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Racism: A Teenagers' Perspective Results of Preliminary Research from Madrid, Spain

Teresa Aguado Odina
INTER Group

Belen Ballesteros Vwelazquez
INTER Group

Ines Gil Jaurena
INTER Group

Rosrio Jimenez Frias
INTER Group

Catalina Luque Donoso
INTER Group

See next page for additional authors

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Authors

Teresa Aguado Odina, Belen Ballesteros Vwelazquez, Ines Gil Jaurena, Rosrio Jimenez Frias, Catalina Luque Donoso, Beatriz Malik Lievano, Patricia Mata Benito, Jose Antonio Tellez Munoz, Caridad Hernandez Sanchez, Margarita del Olmo Pintado, and Jennifer Lucko

INTER Group

Teresa Aguado Odina - Belén Ballesteros Velázquez - Inés Gil Jaurena - Rosario Jiménez Frías - Catalina Luque Donoso - Beatriz Malik Liévano - Patricia Mata Benito - José Antonio Téllez Muñoz - Caridad Hernández Sánchez - Margarita del Olmo Pintado - Jennifer Lucko

Racism: A Teenagers' Perspective Results of Preliminary Research from Madrid, Spain

Prologue by Bernd Baumgartl

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Authors and INTER Group¹

UNED. Facultad de Educación

Teresa Aguado Odina - Belén Ballesteros Velázquez - Inés Gil
Jaurena - Rosario Jiménez Frías - Catalina Luque Donoso - Beatriz
Malik Liévano - Patricia Mata Benito - José Antonio Téllez Muñoz

Universidad Complutense. Facultad de Educación

Caridad Hernández Sánchez

CSIC

Margarita del Olmo Pintado - Jennifer Lucko

The INTER Group is conceived as a space for reflection and research into issues of cultural diversity and education. Our point of departure is cultural diversity as a focus of educational discussion and the belief that far from being an exception, it is the norm in all educational settings. Our activities are aimed, firstly, at revising key concepts in education such as culture, quality and educational evaluation. At the same time, we conceptualize and develop the intercultural focus both in its theoretical foundations and its practical implications.

In teaching, we seek to create sensitivity regarding these issues and to propose educational approaches in both formal contexts - compulsory schooling - and non-formal ones such as volunteering or social mediation. The research we conduct is oriented mainly towards gathering evidence concerning these issues.

The immediate predecessor of the INTER Center is the INTER Group, a group of professors and scholarship holders from the Departments of Research and Diagnostic Methods in Education, MIDE I and MIDE II, of the School of Education at the National Distance Education University (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, UNED). The group has become consolidated throughout the period from 1995 to the present. Since 1999, it has been part of the network of research groups of the Community of Madrid (<http://www.madrimasd.org>).

¹ The members of these three institutions belong to the INTER Center of Research in Intercultural Education; UNED Institute of Research (<http://www.uned.es/centrointer>).

The people who form the group are interested in promoting teaching and research in subjects related to cultural diversity and education. These activities imply teaching and/or collaboration in doctoral courses, lifelong training courses, and courses belonging to the degrees offered by the School of Education (www.uned.es/grupointer).

As a result of our participation as coordinators in the INTER Project (Comenius Program of the European Commission), the group has expanded to include people belonging to different Spanish and European institutions. Since the 2002/2003 academic year, the INTER group has been giving a Doctoral Program on "Diversity and Equality in Education" (School of Education, UNED) that has reinforced our collaboration with institutions such as the CSIC (Higher Council for Scientific Research), the UCM (Universidad Complutense of Madrid) and Navreme.

The existence of the Research Institute at the UNED offers us the opportunity for an institutional connection. In February 2005, the creation of the INTER Center for research in intercultural education, assigned to the Research Institute at the UNED (<http://www.uned.es/investigacion/institutos.htm>), was approved.

www.uned.es/grupointer/

*We do not really know why, as the years go by,
we lose the maturity
we had when we were adolescents.*

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This project was carried out thanks to the interest and collaboration of Luz Martínez Ten and Jonatan Pozo, members of FETE-UGT², and to the financing granted to this institution by the Network of Minors, General Directorate of Immigration, Ministry of Work and Social Affairs. Thank you for giving us the chance to get to know this very interesting reality. We know that our collaboration will not end here.

² A teachers' trade union.

0. Denied Racism or Diversified Racialisation in Europe? – A Prologue³

Rejected racism?

Racism in European schools? The mere question often provokes opposition. Racism must not exist in Europe any more! First of all, there is no biological basis for categorizing people according to distinct “races”, which makes it impossible to use the concept when analyzing relations between diverse groups. Second, especially in the EU, the post-war mainstream ideology is one of anti-fascism, anti-communism – and anti-racism. In the pre-amble of its ‘Race Directive’, “the European Union rejects theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races. The use of the term ‘racial origin’ in this Directive does not imply an acceptance of such theories”. Given the rejection of race-based discourses by many Europeans, the findings of the present study by the INTER group⁴ are surprising, and shocking. The interviews carried out in schools in Madrid, Spain, are clear: Youngsters emphatically state that they 1) are exposed to and involved in acts of racism on a regular basis, 2) understood the mechanisms of racist attitudes and behaviours, although they can not explain why racism is present in our society and they do not really know how to cope with racist situations, and 3) - most striking – they do not talk to adults about it, as students contend that adults make racial problems worse. The statements of Spanish students indicate that racism continues to be a European problem. Obviously, although biological human races do not exist, it is equally clear that large numbers of people still behave as if they do.

What Race?

Lopes Peña (1971) has traced the origin of the word *race*. In Medieval Italian the term *razzo* was coined from the ancient French word *haraz* to designate artificial selections in horse breeding. Probably the 12th century Arab word for horse, *faras*, was introduced in France by participants in the Crusades. Other explanations start from the Latin word *ratio*, which developed in late-Latin into *aratiæ* for *reasons*, and then into *type*, *variety*, and *species*. In the 15th century

³ This text has benefited in significant manner from the joint teachings and discussions with Margarita del Olmo Pintado

⁴ The INTER group was formed in Spain in the 1990s, under the lead of UNED (the National University for Distance Education). It launched, and expanded, the INTER project, financed by the Comenius programme of the European Commission, on intercultural education, executed 2002-2005.

See INTER Group 2006 and www.uned.es/grupointer/

the meaning of *raza* in Spain was extended to breeds of dogs, and by the 18th century the term had been redefined and applied anthropologically in order to describe the diversity among human beings. "Race" then became a pseudo-scientific term used in the study of biological, physical or physiognomic differences within the human species, and to support the contention that some sub-groups were genetically superior to others.

Racism?

Although manifold convictions of "traditional" racism still persist, there is scientific consensus that race, as a biological concept, has no relevance to human beings (see Gold, 1981). It has been established that none of the biological and genetic characteristics of human beings can be isolated to define "races", nor can we not draw clear lines between so-called "races", as the differentiation within one "racial group" is much larger than between the three, eight or fifteen "races" that were once "defined". We can only refer to a broader sociological, cultural, or political concept of "race". Moreover, "race" does not have an exclusively biological meaning in all languages (for example the motto of the National University in Mexico UNAM: "Por mi raza hablará mi espíritu" [my spirit will speak for my race], which certainly does not refer to a biological concept of "race"). In order to include the important cultural features that determine our personal and group identity, Lopes Peña (1971) suggested we consider difference in terms of "ethnie" rather than "race".

Racialism?

The terms race, racism and related words nevertheless remain in frequent usage. Racism as "the irrational hatred of others based on colour, religion, language, tradition, culture, ethnic group" (according to the UN definition mostly found in Western Europe and North America, plus their colonies) is a *behaviour*. Racists consider people with physical characteristics different from their own as inferior. In contrast, Todorov (1993) defines racialism as an "*ideology* of diversity and inequality of other ethnic groups, and their relation to biological, genetic [inassimilable] features" (p. 90). Followers of this type of doctrine believe in the significance of "race" and link physical features to a person's or a group's character. Finally, according to the UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights, racial discrimination is an ideology, and racism is the ensuing act of violence.

Neo-racism?

These attempts at definition seek to explain the offensive discourse and violent actions of certain groups against their victims, even if they are no longer based on biological racism. However, because of the vagueness of the term, various

denominations have lately been coined in order to reflect the different nature of contemporary forms of racism: symbolic racism, indirect racism, clandestine racism, and finally, neo-racism (see e.g. Back and Solomos, 2000). Today, instead of espousing hatred of others, the defenders of exclusion call for a *preference national* (Amaducci, 1994). These French neo-racists emphasize diversity instead of the outdated premise of inequality, and feel their nation (no longer their people) is endangered by a different culture (and not "race"). Therefore, also research must move forward "to the explanation of the forms that racism actually takes in our contemporary society" (Solomos and Wrench, 1993, p. 8).

Denied racism?

Does it follow that racism has been simply denied in Europe? Are Europeans tired of dealing with problems of historic guilt and integration? Or is the underlying message that "we are better than the USA", where racism is an omnipresent part of political and public discourses? It has been argued that the root of European difficulties in dealing with "Others" is *xenophobia*, not racism. Fear or dread of others is the main cause for rejecting integration of minority cultures (Baumgartl/Favell 1995). Immigration is reduced to the minimum, the "fortress Europe" is built with ever more zealous eagerness, and multi-culturalism often becomes a 4-letter-word. Hence, Europe is adopting a policy of denying the existence of migration processes and resulting challenges, which have always existed, and will always exist. In contrast, the movement and diversity of people cannot and will not be stopped, however desired this may be for certain groups and ideologies. The youth in Madrid have put their finger into the wound of Europe's main difficulty: diversity exists, it is not properly managed – and hence we have to experience the worst outcome of xenophobia: recurrent acts of racism amongst our children.

Re-emerging racism?

Indeed main-stream policy did not consider racism a major problem in Europe after World War II. The economic upswing and fast pace of development even required the recruitment of foreigners. Only at the end of the century did the crises become more visible: 1989, the European 9/11 (as Timothy Garton Ash [2004] called 9 November 1989, the fall of the Berlin wall). Many old certainties were swept away by the dramatic changes such as the disappearance of the designated enemy (the "Eastern bloc"), the growth of right-wing parties in many (West and East) European countries, the erosion of national states through a strengthening EU and globalisation, the increased movement of people across continents – and the end of the economic booms. These factors, and many more, contributed to profound group identity crises. The need to re-define one's own identities and to differentiate "us" from "them" has been the reaction to

these crises. New justifications, new stereotypes and new exclusions follow suit. The increase in xenophobia across Europe also meant a re-emergence of racist behaviour⁵. Such behaviour includes the incidents described by the Spanish students in their daily experience.

Diversified racism?

Racism is no longer what it used to be. Expressions of racism have changed and diversified and are now directed against all targets of xenophobia, against all "others". Blunt discrimination, based on the mere colour of skin is often no longer socially acceptable in Europe – and hence other explanations and "codes" have been substituted to account for racist behaviours. It is now a "national preference" (Amaducci 1994), a "cultural incompatibility", "historic ethnic tensions", or even a pretended respect for other cultures, which serve as vehicles for lack of inclusion and integration. Exclusion of foreigners as a general principle appears with the following explanations: a) absolute exclusion (neo-racism) is voiced against foreigners because of their ethnic belonging, and opposition against the presence of foreigners is justified as a quality problem; and b) relative exclusion opposes the increasing number of foreigners and wants to set limits: here the problem is of quantity ("the boat is full"). In this shift to a "cultural" paradigm, similar concepts and ideology are used by both sides for different ends: "multi-cultural society" is presented either as a richness and value, or as a threat; cultural diversity is used by both defenders of equal rights for foreigners and propagators of exclusion; "ethnicity" can today both support claims for racial purity as well as the distinctive and valuable characteristics of all ethnic groups. Given these various ways in which exclusion of others is practiced and justified in different countries, an inclusive approach is needed, which overcomes all new diversified forms of racism.

Accepted racism?

9/11, the US-American one, provided further fuel for the acceptance of such diversified racist attitudes. Similar observations were made after the Spanish 11M (the horrendous bomb attack in the train station of Atocha in Madrid on 11 March 2004). The "fight against terrorism" became the legitimised and even

⁵ In the words of psychologist Vamik Volkan (Thomson, J.A. Jr., Harris, M., Volkan, V. and Edwards, B., 1993), these are even clear signs of a "collective regression" towards earlier and more basic identities. It is then that those who are different are "racialised", ie they are assigned those behaviours and attitudes which we do not like in ourselves. "Aber das eigene muss so gut gelernt sein wie das Fremde" writes the German poet Hölderlin ("but the own needs to be learned as well as the strange"). Understanding the other is incomplete as long as it does not entail Freud's message that "the other is my (own) unconscious" (Kristeva 1990).

required reason to reduce citizen rights, to curb the inflow of foreigners, and to mistrust all those who are different. Difference is no longer made between Muslims and terrorists. Islamophobia, a new disguised form of racism in Europe (visible in the current discussions on the accession of Turkey to the EU) is widely accepted. It is presented as a requirement to keep alive the Western European values: mobility, free market, democracy (but only for those who are accepted as “us”). But European Islamophobia can even reach beyond Europe; in January 2006, the whole world, from Indonesia to Iran and from Somalia to Syria, is in turmoil as a result of the cartoons⁶ published in a provincial newspaper in Denmark. Global citizenship thus proves itself real; it entails the opportunity to communicate, influence, and work, with the entire globe – in a destructive and constructive manner. Equally important, global citizenship also charges all of us with the responsibility to reflect on the (negative and positive) consequences of our deeds – no matter where we are. Global awareness provides us also with the opportunity to fight racism where it is accepted under new justifications.

Overcoming racism?

In face of such developments at the policy level, and the contemporary evidence from schools across Europe of difficulties to deal with and manage diversity amongst pupils in the classrooms, the INTER project was implemented in 2002-2005 by the same team who is authoring this present study. It aimed to improve the quality of education and contribute to innovation in schools by supporting the implementation of an intercultural approach, fostering reflection on cultural diversity, providing a practical tool for initial and in-service training of teachers and producing a teacher training guide on intercultural education. Instead of complaining about problems (too many foreigners, students not knowing the language of instruction, extremist minorities), the INTER project members and their Guide aim to make diversity in schools a richness and value. In the words of the project coordinator, such intercultural education “... is an educational approach based on the respect and appreciation of cultural diversity. It is targeted at each and every member of society as a whole, proposing an integrated model of involvement in the student’s education that arranges all the aspects of the educational process in such a way that we achieve equal opportunities / results for all, overcomes racism in its various manifestations and establishes intercultural communication and competence” (Aguado, 2003). This has been appreciated by the jury of the European Evens Award on Intercultural Education: in fact, the INTER project was awarded the first prize amongst 96 candidate projects, because the project was *deemed to have made*

⁶ These highly tasteless and culturally insensitive cartoons of the prophet Mohammed had been published by the newspaper *Jyllands Posten* in October 2005, in an attempt to test the reactions of Muslims.

an outstanding contribution to European social integration in the field of intercultural education, and...[has] demonstrated determination and creativity". Multiple identities, democratic citizenship and valuing diversity (Council of Europe) as paradigms of school education are essential ingredients of overcoming racism in our societies.

