moreover, she confided that she had reached the conclusion that, “Aquí sus ambiciones son ilusiones” [Here your ambitions are illusions]. Ana’s comment indicated that she felt she would never be able to follow the same path as her Spanish peers—she no longer recognized herself as part of an ethnic minority in Madrid.

CONCLUSION

The ethnically segregated social groups of teenagers at Ana’s school were a source of frustration among the many teachers who valued the ideal of an integrated society. For most teachers, a linear trajectory of integration appeared to be a common-sense approach to creating a safe and equitable society during this unprecedented period of immigration. Teachers were therefore genuinely dismayed by the distinct ethnic boundaries at their school and unsure how to respond to the segregated groups of students. Many could only conclude that immigrant children were “normal” teenagers who simply identified with other ethnic outsiders possessing similar cultural differences.

By tracing the social forces that shape segregation and the creation of ethnic boundaries in Ana’s school, I demonstrate that the segregated groups of students were not inevitable or “normal” ethnic divisions of the schoolyard based on cultural difference, but the result of racialized processes by which Spanish and immigrant children came to recognize boundaries of ethnicity between themselves. Elsewhere, I have discussed how intertwined social structures—including educational policies and practices in the Spanish educational system, the influence of racism and discrimination, and the emergent religious practices of Latino youth—become implicated in Ecuadorian immigrant teenagers’ social relationships. Nonetheless I maintain that the stark socioeconomic inequalities resulting from Spanish immigration have created insurmountable obstacles in the widespread efforts of Ecuadorian teenagers to integrate into Spanish social groups and the friendly attempts of Spanish teenagers to include their Ecuadorian peers in social activities.

However, while the severe economic and political hardships experienced by many immigrant teenagers help to explain the social practices of Ecuadorian teenagers, material reality alone does not completely account for the racialized process of subject formation occurring in Madrid. I suggest that a pervasive discourse of integration in Ciudad Lineal not only underlies the common tendency among Ana’s teachers to overlook the social forces contributing to the ethnic boundaries at their school, but also is central to the process by which teenagers come to understand their subjectivity as ethnic outsiders in Madrid. That is, Ana’s subjectivity as an ethnic outsider was constituted within a context that celebrates the possibility of an inclusive democratic society—and holds immigrant children largely accountable for the ethnic boundaries forming between racially and ethnically segregated groups of teenagers.

In Ana's experience, she arrived in Madrid hoping to move up the socio-economic hierarchy in Spain and integrate into the Spanish middle class. She wanted to reposition herself outside of the segregated racial minority group so easily visible in the public park on Sunday afternoons and participate in the social activities of the Spanish students at her school. It was only in struggling with the harsh inequalities that differentiated her from her Spanish peers that Ana became resigned to her social segregation and began to recognize herself as an ethnic outsider amongst the other Spanish students. Despite conflicting feelings of frustration, disappointment, and resignation, Ana made the decision to drop out of the semi-private Spanish school that would better position her to continue on to the university in Spain. Both Ana and her mother considered the neighborhood public school to be a step down in the academic and social hierarchy of secondary schools, and Ana's mother was distraught that Ana was failing to pursue her professional dreams at the better school. Nevertheless, Ana had already come to the conclusion that her ambitions in Spain were illusions—she could follow different educational, professional, and social trajectories from her native-born peers—like the other students enrolled at the neighborhood public school who were, in her words, “como yo” [like me].

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32. For more discussion on this topic, please see Antonio Fernández-Castillo, "Psycho-educative and Socio-political Framework for Intercultural Education in Spanish Schools, Its Limitations and Possibilities," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33 (2009): 183–200. Jordi Garreta Bochaca, "Ethnic Minorities and the Spanish and Catalan Educational Systems: From Exclusion to Intercultural Education," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30 (2006): 211–222. Open Society Institute, *The Situation of Roma in Spain* (Open Society Institute, 2002), <http://www.romadecade.org/files/downloads/general20Resources/EMA20Roma20in20Spain202002.pdf>.

□□. After the end of the Franco regime attempts □ere made to address the e□clusion and forced assimilation of Romani children in Spanish schools. Beginning in 1□□□ and lasting until 1□□□, “Bridge Schools” were designed to meet the specific needs of Romani children with the goal of integration into the larger educational system□in practice these schools □ere poorly e□uipped, entirely segregated, and fe□ children e□er transferred into mainstream schools. See □arreta Bochaca, “Ethnic Minorities and the Spanish and Catalan Educational Systems.”

□4. □nfortunately fe□ schools ha□e been able to successfully implement a compensatory education program that does more than pro□ide additional classes and curricular modifications to target the identified academic deficiencies of lo□-achie□ing students. For more discussion on this topic, please see Miguel Anxo Santos Rego and Sonia Nieto, “Multicultural/Intercultural Teacher Education in T□o Contexts: Lessons from the United States and Spain,” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 1□ (2000): 41□–2□

□□.El Ayuntamiento de Madrid, □lan Madrid de Con□iencia y Di□ersidad (Ayuntamiento publicaciones, 200□).

□□. All names are pseudonyms.

37. “La revuelta callejera en Francia ya abarca todo el país y es más violenta.” *20 Minutos*, □o□ember □, 200□, <http://□□□.20minutos.es/noticia/□2□□□/0/re□uelta/callejera/Francia/>.

38. For a discussion of concertados, please see author Jennifer Dawn Lucko, “Tracking Identity: Academic Performance and Ethnic Identity among Ecuadorian Immigrant Teenagers in Madrid,” *Anthropology and Education □uarterly* 42, no. □ (2011): 21□–2□

□□. See, Jennifer Da□n Lucko, □od, □angs, and □rades: Constructing Identity and Difference Among Ecuadorian Students in Madrid, Spain (□hD dissertation, □ni□ersity of California, Berkeley, 2007); Lucko, “Tracking Identity.”