Substituting racism?

Obviously the findings of the interviews with teenagers in Madrid bear a clear mandate for curriculum development and teacher training in general: there must be time and place in schools to discuss such serious themes, to prepare youth to deal with such situations, to help them understand why there is racism in our societies, and to overcome or solve their dilemma. Few things remain clear in Europe: None of the European countries is ethnically homogeneous nor will it be; resident minorities will remain, and the immigration of foreigners will continue; hence, policies and measures need to manage the different needs, rights and positions between majorities and "others". After all, in the EU, there is no "ethnic majority" – all member nations are minorities! The key principle is: the main actors at the forefront of education – such as teachers, head teachers and other stakeholders at school level (students, parents, school administrators and other staff, members of school governing bodies, the community) – are responsible for improving educational performance, and in order to achieve this the INTER Project suggested the following values to be at the core of all education settings (INTER Group 2006):

- We do believe in Social Justice, Democracy, and in sharing Power.
- Human beings have more in common with each other than what tells us apart.
- We do understand and accept diversity and conflict.
- We also think acknowledging diversity improves creativity in order to find differing solutions to the same problems.
- We are aware that we all have and use prejudices and stereotypes when we relate to other people.
- We should know and learn about societies and human groups which are different from our own.
- We should also adopt a global perspectives that will provide us with a broader understanding of human groups beyond ethnicity and beyond any kind of labels.
- We should make participation available for everybody.

Analysing racism!

All the above explains why this book is of crucial importance. In order to know how to combat racism in schools, we need to know exactly what the beast is.

This is the ultimate scope of the present documentation and analysis carried out by the Spanish researchers of the INTER group. Thus, despite its reduced and humble scope, it contributes to the noble and essential goal of contributing to reducing the cultural entropy⁷ in the world, the transcendence of conflict, and the joint vision of multi-ethnic and diversified societies. Many recognize that in Europe, "ethnic purity has never existed ... diversity is the base of the very vitality of the European civilizations" (Bocchi and Ceruti, 1994, p. 206). After all, and despite its obscure history in this field, "Europe could become a model for the world, if it respects the other, and opens to the other. In doing so, it would find again its equilibrium, one of its characteristics" (Le Goff, 2005).

While it is hoped that the present booklet will provide insights into the mechanisms that trigger instances of racism in our schools, it is also meant to provoke more discussion about the causes of racism in Europe – which is still a plague at the beginning of the 21st century! Above all, it lays the ground for producing teaching materials that help to address questions in the classroom and school-life. Whatever diversities exist in our school-classes, the only way to address the resulting difficulties is to learn to manage them. The next step of the INTER group is therefore clearly mapped out, and already underway: a Guide on Anti-Racism for Teachers and Students ("Racism: what is it and how to deal with it. A Guide to talk about racism").

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⁷ entropy: lack of order or predictability; gradual decline into disorder

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Bernd Baumgartl
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1. INTRODUCTION

In mid-June, 2005, the members of the INTER Center received a collaboration proposal from FETE-UGT⁸, with the objective of carrying out a brief exploratory study on the perceptions and experiences that young people and adolescents, mainly immigrants, have concerning possible experiences of discrimination and racism in their immediate surroundings.

The initial objectives of the project were expanded due to the dynamics of the project itself. New focuses of attention and social, educational and personal dynamics, which can condition to a certain extent the experiences that immigrant adolescents undergo, were detected.

The project initially consisted of a series of interviews with adolescents between 12 and 18 years of age. A total of 20 interviews were carried out, some of them group interviews. We consider this project focus, although positive, to be limited, and we think that it would have been necessary to broaden the sample and consider other people in the young people's social and family environment (family members, friends, classmates, professors, all of them of different origins, including the host country).

The open attitudes shown by the teenagers to talking about the subject of racism show our own limitations and biases on this subject, especially regarding our social representations – and that goes for everyone, even the members of the research group. We use these social representations to justify excessively general and stereotyped conceptualizations. Using this analysis, some conclusions and suggestions that can help facilitate the process of adaptation and coexistence for everyone have been proposed.

We hope that this project will only be the starting point for the group, and that, in the future, we will have the opportunity to deepen our understanding of this subject in a more direct fashion. We hope that it will cover some of the objectives proposed and some of the dreams of the young people who participated in the research process. These are some of their opinions about how this research might be useful:

Interviewer: What do you think a project like this one that I'm doing could be good for?

Informant: For knowing more about Latinos, how we feel when Spanish people deal with us. I don't know.

Inter.: Do you think it will be useful for anything later?

Infor.: I hope so. (Interview 1)

⁸ FETE-UGT carries out a program of intervention and awareness-raising to contribute to achieving intercultural coexistence, targeting the educational community (professors, students, families) and associations related to the socioeducational integration of immigrants, who are minors, in the framework of the IMSERSO's Network of Foreign Minors in School. (IMSERSO is an institution belonging to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in Madrid supporting the elderly, immigrants and disabled people.)

"To know more or less what kind of conclusions we can reach, what we foreigners come here for. What are we doing here? What is it for?..."

... To see the different cultures that there are here in Spain.

... To know what we think about racism and about the cultures that there are here.

... To do a project like this, to instil what we are talking about in others, in Spanish people." (Interview 7)

"...I wanted to do it (the interview) because that way... so that... they understand what it's like... your life is like..." (Interview 14)

"If someone reads what you've talked about, what would you like them to learn from you?"

Not to let there be much racism here in Spain." (Interview 8)

Inter.: What do you think a project like this can do?

Infor.: Your project?

Inter.: Yes, well, this interview or interviews like this.

Infor.: Well, so that you know what people our age think, obviously. The thing is, I don't know exactly what the project you're doing is, but, I don't know, to inform people about how things are right now and maybe you would influence their opinions, too.

Inter.: That's what we want to do with this project, to try to see what the reasons are and how we feel...

Infor.: That's what I'd like to know, why they treat us like this, what the so-called reasons are..." (Interview 16)

2. BACKGROUND

Immigration in Spain began to develop timidly as an area of study during the decade of the 1980s (Colectivo Ioe, 1987) and underwent considerable growth starting in the 1990s. Since then, academic production has, with a slight lag, followed the development of the social phenomenon of immigration in Spain.

It is only much more recently that attention has been given to the second generation and the so-called “generation one-and-a-half” – a term that is practically unknown in Europe, but widely used in the scientific literature of the United States to designate the immigrants who arrived while they were children, who cannot integrate into the second generation because they were not born in the host country, but are not fully a part of the first generation, like their parents, either (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2002). The Laboratory of Intercultural Studies of the University of Granada (García Castaño and Granados Martínez, 1999) and the pioneer studies carried out in Catalonia (Juliano, 1993) have begun to develop this area. These first studies were followed by other later ones in Andalusia, in Catalonia, and in nearly all of the autonomous communities (San Román ed. 2001; Carrasco and Soto, at press, and Carrasco, Ballestín, Herrera and Martínez 2002).

The theoretical framework within which we plan to work will combine two perspectives. The first will consist of the conception of cultural diversity as it is approached from Anthropology, especially from the postmodern criticisms of the concept of culture onwards (*Current Anthropology*, 1999). From this perspective, cultural diversity should be understood as a social framework that attributes different, hierarchically-ordered values to differences, implying that some differences are understood to be better than others; thus, it legitimizes privileged (and therefore unequal) access to power and resources (Kivel, 1996). On the other hand, Anthropology acknowledges cultural diversity as the basis of relationships of exchange in human society. And in addition to taking on the problems of coexistence detected by critical multiculturalists when it is necessary to integrate value scales which are, at times, contradictory (Watson, 2000), Anthropology sees diversity as the motor of communication and the material from which cultural identity is built, by the contrast in the relationship (del Olmo, 1990).

The second perspective refers to the concept of “new racism” which, in contrast to the racism that justifies or legitimizes inequality and hierarchy based on racial or biological differences, is defined in terms of culturalist differentialism, using the idea that coexistence among cultures is impossible (Giménez and Malgesini, 2000). Competition and opposition among cultural groups leads to the racialization of social relations, one of the consequences of which is xenophobia. Racism and racialization contribute, through

stigmatizing, to victims identifying themselves in terms of race, nourishing the dialectics of identities.

Different studies coincide in pointing out that xenophobia has increased in Spain in recent years, coinciding with the presence of greater numbers of foreign immigrants. This tendency appears clearly in surveys carried out in other studies, even though what these studies analyze is "declared" attitudes, which do not necessarily coincide with "real" or latent attitudes as far as measuring racism goes (Cea D'Ancona, 2004 and Calvo Buezas, 2000). Our perspective, however, is based more on the idea that immigration does not provoke a larger number of racist attitudes, but only makes them more evident, because of the existence of groups to target with racist discourse and attitudes.

The team that prepared this report assumes that a prejudice, as the word itself indicates, is an idea that is adopted without first making a judgment, transmitted from one person to another, with the second person accepting it because he or she trusts the first person, not because they have experienced it themselves. We tend to think that prejudices are always negative, but prejudices are, in fact, necessary for building social relationships; without prejudices we could not communicate with others. Thanks to prejudices, we can store and use ideas that we acquire from other people, making them our own, and we are thus able to multiply the information we have about our environment. So what prejudices do is save us time and allow us to accumulate ideas and experiences from other people. In this sense, they are very valuable, but because they are also very easy to acquire, they run the risk of being badly used. This happens, for example, when we do not modify them based on the experiences we ourselves accumulate after we have acquired a prejudice, even when our experiences contradict the prejudice itself. This is how they become fossilized, and we use them and transmit them to others as if they were static ideas that never change because nobody dares to challenge or contradict them, as if everyone else agreed and our own experience was the only example contradicting the prejudice.

Stereotypes, just like prejudices, are useful ideas for human communication. Stereotyping consists of simplifying by associating ideas that we have learned from other people (like prejudices) to name a category and attribute the ideas to the behavior of a group of people. But, in addition to their advantages, stereotypes also have two disadvantages. The first disadvantage is that they are very simple ideas and therefore simplify what we know about the category or label. Second, like prejudices, they are very easy to acquire and very hard to change: once acquired, we do not take the time or make enough of an effort to modify them.

3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objective of this project is to carry out an analysis based on teenagers' perceptions related to the subtle or explicit ways that racism shows itself, as well as its implications and consequences in their daily lives –discrimination, exclusion, violence. The research will focus on Madrid and on the age bracket from 12 to 18 years of age. The purpose of the study is to provide educators and other professionals with relevant information that will enable them to recognize, understand, interpret and manage this type of situation.

The initial objectives of the study were:

1. To find out and comprehend young people's perceptions in relation to experiences/situations of racism.
2. Acknowledge the racism that is implicit in everyday situations, both within the sphere of education and outside of it.
3. To appraise the difficulties that young people of different origins encounter in their lives within the school context as well as outside of it.

4. METHODOLOGY

Considering that the main objective of the research is to comprehend how young adolescents comprehend and experience racist incidents, the methodology that we used in this project was qualitative. The main technique for gathering information was the semi-structured interview, applied both to individuals and to groups.

Creating an atmosphere of trust is essential to any interview, and this is even truer if we consider the implications of asking questions about personal experiences and feelings about racism. We think that achieving the right atmosphere must take precedence over simply getting responses.

We suggested different strategies and techniques for carrying out the interviews:

- Individual interviews with adolescents of different origins.
- Group dynamics: An activity (film, moral dilemma, critical case, issue, a piece of news...) that would sensitize the participants to the subject of racism was carried out first. Then, it was suggested that the aspects dealt with in the dynamic activity be evaluated by means of group interviews, taking advantage of the relationship that was already established in consolidated groups.

According to the different types of interviews proposed, the interviews were carried out by:

- *Members of the research team.*
- *Adolescent collaborators, willing to participate in the information-gathering process and previously trained and advised by team members.*
- *Monitors/educators of already-existing groups that work with young people, previously trained and advised by the team.*

The information was analyzed using the discourse analysis techniques proposed by Teun Van Dijk, based on the N-Vivo program for codifying and exploring categorical relations.

5. SAMPLE

The exploratory nature of this project, with the limited time frame established for its execution, justifies working with a sample that did not fulfill the conditions of sufficiency and representativity that we would have wished it to fulfill. 20 youths, male and female, from different countries (China, Rumania, Morroco, Ecuador, Bolivia, Mexico, Cuba and Spain) participated in the study. Access to the participant sample was provided by high school professors, teachers and social educators who carry out their educational work in the area of the Community of Madrid, using the “snowball” technique (Bernard, 1995), and by asking adolescents directly in public spaces (parks, plazas, etc.).

6. TIME SEQUENCE

Month	Tasks
June	Design exploratory project
July-October	Individual/ group interviews Transcriptions
November	Analysis of information
December	Preparation of report

7. INTERVIEW MODEL

We started out with a previous model adapted from W. K. Gabrenya, Jr. (1998) for carrying out the interviews. This initial model was not, in fact, used in the same way by the different interviewers who participated; its main purpose was to focus the nuclei of interest. Each interviewer focused his or her interviews using a more indirect style, asking about personal experiences in order, little by little, to target the subject of racism. However, other researchers started by dealing directly with the subject of racism, so that the interviewees were the ones to make associations with other subjects. The style of interview carried out was quite flexible and apparently fit the interests of the boys and girls who participated, achieving a very acceptable level of involvement and comfort during the interview.

Next, we will show the initial adaptation of Gabrenya's interview model (a), as well as an orientational conceptual scheme (b) used by some of the team members. A work sheet (c) was also added to make the groups more dynamic before carrying out the interview.

a) Adapted from “*The Intercultural Interview*” by William K. Gabrenya, Jr.

One of the objectives of the interview was to help the citizens of a “host” country appreciate the difficulties that many of the international students around them face. In our case, we used the interview to obtain a discourse on the perceptions and experiences of adolescents (as well as professionals in education) with respect to discrimination, prejudice, racism and other difficulties (not only related to racism) that they and/or other people around them have undergone. Some of the initial suggestions given by Gabrenya (1998) are:

- Find an interviewee, preferably the hard way, addressing him or her individually⁹.
- Find a way to establish a relationship and interact with the interviewee.
- Face the barriers of language and communication.
- Carry out the key task of interpreting the meanings of the interviewees by transferring them to familiar concepts from one's own culture.

The interview should focus on the interviewee's subjective experience in relation to the difficulties encountered (at the high school or educational center, for instance), in adjusting to the place where he or she lives (if there had been a previous migration), etc., including experiences of discrimination or prejudice.

⁹ This does not mean that acquaintances were not also interviewed, or that other techniques, such as group discussion, video-forums, etc. should not be carried out. At any rate, these orientations are for individual interviews.

Some examples of information and ideas for the interview

One of the objectives of the interview was to get the interviewee's *history* concerning his or her experiences of discrimination, racism or other difficulties (one's own experience or the experiences of schoolmates), as well as the way they were dealt with and/or overcome. Then some ideas were given about what to look for in the interview. This should not be seen as a checklist or as mandatory questions, but rather as a simple guide, a starting point for obtaining more information.

Transition: Why the interviewee came to Spain (if he or she is from somewhere else), or to this city/place, or to this school (if he or she has changed schools), how he or she felt upon arrival, what the effects of leaving family and friends behind and encountering other people and situations were.

Attitudes: What the interviewee likes/dislikes about Spain, about this area, what important differences there are between his or her country/city/previous school and present one, attitudes and opinions about the place and the people, what similarities there are, how he or she perceives these differences and similarities, how he or she evaluates them.

Activities: What leisure activities he or she does, special events or experiences in Spain/the city/school, social relations, responses to the new norms.

Somatic symptoms: Difficulty sleeping, tiredness, weakness, fatigue, colds, flu, respiratory problems, loss of appetite, indigestion, stomach or intestinal problems, diarrhea, headaches, chest pains, dizziness, problems concentrating.

Events experienced: Important events, that have marked a specific moment, that were relevant experiences.

Moods, spirits: Optimism, satisfaction, happiness, boredom, loneliness, depression, unhappiness, anxiety or worry, academic or job problems, feelings of fulfillment, of not having "clear goals in life", homesickness, frustration, alcohol abuse or drug use, others.

Social experiences: Makes friends easily, finds it hard to meet people outside of school or work, to find a partner, to make friends. Worries about family, friends and the situation back home (if from another country), others.

Material conditions: Whether it is easy or not to: find a job, find a place to live, get information, get around and find things. Not having enough money, others.

Academic issues: Has enough time to study, degree of difficulty of the academic work, relations with schoolmates.

Communications: Whether it is easy or hard to establish communication in different situations. Possible misunderstandings, derived both from verbal communication and from non-verbal situations (behavior, events). Experiences as the target of discrimination. Problems of trans-ethnic identification (for example, wanting to be like the "natives"). Competence in expressing oneself in Castilian Spanish, having one's behavior misunderstood, communication difficulties unrelated to language capability (for example, the cultural meaning of words, issues of context), etc.

b) Concept map to orient interviews (prepared by authors)

PRECONCEIVED IDEAS

- Activity: complete the sentences.
- Debate/evaluation of previous ideas. Assigning behavior to ethnic, minority group membership...

People you know

- Do you know people from other countries? Which countries?
- What did you think of them before you met them?
- Has your opinion changed in any way?

HOW OTHERS HAVE INFLUENCED YOU

- Parents, friends, professors...

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT IMMIGRATION

- Takes away jobs...
- economic aid to immigrants..
- coexistence is positive / mixed...

WHAT BEING RACIST IS

- Equal rights, discrimination, believing that some races are better than others, believing that they are different, classifying...

EXPERIENCES

EXPERIENCES

Arrival / adaptation

- How long have you been in Spain/Madrid?
- Arrival process, reasons for emigrating.
- Adaptation/integration process.
- Things that you like here / differences...
- Do you like to interact with Spanish people... kinds of relationships/difficulties: friends, schoolmates, partners...

Experienced / towards yourself:

- How do Spanish people see you?
- What do they think about you?
- How do people treat you: friends, at school, in your free time/on the street...?
- Any experiences of discrimination, prejudice...
- How did you feel?
- How did you react?

Experienced / towards others:

- Have you ever treated anyone in a racist way?
- What was the situation, why, what did you think, how did you react, how did the other person react... what do you think about it now...?

Observed / towards others:

- Have you seen anyone treat another person in a racist way?
- What was the situation, why, what did you think, how did you react, how did the other person react... what do you think about it now...?

c) Group activity previous to individual and group interviews

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES

There are more and more ... in my city every day.

Foreigners are ...

Girls can't ...

Moroccans are ...

Gypsies usually ...

Boys can't

It is that there are foreigners in my neighbourhood because

People who have been in jail ...

Elderly people ...

People from Portugal ...

As for Latin Americans, ..., especially ...

Andalusians are very ... and Catalonians are very ...

Rich people are ...

Physically and mentally challenged people are usually ...

I'd never live with a person who because ...

8. DIMENSIONS AND CATEGORIES FOR ANALYZING INFORMATION

This approach to and knowledge about the perceptions that these young people had about their experiences of coexistence and interaction among people of different origins led us to select some nuclei of interest that had not originally been included in the research project. Both the way the interviews unfolded and the systematic analysis of these interviews helped us to identify new dimensions and categories of analysis that can point towards new lines of research as well as help us to explain and define more clearly some of the original objectives proposed:

- Dimension I: Arrival and initial adaptation
- Dimension II: Relations with others
- Dimension III: Experiences of discrimination
- Dimension IV: Stereotypes, prejudices and racism
- Dimension V: Perceptions
- Dimension VI: Gangs

The different categories and subcategories that we have included in each of the dimensions could easily be assigned to other dimensions, due to the complexity of the subject. Young people's experiences of discrimination cannot be understood unless we know about their process of arrival and adaptation to the new context, to the new country. Similarly, this adaptation process leads us to identify the kind of relationships that they establish most frequently, with whom and where, as well as the explanations that they give for these relationships.

On a more abstract level, we attempted to find out what they understand as racism, what explanations they give for this type of attitude or behavior, and, of course, we were particularly interested in finding out how they felt about and reacted to discriminatory experiences. As examples of stereotypical thoughts, we created a section referring to the general perceptions that the young people have about different aspects: their view of immigration and of different groups. Finally, we devoted one last area of contents referring to the creation and existence of gangs (Latin or ultra-right-wing), an area that could be integrated perfectly into several of the previous sections: interactions, reactions to racism, or experiences of discrimination.

In order to avoid repetition, from now on we will point out and specify the different analytical subcategories identified at the beginning of each dimension.

9. ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION GATHERED

As stated previously, the information gathered was grouped in six blocks of content during the process of analysis. Following our original goal, we intend for this report to be useful for training. Because of this, some subcategories were devoted to presenting different issues for reflection, in order to make explicit the ideas that we use implicitly.

Previous reflection:

Before you continue to read, stop and think about your own ideas on this subject. Many of the opinions of the young people interviewed are sure to surprise you.

This activity, proposed in this way, will probably be difficult to carry out; that is why we advise you to perform this reflection immediately before reading each block of content or, better even, immediately before the analysis of a subcategory. Making the reflection concrete will facilitate the activation of previous knowledge and ideas.

Dimension I - ARRIVAL AND INITIAL ADAPTATION

Outline of contents and subcategories

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 9.1.1. | Place of origin, age and time in Spain |
| 9.1.2. | Reasons for migration |
| 9.1.3. | Teenagers' first moments |
| 9.1.4. | Families' first moments |
| 9.1.5. | Reunions, conflicting feelings |
| 9.1.6. | Differences in norms of behaviour |
| 9.1.7. | Learning a new language |
| 9.1.8. | Different environments |
| 9.1.9. | School as a place of socialization |
| 9.1.10. | Difficulties in adapting to school |
| 9.1.11. | Different tales of adaptation |

9.1.1. Place of origin, age and time in Spain

As we saw in the section referring to the study sample, the majority of the teenagers interviewed came from Latin American countries (Ecuador, Bolivia, Mexico, Cuba), there were also some from Eastern European countries (Rumania) and from Asia (China) and Africa (Morocco). Two young people from Madrid also participated. The young people are between 13 and 17 years of age. The time in Spain varied from one year to eleven, in the case of young people from foreign countries. We noticed some differences in their process of adaptation to the ways and customs of the immediate surroundings, and we will reflect these in this report.

	Origin	Age	Time in Spain (years)	Gender
Interview 1	Bolivia	16	1	girl
Interview 2	Rumania	15	6	boy
Interview 3	Ecuador	17	5	girl
Interview 4	China	15	1,5	boy
Interview 5	Ecuador	15	3	girl
Interview 6	Morocco	16	11	boy
Interview 7	Ecuador	15	4	boy
Interview 8	Ecuador	16	4 and 3 months	boy
Interview 9	Group of 9: Ecuador/Puerto Rico/Colombia	15-18	variable	girls and boys
Interview 10	Spain	15	13	boy
Interview 11	Ecuador	16	3	girl
Interview 12	Group of 3: Ecuador	15 and 17	variable	boys and girls
Interview 13	Group of 3: Morocco/Rumania	16-17	variable	boys
Interview 14	Ecuador	15	4	girl
Interview 15	Spain	13	13	girl
Interview 16	Cuba	14	6	boy
Interview 17	Ecuador	14	5	girl
Interview 18	Ecuador	16	5	girl
Interview 19	Ecuador	16	2 and 6 months	girl

9.1.2. Reasons for migration

Although it is very easy to create stereotypes about why people migrate, they have very different reasons. Some of these are:

“Look, I’ll tell you another story about another elderly lady,... and this elderly lady saw some program, some report on television about our countries, and she said to me: ‘Look, come here, come here, come to see... that’s your country!’ she says, ‘see how they’re starving,’ and I said to her: ‘Ma’am, you don’t know why we come here, we don’t come because we’re starving,’ I said, ‘but because of the corruption there is in our country’... and as soon as the program was over, she called me, and in order to avoid telling her the story of my

life, I told her: 'Ma'am, you don't know why...' And then I told her: 'I can't tell you anything more about my life, but I didn't come here because I was starving in my country, all right?'... There's poverty? Yes, there's poverty, it's true, but not ..." (Interview 5)

Inter.: (...) And so, before you told me that you are from... from Havana, right?
(...) And why did you come to Spain?

Infor.: Because of my mother, because she married... my (pause) stepfather.

Inter.: And he's Spanish?

Infor.: Yes. (Interview 16)

The teenagers have a rather ambivalent view. They realize, to a certain extent, that the economic situation in their countries of origin was more difficult than the situation in Spain and that there is a lot of political corruption where they were born; that is why they come to the conclusion that their parents decided to emigrate because of work.

"Because... because my father is here... and... and he's working, and he says that here it's, here it's better than China... and that's why we go here..." (Interview 4)

"With... my father came to work" (Interview 2)

"Because of the country's economy. The presidents don't know how to manage the money, they promise things and they don't keep their promises. We had jobs, but when the jobs ended, we had to pay for everything, the house, the mortgage, the car and they decided to come here, and talking about this a few days ago, they said that we had a better life here, you can pay for things and have a bank account and everything. Now they're building a house in Ecuador with the money." (Interview 7)

"What they pay you, the payment, what you earn a day is 10 € a day and it's hard work and, well, compared to this, it is really different. That is why my mother came here. She spent four years here, she returned to Ecuador and she brought me and my brother and now we are here with her." (Interview 8)

"But it also depends on lot on your age, sometimes... it depends, for example, a minor comes here to Spain more as an adventure, while an adult, over thirty years old and that, well, an adult comes with a specific goal, to make money, to send money, so that this kind of influences each Latino's story, too." (Interview 12)

Inter.: And would you mind telling me why... why you came, why your mother decided to come to Spain?

Infor.: Well, because the economy is really bad in Ecuador, and everything... and my mother couldn't find a job, and it was really bad and she (asked)... be-

cause some of my mother's cousins lived here and she asked them to help her with the money in order to be able to come here, and she came, and she brought me along.

Inter.: And she only brought you, by yourself, did it make you really sad to come, or not?

Infor.: No, I'd rather be with my mother. (Interview 17)

Although second thoughts can also be perceived, given both the homesickness and the nostalgia, as well as the different difficulties for adapting that they encounter:

Inter.: And your mother, when she came to Spain, why did she come?

Infor.: I don't know, because she was fine there in Bolivia because there's work there, well, not all that much. I don't know why she came. (Interview 1)

And some people make it clear that they came against their will, leaving their previous life behind, with a strong sense of loss:

Infor.: I love having notebooks with pictures of Garfield, I'm crazy about that cat, I love him, I see a Garfield, and I... my friends in Ecuador, before I came, since they know how much I like him, they gave me a big stuffed Garfield this big and a card, but I didn't bring it. I left it there, I didn't want to bring anything from there. I took it all and on a piece of land my aunt had for fruit trees and everything, I took it all and I buried it there, I didn't bring anything at all from there.

Inter.: Oh, that's really sad...

Infor.: I buried letters, photographs, stuffed animals, presents and things like that, you know? I buried them and now there's nothing left because they built a house on that piece of land, so there's nothing left anymore.

Inter.: And what did you do, what did you want to bring along?

Infor.: I didn't bring them.

Inter.: But some things...

Infor.: No, I didn't bring anything except my clothes and that was it, I didn't bring anything else.

Inter.: Because there wasn't room.

Infor.: No, not because there wasn't room, you see, I didn't want to... I didn't come here because I wanted to, they made me come, so when I left my people I said to myself: no, and I knew that even if I didn't have anything of theirs here, I'd start crying and I'd want to leave, so if I had stuff, then...

Inter.: Better to leave it all and forget it.

Infor.: It was best just to start all over... (Interview 19)

9.1.3. Teenagers' first moments

Arriving in a new country generates different **feelings and behaviors**: strangeness, "I feel bad", not being able to sleep, isolation, etc.

Inter.: *What was the process with Spanish people like during the first months? How did you feel?*

Infor.: *Really bad. I didn't like it. I wanted to go back to my country, because I didn't want to be here. Well, not everybody is the same, right? But some people get along, well, I don't know. I didn't go out for three months. And, well, you have to assimilate it, because there's nothing else for it. (Interview 1)*

Inter.: *And how were things at first?*

Infor.: *Bad. (Interview 7)*

"Yes, I felt weird..." (Interview 14)

"No, when I got here I didn't like it much. I didn't like it much the first months. I didn't have any friends and I spent all my time at home sleeping. I didn't go out much. Until I began to study, I met some friends and then I started to go out." (Interview 8)

Infor.: *I don't know, I've gotten used to it now, but...*

Inter.: *When you got here, when you had just arrived, it's...*

Infor.: *Bah! I couldn't sleep! (Interview 12)*

Inter.: *When you came here, how was it, how did you feel about it?*

Infor.: *Well, I don't know, a little strange, because..., I don't know, at first I was very shy... I don't know, I was alone, I didn't have any friends, but then things got better. (Interview 17)*

These sensations go along with a feeling of **nostalgia**:

"Well, at first because you always miss your family, your country, and everything..."

"No. I want to go back to Bolivia." (Interview 1)

Inter.: *...And... what do you miss?*

Infor.: *Well, my grandparents...*

Inter.: *Your family...*

Infor.: *My grandparents and my aunts and uncles... (Interview 2)*

"About Spain... let's see, I like almost everything about Spain... the only thing that I don't like is that... that it's really far away from my country [laughs]." (Interview 3)

"Well... I like... I like here, even though... I miss my family from there... [silence] but..."

Infor.: *Well... I'm... thinking about not going back again... but I'll go back to visit, yeah... I do want to go back to my country... to get to see my grandfather... and my...little cousins]... 'Cause I miss them a pretty lot... they call me a lot and... I love them too... (Interview 14)*

Infor.: *Me, I'm only here because of my mother. (...)*

Infor.: *Me, as far as I'm concerned... I'd say that I'd be in my country, but I'm with my mother who's married to my stepfather, and...*

Inter.: *And is she happy here, your mother? Yeah? [silence].*

Infor.: *I guess so, or else she'd be there, in our country, too.*

Inter.: *And, if you could, would you go back to Cuba, or...?*

Infor.: *Yes. (Interview 16)*

These sensations also go along with the **perception of differences in the ways people are and live**:

"But the people, too, a little bit. It's different here." (Interview 1)

Inter.: *Why?*

Infor.: *I had a hard time with the daily schedule, the lifestyle.*

Inter.: *Do you remember anything else?*

Infor.: *The lifestyle here, the food, the music. (Interview 7)*

"From Cuba? Well, people are a lot looser there, not... they are all... lively, not like here, they think everything's awful, it's not that everything's bad, they are... they're out to get them." (Interview 16)

There is also evidence of **contradictory feelings**: a desire to return and an awareness of how difficult it would be to return:

Infor.: *You see, at first my father said to me: if you go you won't come back and I started to think, if I go I won't come back again, he's afraid that if I go I won't come back, and my mother too, she said, 'I'm afraid that you'll go and you won't come back.*

Inter.: *And it's not because you can't go back?*

Infor.: *It's that if I decide not to come back, what can they do about it when they're all here? And I just don't know. If I start to think about it, well, I might just stay.*

Inter.: *It's hard to go back there, too, to see that you're not part of life there, and go back again, it's complicated.*

Infor.: *And I'd stay with my family, and my family is really old-fashioned, that a young woman can't go out, only go to school and come back home... and here I'm used to going out, going to the pool, going here and, I don't know, to the movies, alone, well, there would be a lot of problems, and if I go, well, maybe one day I'll just go out and go for a walk.*

Inter.: *And do you think you've changed the way you are since you left?*

Infor.: *Since I left Ecuador? Yes.*

Inter.: *You weren't so rebellious there.*

Infor.: *I was a little bit, but not so much. (Interview 19)*

Others, on the contrary, experience these situations of change in a **more positive fashion**; even if homesickness is still evident:

"Just fine, I like it because I know all of the kids and... nothing... I get along great with everyone." (Interview 14).

Infor.: *Well, at the beginning... I was thrilled... I was really thrilled... thrilled...*

Inter.: *Aha.*

Infor.: *Now too, but...*

Inter.: *What did you know...?*

Infor.: *...I miss...*

Inter.: *What did you know about Spain when... before you came? What did they tell you about Spain?*

Infor.: *Nothing... that it was a really pretty country... and that... [].*

Inter.: *And when you came, what... what was it like?*

Infor.: *It was fine...*

Inter.: *Fine? Did you like what you found... did you...?*

Infor.: *Yeah, I like the highway and... I don't know... (Interview 2)*

9.1.4. Families' first moments

The families, fathers or mothers, tended to come to Spain before the children, experiencing this initial process in different ways. The children tell us how their parents perceived/experienced this: economic and job difficulties, difficulties with papers... A legalized situation is indispensable for guaranteeing access to the basic rights and goods that should characterize democratic societies.

"Nothing, she had a bad time. Well, things were bad at work because of the papers. Because they gave her a job that needed papers and since she didn't have them, at the beginning... well, I don't think there was enough food in the house, for the apartment, to pay for the apartment and stuff and my grandfather, everything she left there he had to send it so that she could pay for the room." (Interview 8)

Infor.: *I've already got papers.*

Inter.: *Oh, you've got them already, that's great.*

Infor.: *I've been here for three years.*

Inter.: *And so you can work, then, good, and that's... (Interview 6)*

Infor.: *At first I didn't want to come, I didn't even want to talk about coming.*

Inter.: *Because your mom came a few years before, right?*

Infor.: *Yes, she came 6 years ago, three and a half years before me.*

Inter.: *And you didn't want to come here to live with her?*

Infor.: *On one hand I did, but, well, you can imagine... well, you're here just for a while, but you'll be going back to your country, but when I came here I didn't know how long I was going to be here, how it was going to be for me... what I was coming for, so I was a little disappointed, not knowing what I was doing here, when I could be there in my country, but, well, now, when I see it all... (Interview 19)*

As is the case with the teenagers, there are parents who give a **positive appraisal** of their stay in Spain:

"They've always been really comfortable, they say that everyone treats them really well. But they also say that they all get blamed for what some foreigners

do. The ones who do bad stuff, everyone pays. They say that they are just fine here. They adapted well.” (Interview 7)

Inter.: How about your mother? Is she working here?

Infor.: Yes, she’s got a steady job.

Inter.: Oh, that’s good, is she happy?

Infor.: Yes, she’s really happy.

Inter.: I suppose she misses Ecuador, though, right?

Infor.: NO!

Inter.: No? She doesn’t miss...

Infor.: My mother doesn’t want to go back to that country!... [laughs] (...) Because she says that anyone who goes back, it’s like going back to... [pause] to the garbage ... (Interview 17)

Learning a new language is one of the essential aspects to keep in mind in order to guarantee greater participation and social integration. The families, and the young people themselves (as we will see shortly), may have a harder time than their children in learning the language of the host country:

“Yes... and... my family only speaks Chinese to me, because they don’t know how to speak... my father doesn’t know the verbs, he doesn’t not know much... he’s been here three years, but without coming to any language school or something... he’s... that why he speaks... speaks... also... there’s also [] he doesn’t know, he doesn’t know the verbs... and he knows more letter than I do, but I know more verbs than he ...” (Interview 4)

9.1.5. Reunions, conflicting feelings

Fears, doubts, conflicting feelings are present right from the start:

“Yes, with my grandmother and with my... with my sister, and my cousins... and my grandmother... And an uncle of mine who was [] And so then... afterwards she told me that we should come over here, and on one hand, we didn’t want to come, and on the other, we did... On one hand, no, because my grandparents were going to stay there... and my cousins, you know? And since we had stayed with them, it was almost, well, we didn’t, anymore... we were... scared, just plain scared... So then we came here and... my parents were waiting for us at the airport, [] So then we came here to [] We’ve been living here since we came [] Then my grandmother, she... she went back there, to Ecuador... And then... then... they put us in a school with nuns, the [] in San Fernando, but it’s not here anymore... it’s... [] or there

somewhere... And after that, then... because we didn't... we wanted them to change us to a different school, because we just kind of didn't like that school. So then they changed us to the school in [] and that's where we are..." (Interview 3)

This uncertainty seems to dissolve when the family is reunited:

"I felt good, because my parents were here, and so [] happy to see them and everything..." (Interview 3)

Sometimes, reunions of parents and children, after several years of separation, generate conflicting feelings:

I didn't know my parents... not at all... Umm... it seemed weird to me... being with my parents... I mean, I saw them like distant people... Yeah... When I came I felt strange with them... but then I got used to it [silence]and... I was fine at school...

... With... with my grandma and my aunt... even though my parents didn't... they never... stopped taking care of me or anything... but they called me and everything... but it wasn't the same... When I came here... I walked out of the airport before they saw me... I... didn't know who my parents were... Because I came with my aunt..."

Inter.: *You hadn't ever seen them? Or didn't you remember them?*

Infor.: *I couldn't remember them... [silence].*

Inter.: *How old were you when they came?*

Infor.: *8 years old.*

Inter.: *When they came here you were 8 years old...*

Infor.: *Yes... And... my two brothers, too... I didn't recognize them... [silence] They... for a while we were pretty distant from them because we didn't... we didn't know what they were like and we had already... we had forgotten everything. Especially my sister, the littlest one... She... she hadn't...*

...Yes, with my aunt... [silence] But... like I said, we were like... strange, with my parents... My father hugged me, I felt like... I don't know... I was affectionate with him, but I just didn't... I didn't... I didn't feel the same way. He seemed like a distant person to me... I... I didn't recognize them... I [] I wasn't sure if they were my parents or not... But then afterwards...

...Because... they started to talk to us and... and then, well... we began to understand all the problems that they had had... and why they had to take... to bring us here... And why we couldn't stay right there... [silence] But I'm better off here... even though I was fine in my country, too... but... [] my parents, because []... (Interview 14)

9.1.6. Differences in norms of behavior

How do you think teenage immigrants behave? Are they more “polite” than Spanish teenagers, or less? What differences do you think they find? These were some of the questions we asked the teenagers. Each culture, each context, sets different norms of behavior, of how to treat or address others. Changing from one context to another, from one set of norms to another, can create certain difficulties for young people. Some of these are the following:

Inter.: *Maybe the way Spanish people deal with people, because the way you treat people, I don't know, is more ... more polite, while with Spanish people, it's colder.*

Infor.: *Because they use the informal way of addressing people, they all use it, you know?*

Inter.: *Everybody uses it, the informal “you,” here, Spanish people use it with their mothers, they use the informal “you,” while I always use the formal “you” with my mother, they also use the informal “you” with their grandparents and everything, here it's the informal form everywhere in Spain, while people from Ecuador...*

Infor.: *For Latin Americans in general, there are ways of treating older people that a young person, you treat older people using the formal “you” form, while the people who are closer to you, I don't know, friends, brothers and sisters, you use “vos,” and the people you don't know you use “tú” or anything... but it's a cultural agreement, it's been like that for years and years, ever since the colonizers came, because they used “vos” and so on, but the language developed here in Spain, until everyone started to use this “tú” form... that's the form that we had a hard time adapting to, because, imagine that they call us, us Latin Americans, “this one” or “that one,” that sounds bad to us, because in Latin America we only use that for animals.*

Inter.: *Oh, but in Spain that isn't...*

Infor.: *It seemed like an insult to us, at first, afterwards we adapted and got used to the way people treat each other here. (Interview 12)*

9.1.7. Learning a new language

Learning Spanish is **one of the difficulties** that young people encounter when they arrive in Madrid:

Inter.: *...and what is the hardest thing you found when you arrived here, what is the most difficult?*

Infor. 2: *The language, not knowing how to speak.*

Inter.: *That was the hardest.*

Infor. 2: Yes,... (Interview 6)

"Yes. And... until here then... I don't know the language... it's not very good... I don't know anything... only... my parents help me... and... well, only my father, because my mother doesn't know neither...she doesn't speak Spanish... either... and... and, well, we study, I go to class... to a language class half a year, and then I go to first year... In China I'm in first year already... and I go... Here I go to the first year classes." (Interview 4)

Although some young people show a **great capacity for learning**:

"Yes... [silence] And did you learn Spanish when you were already here?"

Infor.: Yes.

Inter.: *You didn't know anything at first...*

Infor.: *I knew how to say the most basic stuff: 'Hi, how are you?'...*

Inter.: *And how did it go? Did you have a hard time learning...?*

Infor.: *Yes, I had a hard time...*

Inter.: *You did?*

Infor.: *My parents sent me [] and that...*

Inter.: *But here... once you were here... Was it hard?*

Infor.: *No, no... in two months I already... I knew...* (Interview 2)

School is usually one of the places for learning the language systematically, where it is taught both in regular classrooms (a perspective that may be closer to intercultural viewpoints) or in special classes (for example, linking classrooms in the Community of Madrid):

Inter.: *Did you learn a lot? How did you learn Spanish? How did you learn it?*

Infor.: *At school.*

Inter.: *Going to regular classes.* (Interview 6)

Of course, **informal learning and support** that the young people give to each other are also an excellent resource:

Inter.: *And when a group of... a new group of Rumanians arrives that... they are probably having a hard time... they don't speak Spanish yet, for example... do you make friends with them in order to... to help them to...?*

Infor.: Yes.

Inter.: *You do?*

Infor.: *We teach them, yeah...* (Interview 2)

Learning a new language is a requirement that is not exclusive to young people and families who come from countries where Spanish is not spoken. **Latin American students** also have language difficulties that they resolve little by little; language helps us to structure our minds, and the nuances given to different concepts, to different expressions, the different ways of using them, accents, tones, etc., make it necessary for young people to make an extra effort to adapt.

“Differences? For example, the way people talk, well, not so much the way people talk because they talk and I do understand them, well, not before, because right when I got here, they talked so fast that I said, good heavens, what are they saying! I laughed when everybody else laughed, I laughed but I didn’t understand the joke... it was a joke, sure, everybody else laughed, well, I couldn’t just stand there like an idiot, with a stupid look on my face, but I didn’t know what they meant and, well, that’s all over now, it doesn’t happen anymore, I understand now, I can catch their rhythm, it’s not like before, and I don’t know how to tell you, I mean, look, I don’t know how to explain it, mom.” (Interview 11)

Infor.: *Well, yes! They always imitated how I talked, but they did it in a funny way.*

Inter.: *And did the accent here surprise you? A little, or not anymore?*

Infor.: *Yes, a little, the way they said “tronco” or whatever [laughing]....*

Inter.: *The expressions, right? And then you’d use other ones, right? That...*

Infor.: *Yeah... [laughs]. (Interview 17)*

9.1.8. Different environments

On the other hand, young people also find big differences in the physical aspects of the environment, such as the climate, or specific aspects, such as the food:

“Another thing is the climate, you adapt quickly but it’s really hot, too... when I got here in the summer, it was awfully hot, so hot,... the climate, and what else? I don’t think there was anything else.” (Interview 12)

“Well, what I like there better is the food, and everything, but, oh, here too, but better there...” (Interview 17)

9.1.9. School as a place of socialization

The process of starting school is usually one of the moments that facilitates teenagers' socialization. Some of them mentioned having a hard time making friends before they began school; they isolated themselves and avoided contact with other young people:

"Nothing, when I got here I didn't like it very much. I didn't like it much the first few months. I didn't have any friends and I spent all my time at home sleeping. I didn't go out much. Until I began school, I made some friends and then I started to go out ...

... I got here in February, and so I didn't start school until September, and I spent all the time until September at home." (Interview 8)

Infor.: *Yes, there's a girl in class who's from Pakistan, and well.*

Inter.: *And how's she doing?*

Infor.: *Fine. She hasn't adapted very well, but it's not because of her religion, it's because she's a little strange. Well, it must also have to do with her, for example, she doesn't like to have contact with people. You can't touch her because she gets mad. So, well then, at the beginning we tolerated her and all that but, with the boys, then little by little, there began to be distinctions, if one of them touched her to bother her and everything, and then, she answered back and they got mad at each other. She came last year, and we still don't get along very well. It was really a big deal last year because she went way too far with us. So then, of course, we were arguing all the time. This year, things are more normal. There are more of us in class. Sometimes she comes on my bus because she lives near here.* (Interview 15)

9.1.10. Difficulties in adapting to school

"...with another family, and that's hard for the children especially... and imagine getting sent to a school where you don't know anybody, where you don't know your classmates, where you don't know what the new people you're going to meet are going to be like, or what the teachers will be like, if they're going to be bad, if they're going to be racists, if they're going to be good." (Interview 11)

As this quote shows, these changes generate a great deal of uncertainty. Starting school also entails different obstacles for adapting. Some are due to the difficulty or **ease in making friends**. As we will see later (see the section "Relations with Others"), the type of relationships that are established are very different, with a rather frequent tendency for teenagers to group themselves according to place of origin, for different reasons:

"Oh, it's dreadful, yeah, yeah, it's dreadful.... You see, I got here in the month of October, and when I started we'd already had a month of school, so I started and... but for me it wasn't making friends that was hard, other people do have a really hard time, but I don't, because the first day I got there and I met a girl who is Argentinian but she grew up here, so it's like she's Spanish because she came when she was really little, so I met her and we got to be friends the very first day, and so then I was confident, because the problem is going out for recess, you're not just going to walk around by yourself out there, so we became friends, because I'm really friendly, too, like Narcisa, I just go right up to someone and ask her something, and we talk, and then we get to be friends, but there are other girls who don't, there are other girls who have a hard time, who are shy, so it's like they don't make many friends..." (Interview 11)

Inter.: ...and, what were your first friends like?

Infor.: My first friends? Great, really nice, really sweet, really everything, with them... I mean, when I went to school I'd only been here for two months, and at first I was really unsociable, I didn't want to do anything, but I had a good... time, and then, with them, I started to go out and I met people, and then...

Inter.: The first year?

Infor.: Yes.

Inter.: Then you didn't have much of a problem.

Infor.: No, not really. (Interview 19)

"...two, two and two months or something like that... I came to this high school, the first person I met was a French guy and then, well, then I met my two best friends, Jorge and Ander, who are from Ecuador but Anderson gets along well, he's who gets along best with all the Spanish people, he's who knows all the Spanish people in the high school best, almost." (Interview 12)

Infor.: Three... The first school I went to... it was a public school, and everybody... they were Latin... uh, the majority were Latin Americans and they treated me really well, and everything... Then I went to a subsidized school and I had a really bad time, you can ask my mom, or Roxanna and everybody who knew me, I cried every day because I didn't have any friends, and I didn't know how to fit in... uh... It was a month, a month... then I cried every day, I met my friends there and everything was fine with them... and really... (Interview 5)

Inter.: *And how did the change from the school here to the Institute¹⁰ go?*

Infor.: *Well...mm.....mmm, weird...I don't know, mmm, there...like, I don't know, a little strange here, because here there are, like, more racists, and there, there weren't so many, almost, and, well, here, they looked at me like I was strange...*

Inter.: *You mean here in San Fernando, compared to Alcalá, or compared to Ecuador?*

Infor.: *Compared to... Alcalá, to Alcalá.*

Inter.: *Ah, here there are more people who look at you suspiciously?*

Infor.: *Yes... (Interview 17)*

Little by little, people find those friends, you just need to give yourself a chance:

Inter.: *And did you start to go to... to school right away?*

Infor.: *Mmm... three weeks after... yes...*

Inter.: *And what kind of reception did you get... there?*

Infor.: *At school... uh... my teachers fine and everything... but even so I felt strange because the other kids saw me like... what... who is she? What...what is she doing here?...Or something like that... so they made me feel bad... Like if I stayed to eat lunch at school... and... they'd sit me there at a table and... it was like... I didn't exist, there, they all just went on with their own stuff... and they left me out. I mean, they made me feel bad... and I told my mom that... that... she should send me back to my country, that I...I wasn't happy with the situation... At first I wasn't... [silence]. And then she told me no... that I should give myself a chance and that... look at things differently... [silence]. It seemed like... I was the one who had the easy... hardest time... adapting... Because my other sister... well, no... she made friends really easily and they got along well... (Interview 14)*

Inter.: *Hmhm... So what did you do then to adapt?*

Infor.: *Well... I went... I went to school... it... wasn't [] good for me...being by myself and all that, right? To recess with my teacher from studying, well... I went out with her... and with her friends there... Later, little by little, the girls started coming to me... I got to be friends...*

Inter.: *First, these Spanish girls, right?*

Infor.: *Hmhm... [silence]*

Inter.: *And right now, then, how do you feel?*

Infor.: *I'm fine, I feel fine... (Interview 14).*

¹⁰ High school or secondary school.

Inter.: *And how do you think your schoolmates see you here... in general.*

Infor.: *Well, fine now, everything's fine, I get along well with everyone. (Interview 17)*

However, sometimes the difficulties in finding friends are perceived to come from the attitudes and behavior of other people:

"...I go around with a good attitude, I talk to them every day... but if they talk behind my back, if they leave me out, I'm not going to go after... of course, go after them: 'Please, I want to be your friend, please!'... no, right? I'm not going to do that.. not that... I'm really sorry, I... if they want to be my friends, they should... I mean, I... what I say is that: 'A month's trial... a month... or maybe this year,' I say... if this year turns out like that, maybe I'll just change schools..." (Interview 5)

Inter.: *But who was arguing, was she or were all of you?*

Infor.: *Yes, everyone in class was arguing with her. This year we're doing a lot better. Sometimes she comes on my bus and we talk, she likes some of the same things that I do. The thing is that, then, in school, we don't talk much, because since she won't accept my friends, well, then. (Interview 15)*

Similarly, difficulties arise due to the **different "culture"**, even though what is meant by culture is never specified.

"No? The first school, I was really miserable, because I didn't know the culture here and I didn't know how to integrate or anything... so..." (Interview 5)

On the other hand, at school, and especially at first, different **situations of discrimination** were experienced, brought about both by other students and sometimes by some teachers (see section, "Experiences of discrimination at the school or institute").

Infor.: *And from then on, I got along well with people... at first, they all [] but it also seemed strange to me because they saw me as... they had never seen someone from another country...*

Inter.: *At school?*

Infor.: *Yes. They made me feel bad... (Interview 14)*

Inter.: *Were you the only boy from Ecuador?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *And what was it like?*

Infor.: *Bad. Here, you feel more discriminated against for being Latino.*

Inter.: *Really? Why? What did they say to you?*

Infor.: *Nothing, but the way they looked at me wasn't nice.*

Inter.: *And did they say anything, or did they just not talk to you?*

Infor.: *They sent me notes that said 'immigrant' and stuff like that. (Interview 7)*

The support and advice of other schoolmates, can help the teenagers to understand and put up with these situations:

"No. I only got along with one girl. She told me not to pay any attention to them, that little by little they were going to realize, too, that not all Latinos are bad. And little by little, I started to get along with them better." (Interview 7)

Although, luckily, **more positive situations**, where people get along better were also described:

"... and, for example, I, in my class, we all get along, there's nobody who doesn't get along, we're not all talking to each other all the time, but we all get along, and if you ask something, they'll answer you, I don't know about other schools, because I'm not there." (Interview 11)

On the other hand, we must consider some issues concerning the process of teaching and learning that the students undergo: What is taught at school? Does it fit the students' interests? What difficulties do the students encounter? What level of knowledge do they start out from? What are the evaluation processes like in the different countries?

During the schooling process, students find differences in **what is taught**:

"Mmm... the thing is that, here, everything I was taught was about Spain... and so much stuff about Europe... In my country it wasn't like that... I was only taught stuff about my country and... the nearby capitals... and that was all. And here, they teach different geography... [silence] Well, math is the same... and language is another thing, it's not the same..." (Interview 14)

Infor.: *Well... at... at school... [] there, I was learning... Rumanian, and... [silence] How do you say it? [silence] Well, I was lear... learning things about Rumania and about... when I came here, I had to start from the beginning... to study things about Spain...*

Inter.: *Sure.*

Infor.: *And that was... it's hard... (Interview 2)*

"No, no, this year I'm going to be held back because it's really hard... on top of it all, I'm studying the geography of Spain, and I don't know anything about Spain, the geography teacher, I'm the one she makes work the hardest, you know? Because... I don't know anything about Spain, about geography, about cities or provinces, and she makes me work hardest..." (Interview 12)

Inter.: *Is there a big difference?*

Infor.: *A big difference, yeah. It's a lot less advanced there...*

Inter.: *Less advanced, why?*

Infor.: *Because [] in English. English was a lot more advanced there, you know? A higher level. The level was a lot more... let's say, in... in fifth grade primary schools we are... the neighbors are teaching English... not here... Here, right from when they're little they start to [] in English, but not there... (Interview 3)*

In contrast to the common stereotype held by teachers that the foreign students have lower **academic levels**, there are students who did not find big differences between the academic levels in their country of origin and in Spain:

"Yes, what I had a hard time with here, what was it? Because adapting didn't seem so... in fourth grade or in first year, it wasn't so hard, you know, compared to Ecuador." (Interview 12)

How subjects are taught and evaluated. The teenagers evaluate teachers' efforts to adjust to the different starting levels of knowledge positively, but they question the different forms of evaluation used in different educational systems, because they require an initial process of adaptation to the new requirements and the evaluation criteria established.

"...and it wasn't, the part about school, about the subjects... it wasn't all that much, not so much, because I was lucky enough to get good teachers, the only one I didn't understand was the math teacher, English, my second year English teacher was really great, she gave me worksheets for my level that I had from back there, I mean, she didn't just give me the book and here, learn it however you can, no, she gave me worksheets that more or less were about what I knew, to help me and then she gave me extra classes, but because she wanted to." (Interview 11)

"The educational system is the same, what is really different is the way they teach, because for us, in our countries, your work grade is what counts the most, you know? What you're doing all year, while here 70 or 80% is the grade you get on an exam... so that makes it a lot harder, because you're used to going to school, and following a rhythm and handing in papers and homework, which makes it easier to pass the course, while on an exam, you fail the exam and what happens, well, you fail the course, you only have one chance." (Interview 12)

9.1.11. Different tales of adaptation

As we have seen, and as this young man tells us, each person has his or her own history, his or her own way of perceiving changes and of adapting to them:

"I think that each of us foreigners has our own story, you know? Whether it's the climate, the food, the... Vocabulary, all that, I mean, each of us has our way of adapting defined, well, after we have changed and we have found our balance more, we have, umm... infiltrated the Spanish people, then, I think by then, that problem is at the beginning." (Interview 12)

At first, especially, some people, as we have seen, would prefer to go back to their own country, but in the end, the majority end up wanting to live their lives in Madrid:

Inter.: *Well, let's talk about Madrid, because that's where we are. Do you consider Madrid to be your city?*

Infor.: *No. It's not my city, absolutely not. Because, well, I wasn't born here, I still haven't adapted, I don't know, I just can't get used to it. You can't go out here, well, Spanish people can, and be with their friends. Here all the Latinos go back home to their apartments and that's it, that's where you stay. From work to your apartment, from work to your apartment, and that's all, that's it.* (Interview 1)

Inter.: *Do you plan on... on staying here? Would you like to... go back to your country, or...?*

Infor.: *I want to stay here.* (Interview 2)

Infor.: *Well, I want to stay here...*

Inter.: *You want to stay here?*

Infor.: *Yes, because I think there are more opportunities here... than in Ecuador. Because here... I don't know, you can say: 'No, no... I want to work and study.' So you work and study... well, not there, there when you're eighteen... eigh... eighteen, and you can work there.* (Interview 3)

Inter.: *And they, do you know if it was harder for them, if they were comfortable or maybe it was harder for them to adapt at the beginning?*

Infor.: *This boy from Argentina, it wasn't hard at all. Besides, the thing is he arrived in the middle of the year, and right away, everything was fine, 'the new boy, the new boy who arrived in the middle of the year,' and everything was fine. With this girl, since we didn't get along very well, she did have a lot of problems.* (Interview 15)

Inter.: *And you, would you go back to Ecuador?*

Infor.: *No. [laughs] I would go on vacation, a couple of days, but not to stay. Besides, there's no culture there, or anything... stay there for...* (Interview 17)

Dimension II - RELATIONS WITH OTHERS

Outline of contents and subcategories

- | | |
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| 9.2.3. | Relations with young people of similar origin |
| 9.2.4. | Relations with people with different origins |

The relations that the teenagers establish when they arrive in Spain are very different. As we have observed, many of them, in the cases in which they do not immediately begin to attend school, tend to isolate themselves and not leave their homes, making it difficult to adapt and to meet new people.

On the other hand, teenagers frequently tend to form groups with other young people from the same places of origin. There are some attempts to interact with young Spanish people, but they tell us that they are often difficult and sometimes unsatisfactory. Also, on some occasions, pressure from the group to limit relations with young people from other groups, with different origins, can be perceived.

9.2.1. Difficulties in making friends

Young people find some difficulty in making friends; some of the reasons they give focus on their parents not giving them enough freedom to go out:

“Yes, it’s hard... not so hard, but a little, because.... Besides, there aren’t that many Spanish people, it’s logical, because the majority of the girls are busy, the older ones, the younger ones, their parents don’t give them as much freedom as back home, parents from Ecuador, the ones who come from there don’t give their children freedom like the Spanish people, who let their daughters go out as many days as they want, whenever they want, without saying where they’re going or anything.” (Interview 11)

9.2.2. Relations with Spanish people

There are boys and girls who **give a positive evaluation** to maintaining relationships with Spanish people, because it helps favor integration and the knowledge of different cultural aspects, and they like the mutual influences that occur.

“Just because, because it’s good for everyone to get along well. Because you have more opportunities to talk about lots of good things. Because they can talk about what Ecuador is like or what Spain is like, the cultures that Ecuador has, or that Spain has. If I get together with a Spanish person, we talk about my country and about Spain.” (Interview 8)

“Sure, I’m in my second year, and he’s in his third or fourth... he knows, well, Armando? He also knows my friend Anderson and Jorge, we three are the only Latinos in ‘bachillerato,’¹¹ and we get along with absolutely all the Spanish people, all of them... my best friend, you might say, his name is Lucas and he’s Spanish, and he loves everything about Ecuador, let me tell you, he already talks with some of our dialect, he has vocabulary, he talks the way I do already, eh, I get along great with the Spanish girls, too.” (Interview 12)

Inter.: *All right. Let’s talk about the new school, right? Well, now, you’ve been here three years already... All right? What are your friends like?*

Infor.: *They’re fun, really understanding and really sociable, the only thing is that they all have really different ideas.* (Interview 15, Spanish girl)

“Do you have a group of Spanish and foreign girls, too?”

Inter.: *Yes, everybody...*

Inter.: *Yes, you told me that you’ve got a group like that..*

Infor.: *Mhm, sometimes I get together with my friends from Alcalá, they’re Spanish girls.* (Interview 17)

But the majority say they had a hard time interacting with Spanish people.

“The thing is that I feel really strange with the Spanish people.” (Interview 7)

“With Latinos, because I don’t get along too well with Spanish people...”

... No, the thing is that, well, I’ve only been here a few days, because I’m new this year. I think it’s fine, because the majority are women and they seem fine to me, but not like in Bolivia because in Bolivia when you start at a new school everybody talks to you, I don’t know, they say, come on. Here it’s not like that, everybody is on their own and that’s it.” (Interview 1)

¹¹ Last years of secondary school.

"Ah... they're from... from the 'institute'... There are... some of my friends are Spanish and one... I've got one friend from China... who's here, at this 'institute'... [silence] Well, there aren't many Chinese girls here..." (Interview 4)

"I don't get along with some of them because they're real smart... like they're better than we are. I normally just don't say anything, I shut up and stay quiet." (Interview 8)

Some, as in this case of a Chinese boy, even need to change their name to facilitate their integration:

Inter.: *And if you've got your own name, why do they call you Iván? I don't understand that...*

Infor.: *Ah...*

Inter.: *Because you've got your own name, but here they call you...*

Infor.: *In Chinese, but... but I think it's a little difficult for them... My name is [] and my country... but I think it's a little difficult for them... and friend of my father says that... better have a Spanish name...and says Iván better... So I've got another name... Iván...*

Inter.: *But your families uses your Chinese name...*

Infor.: *Yes. (Interview 4)*

Despite the efforts they make, the difficulties they encounter sometimes favor behavior that isolates them:

"I like to go outside, on the street, because there is something young people... and now I am always at home... to play with the videogames..." (Interview 4)

Some of the girls interviewed pointed out how they initially interacted with Spanish boys and girls but, as time went by, they tended to seek relationships with young people with the same origins, or with similarities.

Infor.: *Yeah... [silence] Yes, I got along great, I went to sleep over at their houses... When it was vacation time we went to their towns... I had a good time... But later on, getting along with them was... either because of how they dress... or how they treat people... that makes them change... their opinion of... and treat them and everything... But they're not like that... I got to know them when I started to go to... to the park... they got to be... being friends and everything... but they help you as much as they can...*

Inter.: *Uh... your talking about your... Ecuatorian friends now, too...*

Infor.: *Yes. (Interview 14)*

Sometimes it is due to the discriminatory behavior of the Spanish teenagers:

Inter.: *Do you make friends []? Did you make friends easily?*

Infor.: Yes. At first I went around with Spanish people, before I went around with them... but I didn't like them because [] so I didn't like them...

Inter.: What do you mean?

Infor.: That they said... I didn't like to say... because I... I was from Ecuador, and I liked to defend... people too, right? Because... I'm from there... So then they started to say: 'Fucking blacks, this and that...' And I didn't like that way of talking... So I said to them: 'But what... why do you say that to them if we're all equal?' Then they started in on me, and they all said that... a 'sudaca'¹², this or that... and so then I left there, that group... I said... then I met... I met... I met [] and now I get along with them... [silence] Even though there are people... I mean, Spanish people, that I get along... I get along with them too... or with some people... because they showed me that that isn't... that that isn't how things are... (Interview 3)

Or else it is due to the pressures from their own group of origin:

"Yes, Spanish girls... But... just the same, I was fine at the beginning... I only got [] because... they thought... in my country, they thought that I only wanted to go around with Spanish girls... and that's not how it was, no, I got along because... they were the first friends I had here. And... so... we were fine... and then it was no, that I was stuck up, proud... only because now I am with [] so... And then I met my friends. and... that's when everything changed... They left me out and there was such... and so much of a... problem." (Interview 14)

Infor.: Yes... I've had Spanish friends... but... we had problems, I don't know why... but... but I... my relationship is with... my own kind of people from my own country... who... understand me... they help me as much as they can and everything...

Inter.: And... and the rest... do you think they don't understand you, or...?

Infor.: No, because... they want me to keep up with the rhythm of life that they have... and I can't... because... I like being how I am... not how they want me to be... (Interview 14)

These relationships were **evaluated negatively**, given the treatment they received from the group of Spanish teenagers (discriminatory comments or behavior), although the young people are aware of the exceptions, and end up somehow selecting the group of boys and girls with whom they interact, people who do not behave like that:

Inter.: Do you make friends []? Did you make friends easily?

Infor.: Yes. At first, I went around with Spanish people, before I went around with them... but I didn't like them because [] so I didn't like them...

¹² An expression referring to Latin American people in a pejorative way.

Inter.: *What do you mean?*

Infor.: *That they said... I didn't like to say... because I... I was from Ecuador, and I liked to defend... people too, right? Because... I'm from there... So then they started to say: 'Fucking blacks, this and that...' And I didn't like that way of talking... So I said to them: 'But what... why do you say that to them if we're all equal?' Then they started in on me, and they all said that... a 'sudaca,' this or that... and so then I left there, that group... I said... then I met... I met... I met [] and now I get along with them... [silence] Even though there are people... I mean, Spanish people, that I get along... I get along with them too... or with some people... because they showed me that that isn't... that that isn't how things are... (Interview 3)*

Infor.: *Nothing, then later... let me see... [] and all that, and so... and they looked at me suspiciously, they stare at me and they laugh in my face and other stuff... Later, I have a friend... you see, I have Spanish friends, my two best friends are Spanish and I get along with them really well and they are people... who are totally open... and I... and you eat and I get along really well with them and everything, but I don't know what I ever did to the people at this school... (Interview 5)*

They perceive a certain amount of discrimination in treatment, as in the case of this young Ecuatorian man who has a Spanish girlfriend, in general and particularly in the way his introduction to the girl's parents was postponed:

Inter.: *... How's your relationship with María?*

Infor.: *Fine.*

Inter.: *And María's parents, what do they think?*

Infor.: *I don't know them.*

Inter.: *You don't know them?*

Infor.: *No.*

Inter.: *Do they know she's going out with you or anything?*

Infor.: *No.*

Inter.: *And have the two of you thought about sometime introducing each other to your families, or not?*

Infor.: *She knows my family but I don't know hers.*

Inter.: *And why not? In case they don't like the idea or something?*

Infor.: *For if all of a sudden the father doesn't like me or something. But she already knows my mother.*

Inter.: *Yes, she's a great girl. I love the way she thinks.*

Infor.: *Yes, my mother really liked her. (Interview 8)*

9.2.3. Relations with young people of similar origin

They expressed the tendency to form groups according to origin like this:

"The majority are Ecuadorians." (Interview 8)

Infor.: *That we're from the same country and we like to get together.*

Inter.: *Do you have more Spanish friends or Latino friends?*

Infor.: *Latinos.*

Inter.: *Who do you go out with more?*

Infor.: *With the Latinos. (Interview 7)*

"Do you know... do you know why they say that to you? Because, of course, the problem with that is that Spanish people stick together and... and foreigners exclude themselves, because they get together with each other and they have no social life, that's why they don't say it in a mean way, they say it because it's typical: you get here and the first thing you do is Oh! Ecuadorian girls, well, I'll go with them. Oh! Colombian girls, I'll go with them... they get together and leave the Spanish people out, so..." (Interview 5)

Inter.: *So, is there... is there, like, a big separation between groups, at the institute?*

Infor.: *Yes, we... we only spend out time with Ecuadorians, or other others like that... there are other people who spend their time with Spanish people, or something like that... but never... you never see an Ecuadorian with a Spanish person there at school... never... (Interview 3)*

Although sometimes these similarities are extended to neighboring countries, as in the case of different Latin American countries:

Inter.: *Do you know people from other countries?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *From where?*

Infor.: *From Ecuador, well, the majority from Ecuador, right? From Ecuador, from Colombia. Well the other day I met a guy from Mexico, just one. And that's it. (Interview 1)*

"Sure, from Ecuador, from wherever, from all over South America, so I've got friends not only from Ecuador but from Bolivia, from Peru, from around there, but, I mean, they are cultures that are just about the same, so then, more or

less, you know how people are, even though they're not from your same country, but you know how to treat them, and we get along among ourselves.” (Interview 11)

It seems that sometimes these groupings according to origin can happen during the first stages after arriving; they interact with different people from different places as time goes on:

... And at... at school do you think that they encourage... at the institute... encourage people to interact with one another... so that that sort of stuff doesn't happen? Or there too... the Rumanians are in their group, the Spanish people in their group, the Cubans... in theirs? All together?

Infor.: All together... [silence] Well, there are some... there are some []. I don't know if you've seen, in those open spaces over there, there is a group of Rumanians... who have just come to the institute... and so, they're there... But we started out here and there... with Spanish people, with Rumanians... [silence]. (Interview 2)

The young people give very different reasons: sharing work or leisure spaces, similarities in customs, language, ways of thinking, tastes, interests, lack of discrimination problems due to origin, etc.:

“They live here, they're from Loja, from Ecuador, where did we meet them? She met them in a park... oh, honey, we met them in the kids' park, you meet people there too, in a park where the girls who take care of children go, so then you get to know them, you're sitting there and you talk to them and everything.” (Interview 11)

“Ways of thinking, tastes, interests.” (Interview 8)

“There are lots of people... who... well... and... and then I think it is very good Spanish the

[] ... but, up to here, well... I like... Chinese people more, my companions from China, because I can talk... talk more good with them, learn more and... and in China there isn't anybody who says 'little Chinaman' or anything like that to you...” (Interview 4)

9.2.4. Relations with people with different origins

On the other hand, young people say that they interact with other young people of different origins, including Spanish people, and value these relationships positively.

"More mixed... I have Cuban friends... all sorts... Spanish friends..." (Interview 2)

"I have friends of all kinds. I've got Spanish friends almost everywhere." (Interview 7)

Inter.: *And how... how does everyone get along at the ... at the institute? [silence] Do you always interact like that... umm... in groups, or... is there some kind of interaction among all the students?*

Infor.: *I interact with lots of people... in school, I'm with lots of people... Apart from them, lots of people... in my class, with lots... in other classes and everything... You know, I don't have just one group, where I stay... no... I like to interact with lots of people...*

Inter.: *The relationship among people at the institute.*

Infor.: *It's good... we all get along fine... We all help each other... For now, there aren't... there aren't arguments with anybody... (Interview 14)*

"For example, they, they like the (Latino) music that we like, too, they go to our same discotheques." (Interview 11)

Inter.: *And your schoolmates?*

Infor.: *They're almost all Spanish. Only me and a Colombian boy, we're the only Latinos, the rest are Spanish, and it's just fine. (Interview 8)*

Inter.: *What things do you like to do, in your free time?*

Infor.: *In my free time...*

Inter.: *What do you do for fun? What is it that you...?*

Infor.: *In our free time, we're usually there in shops, sitting around, talking []*

Inter.: *In... in... in the plaza?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *In the park that's behi... you know, in the park?*

Infor.: *At the upper end... yeah, around there... or we go to a [] to dance, too...*

Inter.: *And what's it like there?*

Infor.: *Fine.*

Inter.: *Is the atmosphere good?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *And you can interact with all kinds of people, right? Nobody asks where you're from, or... (Interview 3)*

Inter.: *And here, with whom... who are your friends here, in general, who do you...? Because you probably have friends of different nationalities, right?*

Infor.: *All of them? My friends? (Inter.: Yes.) Ecuadorians, Colombians, mostly Colombians, and some Spanish people and Rumanians, and a Dominican, too.*

Inter.: *And do you do things together outside of school too? Of the Institute?*

Infor.: *Yes, we're friends out on the street, and everything (Inter.: Yes.), from the institute, from the street... (Interview 16)*

Inter.: *What have you got, a group of friends here? At school?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *From different countries?*

Infor.: *Yes... From all over, from Colombia, from... Dominicans, all over, from different countries (...), the girls I like best are from my country, and some Spanish girls, yeah, Spanish girls, too. (Interview 17)*

Infor.: *Where I met with my friends? Well, all of my friends, we all met there and did skateboarding, we did jumps with the boards on a skateboard, we did jumps on one street, they showed us how there, or we listened to music, or we went dancing, I don't know, stuff, typical stuff for teenagers.*

Inter.: *And how much time do you spend in the plaza?*

Infor.: *From four until nine or ten.*

Inter.: *And how big is your group of friends?*

Infor.: *Lots, lots of people, 30 or so.*

Inter.: *Was it a more or less stable group?*

Infor.: *It was a stable group, yeah.*

Inter.: *Because I know you told me all this, but in order to record it, were there people from different countries?*

Infor.: *From Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Spanish people, a Cuban and... and that's it.*

Inter.: *And more Ecuadorians than anything else?*

Infor.: *More Ecuadorians than anything else, yeah. (Interview 19)*

We must underline the fact that, despite these declarations, some of the young people interviewed who stated that they had friends of different nationalities later said that they tend to interact primarily with people of the same origin.

Dimension III - EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION

Outline of contents and subcategories

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9.3.2. Talking about oneself, discrimination experienced

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9.3.4. Reacting to and evaluating these situations

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9.3.4.4. Teenagers' evaluation of this type of experience

9.3.5. We all practice discriminatory behaviour

9.3.6. Reasons to discriminate

9.3.7. Experiences of discrimination are declining

9.3.8. There are also positive experiences

This section will focus on the different experiences of discrimination that young people have had, or have observed occurring to others, discriminating behavior that they themselves have had towards others, the main criteria they notice for discrimination (skin color, appearance, etc.), some of their evaluations of explicit behavior of this kind or more implicit situations, and what kinds of expectations people have about them.

Their reactions towards discriminatory behavior are varied: keeping quiet, answering back, arguing and even using violence.

9.3.1. Talking about others, discrimination observed, heard about

At the beginning of the interviews, sometimes the young people hesitated to speak about their own experiences; they found it much simpler to talk about other people's experiences of discrimination: insults, statements about their role and place in Spain, different treatment at work (more hours, lower pay), obvious contempt, exclusion from groups, etc.

Insults:

Inter.: *Can you tell me about anything that happened to you?*

Infor.: *Well, not to me, but to other people. I saw how he was working, a friend that I had, and because he was a little darker, because everyone here is white, they said all sorts of things to him. They told him he was black, and all sorts of things...* (Interview 1)

Statements about their role and place in Spain and with respect to how they are treated at work:

...Yes, because she worked at the fair, and she says that, except for the boss lady, all the people there, the majority are Spanish, they're really bad. They're bad. They tell them they are 'sudacas', that they've only come here to be slaves, this and that, and it's always unfair, because a Spanish person always works the established number of hours, but they increase the number of hours for a Latino and pay less. A Spanish person makes sure the boss respects their schedule and pays them fairly." (Interview 1)

Obvious contempt, superior/inferior treatment:

...“I've seen, right?, with my mother's boss, how she treated her, if she invited her to a cup of coffee she had to wash the cup with bleach.” (Interview 1)

“A friend of mine, good heavens, they locked her in the locker room, they stole her gym clothes and didn't return them... just like that... and I just couldn't believe it... yes, yes, yes... I mean, they didn't do anything to me, but to Diana... She would go to change, they would steal her clothes, they called her all sorts of names and told her to go back to her own country.”

Invitations to leave the country:

Infor.: *To your own fucking country... that's how they say it...*

Infor.: *To his own fucking country... they didn't want foreigners here...* (Interview 5)

“For example, well, it's really typical... No, no, excuse me... I've heard, maybe, go back to your own country and all that, I think everyone's heard that at some point, if they haven't said it sometime. I don't know, that's a racist attitude.” (Interview 10)

Infor.: *The other boy we were with before said that they said to him: 'You! Get out of here.'*

Infor.: *Yes, 'Go back to your fucking country' and all that. (Interview 17)*

Infor.: *Well, one of my friends is really racist, he loves Nazis and all that stuff.*

Inter.: *And what does he say?*

Infor.: *Well, that immigrants shouldn't come to our country and stuff like that.*

Inter.: *And when he says that, what do you say to him?*

Inter.: *We always end up arguing. We get mad at each other. (Interview 15)*

References to the group of origin or physical characteristics to explain behavior:

At my job... do you want... did you finish? I'll tell you the anecdote about my office, all right? I worked at a real estate company, Tecnocasa, so I have contact with people from my country, with South Americans, with lots of foreign people, with Spanish people... and of course, my boss and my coworkers, when there's some South American who... who you tell them a certain time, for example, we'll meet at five... of course, five o'clock comes around and they're not there... What happens? It's not right for them not to call and say: 'Look, I'm not going to be able to go, I have to do something else...' and of course they don't go, and of course, my boss always generalizes: 'Oh, those 'sudacas'... And of course he... all of them together, they've made up a name, they call the South Americans 'Guaramos'...' (Interview 5)

"Just because... there was an argument, even if it was just because I got in line first, or something can happen to me. I mean, something that would be an 'argument,' quote-unquote, a normal one between two people who consider themselves to be equals or who didn't have that kind of prejudices, that kind of racism, to call it something." (Interview 10)

Explicit racism in daily situations (metro):

Infor.: *Well, no. The people who are emigrants, they evidently don't have the same resources, because on top of it they don't receive the same treatment, but I don't know.*

Inter.: *In what ways do you think they don't get the same treatment? Give me a scene, for example.*

Infor.: *Well, a scene that I saw the other day on the metro, that surprised me a lot, it was that, there were three seats together, right? And a black girl was sitting in one of them and next to her there were two seats, so there was an empty one and then another girl. So, another young girl and an older man got*

on the metro. So the young girl went to sit down, but when she saw there was an older man, she said: 'Do you want to sit down?' And he said, 'No, I don't want to sit next to anyone who is black.' So, out of those two seats, there was one empty one and a girl. So that girl left and the man went to sit down in the seat that was not next to the black girl. So then the young girl sat down and covered up the other seat and said, 'Excuse me, but I don't want to sit next to anyone who is racist, either.' And the man left. But I was really surprised that people really are treated pretty badly. (Interview 15)

9.3.2. Talking about oneself, discrimination experienced

9.3.2.1. Experiences of discrimination outside of school

The experiences of discrimination that young people tell of outside of school can happen anywhere and have anyone as a protagonist: people they know, people they don't know, companions, neo-Nazi groups, etc.

Young people believe they must get used to walking down the street and hearing racist comments from passers-by:

"Sometimes... They say... you're walk...walking down the street and they say... and you hear someone say: "Fucking sudacas" whatever... And I... I don't like that, I don't know ..." (Interview 3)

"Nothing, they said that I was black and I don't know what else... the same old thing." (Interview 8)

They also encounter discrimination from people of any age group and in everyday situations (bus, metro, shopping, etc.):

"Let's see... I come... I come on the bus with... some other Latina friends, right? And... from Ecuador and others from Colombia and that... I'm on the bus, and the women were staring at us... the other time, a woman went and told us that... there was... a... a girl who was getting off one stop earlier... my friend was getting off at a stop before mine, right? So she... umm... the driver opened the door just for a really short time, I mean, like a second or something... he opened, and the girl couldn't get out, and she said, 'Could you please open the door for me?' and he... and he... he opened the door and some women... they started to say 'Come on... come on, that girl's an idiot, she doesn't know, she's dumb, she's stupid...' and she started to say to us, to the rest of us girls who were on the bus who were Latinas: 'Yes, well, then they come here...'"

Infor.: No... they were... the whole bus full of Spanish people, we were the

only Latinas...

Inter.: *No... but the people who started to talk...*

1nfor.: *Yes, they were Spanish women...*

Inter.: *Ah... And how many of... how many...?*

1nfor.: *There were three women... but women, I mean...*

Inter.: *Older...*

1nfor.: *Older women... and they started to say no, she was dumb, that... that she was stupid, that they sure come quickly to... to ask for... compensa... compen... compensations... I mean...*

Inter.: *Subsidies... or...*

1nfor.: *Subsidies, because they don't leave the bus door open long enough... I don't know... and the driver also yelled at us, he said all sorts of stuff to us... (Interview 5)*

"That's happened to me lots of times. Even with my mother, it happened to me once when I was around El Carmen doing the shopping and a group of young Spanish kids started to shout at me and I said, 'look how they're fucking with me, mom,' and she said to me, 'don't you pay any attention to them, don't say anything.' And I kept quiet and kept walking and when I was farther down the street, I met my uncle and my uncle did do something, about why, and this and that, about if we're human why are you like that and they said, 'no, the thing is I'm white and he's black, and all that.' They say that about being black a lot. I don't know why, why people are better because they're white, you know? It doesn't matter." (Interview 8)

These teenagers tell us about insults, physical violence, etc. from their neighborhood group of companions:

"Well, my friends, fine... and some of them, well, they hit me sometimes... and they insult me and everything... but... no, I don't care..." (Interview 2)

Infor.: *One of the girls always calls me Chinaman or something... she doesn't call me my name, just... she just calls me Chinaman... [silence].*

Inter.: *And does that bother you?*

Infor.: *Well...*

Inter.: *And, for example, when... you say that you... that they call you little Chinaman... do a lot of people say that to you, or are they... some people... very... just a few people...? [silence] Or do you notice that it's lots of people... that treat you like that?*

Infor.: *Well... some people... it's not a lot, but it's not just a few, either... [si-*

lence] and... (Interview 4)

"...and he hit me once or twice... yes... but, that's all... [silence] That's why, I don't like me..."

...The thing is that... the thing is that... how much... when once [] a punch, and another day, when we see and always... always say: "¡Chini...!"... with my friends say: "Little Chinaman, little Chinaman!" like that... [silence] And... we... I with my friends we also talk... [] because we don't want... to talk more than us... talk with us... and... until one day they were waiting for me at the "insti"... They know where my "insti" is, because there's one guy of... a guy with them and... he's at this "insti"... [] so then they come here... and I think they say with their friends that... that is here... and they are waiting for me... and so now we lodged a complaint against them... I and my father... we lodged a complaint... Three... against three... against three guys..." (Interview 4)

Another situation occurs when there are negative appraisals associated with groups of origin, blaming them for the behavior of others:

"And whenever anyone arrives like that, when they're not punctual or they don't show up, well, it's normal to get angry, but you don't start to say things like: "Oh, these South Americans, these 'sudacas,' these Guaramos, and all that..." And sure, once... it was a Spanish woman who did it..." (Interview 5)

Discriminatory experiences with neo-Nazi groups, mainly at the level of insults and verbal intimidation:

Infor.: *Yes... when I came to Spain, a few... two days later, one of those... one of those skinheads came after me... and then he gave me a...*

Inter.: *Oh! Well, yes, that must have been scary...*

Infor.: *Yeah, he told me I should go back to my own country, and I don't know what else... and all that... (Interview 2)*

9.3.2.2. Experiences of discrimination at the school or institute

As we saw when we analyzed the process of adaptation to school, another of the difficulties teenagers experienced was discrimination at school.

Inter.: *Were you the only kid from Ecuador?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *And what was it like?*

Infor.: *Bad. Here you feel really discriminated against if you're Latino.*

Inter.: *Really? Why? What did they say to you?*

Infor.: *Nothing, but they looked at you suspiciously. (Interview 7)*

"At first... at first, yeah, there was a little racism, but then... you know? But here, on the other hand, in this new school where I am, I've been here a month and a half... so they're way too racist, you can't... the thing is you can't..." (Interview 5)

"In this new... a friend who is a guy, well, then, the thing is that the girls look at me suspiciously... so I'm in a group... I'm with them in dance... and they say to me: 'Oh, the thing is you don't dance well, you dance really terribly, oh, the thing is that you... you don't know the steps, I don't know what all...' and I say, 'But I did the whole dance, girl!' I say, 'I did the whole thing! What more do you want, do you want me to act like a monkey?' and she says to me, 'No, you see you didn't do it right, or whatever... so, if you don't dance... I mean, if you don't dance well, you can't dance with us any more.' Well fine," I say, 'Look, I don't care.' So then she says to me, 'Oh, well, you don't care? Fine.' But they're staring at me like that... they say... the thing is, they're hypocrites... hypocrites, hypocrites... They laugh... right in front of me..." (Interview 5)

Infor.: *And from there, I got along fine with the people... at first, they all [] but it was strange for me too, because they looked at me like... they had never seen anyone from another country...*

Inter.: *At the school?*

Infor.: *Yeah. They made me feel bad... (Interview 14)*

"Not so much anymore, last year, yeah, a really lot! Well, the year before, because I was held back in the first year, and um... when, the first time I came here it went really badly, they bothered a friend of mine... and they even beat her up once..." (Interview 17)

They often run into depreciating appraisals from their **classmates**:

"In class, yes, we started to talk to a teacher... Oh, it's going to fall... [laughing] We started to talk to a... a religion teacher, and they started to talk about the Latino gangs... Violence all over the world, the teacher said, but then the kids... these Spanish kids started to say: 'Oh, no! It's all their fault for coming here, why don't they go back to their own country to turn the country to shit...' (Interview 5)

"Well... rather than let them call me Chinaman, I fight with them... they're from

Ecuador and they're from Cuba... and... [silence] and only a few [] only one, one Rumanian girl who says... from my 'insti', but she's not in my class... she says... Chi... Chinaman... Chi... no... One day she says Chinaman... and we're classmates for the special help classes, and until the... the second day... she says with me: 'Hey you, I like me Chinese people, that's why I say little Chinaman, so... so... so it's all right, eh? Don't say with teacher, eh?'... like that... when we are in special help class... then she says... I let me... [silence] And... the other... people []... but there are lots of Spanish people who are good, too... there are... lots..." (Interview 4)

Some behaviors are not very supportive:

Inter.: *Or don't you care?*

Infor.: *I don't care... some day... that... that []... and they say to me: 'Chinaman, lend me the... a pen,' and I lend it to them... Well, only... I only call him... I say in Chinese... and one day that I don't have book or I don't have pencil, I say: 'Lend me your pen for a minute' and he always lets me... (Interview 4)*

Infor.: *They're hypocrites, they say to me: 'Oh, yes!', but behind my back they're talking... me to my... to my friends...*

Infor.: *They say, 'Hi, I'm so-and-so, ask me for anything you need, if you need a favor of any sort', and you need it: 'I don't have that.' (Interview 5)*

"...That's what happens all the time, I say to someone... I said to a... to a girl, when I... I said... because I wasn't there that day.. I say: 'Could you... umm... lend me your drawing triangle... um... a drawing triangle and an angle?' for geometry, right? For... eh... to ask a teacher to explain it to me, right? And they say to me: Oh! I can't because I already put it away in my backpack and I don't feel like getting it out...' and I just stood there and looked at her like this, 'Oh... thanks,' I say... [laughter] So you tell me, what's that? Then later, I ask for something, for example, one day that I didn't go to class: 'Could you lend me, um... the music from... the other time... the sheet music to copy it?' And she says to me, 'Here,' and she throws it on the floor! And I say: 'But little girl, I haven't ever done anything to you!' (Interview 5)

They also encounter threats and intimidation. Sometimes they seek support from other classmates and from teachers, but they don't want to tell names, because they're afraid of retaliation:

Infor.: *Yes, but... you see, they said they were Nazis and all that... but nothing, [] and they scared me...*

Inter.: *Yes.*

Infor.: *They wrote in my books: 'I know where you live,' 'You're going to get it' and all that... and they scared me, and... [], well...*

Inter.: *And what did you do?*

Infor.: *Well, I watched my... my back, all the time...*

Inter.: *Didn't you tell anybody that you thought could...?*

Infor.: *My friends...*

Inter.: *Teachers, or...*

Infor.: *In the tutorials I said that someone wanted to beat me up, but I don't want to say names, and...*

Inter.: *Yeah... and was it always the same... the same people who did that? No? [silence] So... a lot of people who...*

Infor.: *And sometimes... sometimes now... they try it and all that, but now, not any more...*

Inter.: *Mhmh... (Interview 2)*

Infor.: *Ah... my classmates don't say little Chinaman, but at the institute they do... some... before recess... before... before... before recess, one kid says: 'Little Chinaman, how...' and the second day he says: 'Little Chinaman, lend me the money... lend me a euro' or like that [] cafeteria there... And my classmates don't... but also... there's one classmate of mine... he says: 'Chinaman, Chinaman!' Like that... and he doesn't call my name... (Interview 4)*

Inter.: *And did they say anything to you or did they simply not talk to you?*

Infor.: *They sent me notes that said emigrant and all that. (Interview 7)*

9.3.2.2.1. Measures and strategies for teacher intervention in situations of discrimination

Some of the measures that teachers take in situations of discrimination are punishments and reports, as well as notifications to directors and head teachers. On occasion, they also promote debate and dialogue activities during the tutorials, in an effort to help resolve the conflicts that come up:

Infor.: *Writing reports and punishing them...*

Inter.: *Writing reports... oh... but don't you talk about these things in class... in...*

Infor.: *Yes, in the tutorials.*

Inter.: *In the tutorials... And what... what do you do to... How do you try to solve the...?*

Infor.: You go [] and if anyone has a problem, they raise their hand and tell another... [silence] They tell everyone the problem... (Interview 2)

But most of these intervention strategies are carried out as specific, voluntary actions, not as global interventions integrated into the center's plans:

Inter.: And here at the institute, do you talk about these kinds of things that happen? In the tutorial classes, for example, do you talk about... well, there's been a problem and there are... there are kids who insult Chinese kids, or...?

Infor.: [silence] It's... this thing from last year... and... eh... ah... no... this... January... and now... I'm in second year... so then I am in first year and now I'm in second year, we changed teachers and now we don't talk... about that thing... he doesn't know much... and well, my classmates now are fine... [silence] they good... (Interview 4)

Teenagers perceive a lack of awareness, on the part of the teachers, of racist, discriminatory situations at school. They see this as the main reason for the lack of action:

Inter.: And the teacher, do you think they know that these kinds of things are happening here?

Infor.: Well, I don't think so... I don't know... (Interview 2)

They believe schools should decide to integrate activities and global models to transform themselves in order to favor coexistence and to reduce discriminatory and racist behavior and attitudes:

Inter.: Do you think that the school could do anything?

Infor.: Right from when they're little, there ought to be people, like you, who help the kids not to get themselves into racist gangs, to help prevent racism from increasing, and there's lots of racism here, there's racism all over the world, everywhere in the world, right from when they're little they should meet other kinds of people. Realize that just because people come from other countries doesn't mean they're coming to steal, they come to get ahead, to feel more comfortable and all that. (Interview 7)

9.3.2.2.2. Teachers' attitudes, behaviour and expectations

They also describe different attitudes and behavior among the teachers, some of them **positive**:

"But, well, this year the teachers don't... They don't have any preference, whether your Spanish or not, it's all the same to them... and besides, there are only three men and eighteen women." (Interview 12)

Others are **negative**, with reference to the expectations and assumptions about their **intellectual capacity** and, consequently, job and training expectations:

"And what do they think? Well, that we're incapable, we're incapable of doing the 'bachillerato.' I mean, that's what they were saying to me, and I said that I

was going to do the 'bachillerato' and he said no, I'm going to give you some advice, it would be better for you to do a training course, because it won't be as hard for you as the 'bachillerato'... But no, I did the 'bachillerato' just to fuck them, because I wanted to do it, too, well, I'm doing it now and so far, it's going fine, it doesn't seem very difficult to me...

Well, I've had some run-ins with the teachers, with the history teacher, because I could tell that she was a little... that she doesn't like Latinos to be in first year or second year, she didn't like it...

...The thing is that I think that the Spanish teachers, or just like the Spanish students, it kind of bothers them that Latinos, foreigners come and have a greater intellectual (unintelligible) than they do." (Interview 12)

The young people perceive negative opinions and judgments from the teachers, opinions and judgments that they easily identify with social stereotypes:

"When the teachers are there, everyone behaves well. The thing is that the teachers always are harder on the Latinos, nothing happens to the Spanish students. They've got the idea that we Latinos are bad news, that we do bad stuff, that we come here to steal and all that ...

Yeah, some do. Yesterday, a teacher, the social science teacher, told me that we Latinos only come here to steal, we come here to keep Madrid from progressing, I don't know what all, this and that" (Interview 7)

Infor.: She's a woman who acts like a man, and she was really racist, but they fired her, because I went to the director and told him that if she kept on like that there were going to be a lot of problems with my family, because she made me do, and she made all of us immigrants do, stuff that she didn't make the Spanish students do.

Inter.: Like what?

Infor.: Push ups, she made us all do push ups, and she had the Spanish students doing fun games, playing volleyball, and she made us do the hardest stuff, in order to fail us, and that was really too much. (Interview 18)

They also perceive mistaken opinions about the aid programs that local, autonomous and state governments give to immigrants:

"Ah, the other day we were in religion and the religion teacher... we started to talk about cultures, right? And she says, she says, she says to the teacher, 'Teacher, I don't understand why the government here in Spain treats 'surdacas' better than ...'" (Interview 11)

Teachers give advice that the teenagers consider discriminatory and unacceptable:

"Yes, they told me... the first thing the teachers told me, and I'll never forget it, he went and... they went and told me: 'All right, try not to make friends with

girls from your own countries”... (Interview 5)

9.3.2.2.3. Differences perceived between public schools and private/subsidized schools

When they have had experience with different schools in different categories (public and subsidized) boys and girls encounter differences in the levels of racism. Some of them believe that the interaction, attitudes and behavior in public schools, where there are usually more foreign students, are much more positive than in subsidized schools.

Infor. 1: *Eh... when you arrive... I... when I arrived here in Spain, the first time that I went to school it was a public institute... there's no racism in a public institute, at least... I don't know about you, but for me... [laughs]*

Infor. 3: *Ah... no, no... in my institute there is...*

Infor. 1: *There is, in the public institutes, but not... there isn't a lot, because I ...*

Infor. 3: *It's like in the subsidized schools, the thing is that in the subsidized schools, the problem is that there aren't many Latinos...*

Infor. 1: *The thing is that... let's see... I like the public schools because, partly I like them because... there are a lot... they're less ra... they're, partly, less racist than the subsidized schools, but in fact... (Interview 5)*

9.3.2.3. Job discrimination

Job expectations that others have about them and job expectations that they themselves have

Young people tend to perceive discriminatory treatment regarding their job options and possibilities. They believe that they do not have access to the job options that are judged more highly socially, and see themselves as destined to “resign” themselves to less prestigious kinds of jobs.

“Yes. But the thing is it's more... let's see, how can I say it, according to the profession, they don't even consider Ecuatorians...

...I don't know, that's how I think. They think we're less advanced. I haven't seen any Ecuatorian engineers here, from Ecuador, they give people from other countries more opportunities here, French people, Italians, they give them more opportunities. Here, I don't see...” (Interview 7)

These young people's training and job expectations are very different, despite the difficulties:

“Sure, this year... I'm going to do the first and second years of 'bachillerato'. I want to be a flight attendant.” (Interview 3)

“They don't have that here, the thing is that I plan on doing the higher degree,

first, then I'll get a job and save enough to continue with my degree because I'm not going to depend on my parents to pay for my degree because it's just too expensive, so I've been thinking about paying for it myself, because they... the years will go by, they'll be getting older and all that, because my father is 55 years old, my mother is already 48, so then they'll be here a maximum of five more years, they won't last much longer." (Interview 12)

Infor.: Mmm... [silence] I want to be an actress, but I don't know... [silence] Ah... I'll see, too...

Inter.: Why? How... what... what could you do next year... or have you got some plan... or are you still...?

Infor.: I want to study computer administration. But... well... (Interview 14)

Inter.: But do you have any idea of what you'd like to do?

Infor.: I don't know. Electrician, do computer science, too... Right? He told me that if I want to do the course, to look for some professional training program for me. (Interview 11)

"He told me that if I set a goal for doing electricity and computer science." (Interview 7)

"For now I'm studying to be an electrician." (Interview 8)

Job conditions

They believe that job conditions will not be the same for students who are immigrants as for Spanish people, and that they will have to work longer hours for lower salaries:

"It's always unfair, because a Spanish person always works the established number of hours, but they increase the number of hours for a Latino and pay less. A Spanish person makes sure the boss respects their schedule and pays them fairly." (Interview 1)

9.3.3. Discriminating as a group is easier

They believe that group pressures favor racist behavior:

Inter.: *So, why... why do you bother the Rumanians? I don't understand... [silence] I don't know...*

Infor.: *Well, when they're alone, they don't, only when they're together in a group... (Interview 2)*

9.3.4. Reacting to and evaluating these situations

Many teenagers accept the expectations people have of them, they become imposed expectations that they believe are hard to change. Others, on the contrary, have shown the intelligence and capability to stand up to these expectations and, in spite of everything, try to pursue their interests.

9.3.4.1. Emotional responses to these situations

One of the interviewers' most frequent interests was, specifically, teenagers' reactions to these kinds of experiences.

Inter.: *And how did that situation make you feel?*

Infor.: *Kind of bad... because... like I told you before, we're all the same... there shouldn't be any... difference...*

Inter.: *And were you there when this happened to your aunt?*

Infor.: *Yes, because he told her, my aunt was with me... and my aunt felt bad... and... she pretended it didn't matter, but... yes, it made her feel pretty bad. (Interview 14)*

J.: *And when they say that to you, what do you think? How do you feel?*

C.: *Well, you feel bad, because you feel discriminated against, like they're saying to you, well, you're black and I'm white and we can't be together, and that's all, and all that. (Interview 1)*

Inter.: *And you too... have they done stuff like that to you too? And how did you feel, when they said that to you?*

Infor.: *Bad... bad... [silence]. (Interview 2)*

Inter.: *How do you feel when you hear...?*

Infor.: *Bad. Because I say: 'I don't know why they talk that way, like that...'*
We're all the same... [silence] (Interview 3)

Inter.: *And how did you feel?*

Infor.: *I felt bad because since I didn't know anybody and they come and say to you that you're black, and I don't know what all, like it's not cool. (Interview 8)*

Infor.: *It bothers me, too, when they say that to me, you know?*

Inter.: *Sure, so you don't...*

Infor.: *Because that's not how it is... you need to share things, it's not all theirs. (Interview 16)*

Impotence, you feel like crying:

Inter.: *And did he tell you a little about how he felt and what it was he was doing, how he reacted?*

Infor.: *Sure. He felt impotent, he felt like crying, like telling his boss, but of course he couldn't because they would have fired him and he would have lost his job and he wouldn't be able to send anything back to his country, to Bolivia and all that. (Interview 1)*

These situations not only make the people who are suffering the discrimination feel bad; this is also the reaction to seeing others suffer this kind of aggression:

"Because I got along with them... they say they're bad people... and what I don't like is that... they were from my same country and they started to insult them... a bit of everything. And... since it doesn't hurt me any more if they insult me... it's as if they were insulting me..."

Inter.: *And how did you feel when... with... what happened to your friend?*

Infor.: *At the same time, I felt bad because... it was like... the insinuations were about me, too... (Interview 14)*

"Well, and sure, there's always this: 'sudacas,' these whatever... and sure, I'm South American, and I feel uncomfortable... They say to me: 'You know it has nothing to do with you,' and I say, 'Yeah, but I'm South American, I know it's not about me, but...'" (Interview 5)

Inter.: *How did you feel at that time?*

Infor.: *When the discrimination was happening?*

Inter.: *Yes.*

Infor.: *Well, I felt really bad, because... they were always bothering a friend of mine... once, this... this... I don't know... when they beat her up, she was really in bad shape, and... she went with other women... she went with others, she'd take them along, you know, to smoke a cigarette and everything. (Inter.: Hmhm.) And she didn't come to the institute because she was scared...*

Inter.: *She was scared because they beat her up or they did something to her here, right? Was that where they beat her up?*

Infor.: *Yes... (Interview 17)*

9.3.4.2. Other reactions

Young people also tend to modify their behavior in situations such as these; they start to keep quiet, to ignore it:

Inter.: *And what do you do when...? Do you ignore it?*

Infor.: *You ignore it... anymore... you're not going to... [] if they have their opinion, well let them have it... (Interview 3)*

"Ah... when they say little Chinaman... the thing is that... [silence] well, ... I say something in... in my language... like idiot... and now, already, already, I let me... I let me... because when they say little Chinaman... not heard..."

I don't do anything, so that... there are lots of people who say little Chinaman to you... forget it... yes... [silence]. " (Interview 4)

J.: *What do you think is the best thing to do when someone insults you or says something to you?*

D.: *Keep quiet.*

J.: *Keep quiet, why?*

D.: *Because if they see you keep quiet, it's like you're ignoring them, if they see you answer back, they keep the game up, sending more notes and insulting you. If you tear up the note and they see that you don't pay any attention to them, and all that. (Interview 7)*

"Nothing, I kept quiet. I didn't pay any attention to them..."

... I, if I were them, I wouldn't pay any attention, because that's how I avoid getting into problems. Because once I did have problems. A Spanish person, who said that to me, and we punched each other out, and the police came, and I was in the police station for six hours, and so I got some experience and... well, I don't like it when they say that to me, and since it makes you fucking mad, you lose it and you don't know what could happen, because of that, you

could stab someone or anything at all. I prefer not to pay any attention to them because otherwise I get myself into problems and I don't want to have problems with anybody. That's what my mother says: 'when they say that to you, don't pay any attention to them, and that's it.' (Interview 8)

Infor.: I don't know. What really surprises me is that in my class there's a kid who's black and he's friends with all those guys and he never says anything.

Inter.: How does he get along? He keeps quiet and that's it?

Infor.: Yes. When we're arguing he never says anything, but the thing is that he's a kid who doesn't keep quiet about stuff and everything, but since they're his friends, maybe that's why he doesn't say anything.

Inter.: Would you like to ask him anything?

Infor.: Well, sometime I'd like to ask him why he doesn't answer them back. I don't know, if it were me, I'd be arguing with them all day because they go way too far, with what they say, but I don't know. He's adopted. When he was little, they adopted him from some country, I don't know which one. (Interview 15)

Another action is to respond to insults with insults, or with some kind of explanation:

Infor.: Yeah, but a racist. When they insult me I insult them, I don't keep quiet then, when they insult me, I insult them.

Inter.: And where does that get you? Because now you've gone from keeping quiet to insulting.

Infor.: Yeah. The thing is it's kind of like letting go more. You see that if you insult them they shut up, they don't talk to you any more. (Interview 7)

Infor.: Well, at first, kind of bad, because I was really shy. They started to say that to me and I kept quiet at first until I started to cut them off and answer back and that was that. Right from the start I had my group of friends and everything, but they would come and start to bother us. (Interview 15)

Inter.: Yes, they've said 'get out of here' to you, how did you feel when they said that to you?

Infor.: I answered what I told you, that if it were up to me, I wouldn't be here. I... I understand that their country is their country, you know? But, well.... (Interview 16)

Infor.: I don't know, some people look at you suspiciously on the street, some Spanish people... that's all.

Inter.: And with your family, too, they've had experiences with racism.

Infor.: *I don't think my father has, and my brother either, and my mother... I don't know. My sister hasn't, because my sister is, like, violent, she stops them in their tracks: you, you say to me, racist, you're the one who went to steal from my country, because the Spanish people went there and stole all the gold, and so they shut up.*

Inter.: *Wow, that seems kind of strong...* (Interview 19)

Or they decide on violence:

"Immigrant. At the beginning, I had a fight with a Spanish guy because several days in a row he sent me notes saying 'go back to your country already' with a bad word, I went up to him and punched him and that was it. And that's how you get more authority, they say hello to you, it's not like I'm saying I'm the king of the class, but since they see you a little more authoritarian, they start to respect you little by little.

... I kept quiet. When I was little, I fought hard not to have problems, then, since they thought I was a quiet person, who didn't react, then I started letting go little by little, and after that fight nobody sent me notes any more." (Interview 7)

Infor.: *With some, but instead of talking, well... they go in with their fists and all that... [silence]...*

Inter.: *Ahah.*

Infor.: *But not in the institute... they say to us: 'We'll meet in such and such a place, and we'll settle it there.'*

Inter.: *Ahah. And does it get settled, or...*

Infor.: *No, [] someone leaves with a broken nose and everything...* (Interview 2)

"Once, yes, I was... I was playing with my friends from China and a kid says: 'Little Chinaman, little Chinaman,' like that... nothing happened and... I made a pa... punch at me... and... another day I fought with him... yes... another day when... when he said that to me, I fought with him... yes... once or twice..." (Interview 4)

These are some of the appraisals of these reactions:

Inter.: *What do you think about ending up fighting, to solve a little problem?*

Infor.: *Sometimes, I don't know what good the fights do. It's not about being more macho or stronger.* (Interview 7)

9.3.4.3. How to address situations of discrimination

The teenagers often explained that they tend **to seek support from other young people**, support which helps them to take on, understand and react to these very situations:

“There are a lot of us Rumanians and we support one another, and [] a problem, well, we come... and we help him, like... talking and everything...” (Interview 2)

Inter.: *...and these kids you go out with, well, did you ever have any experiences, like you felt, or sometimes as a group, too, eh... if you ever felt discriminated against or some strange situation like that.*

Infor.: *No, because... because I don't think they bother these guys because they are, since you can tell they're strong, well, they don't bother them.* (Interview 17)

An alternative reaction is to take it good-naturedly:

“Yes, every day... it's a bore... the truth is, it's a bore... [laughs] Every day... so then you just laugh about it and... that's it... And so we go talking about our stuff, we don't bother anybody, you know? And the drivers look at us suspiciously, too...” (Interview 5)

On the other hand, they find it **difficult** to tell their families about these kinds of experiences sometimes, in order to avoid creating an even bigger problem. Trying to go unnoticed, and not be pointed out by others (teachers and classmates) is another strategy:

Inter.: *Have you ever been in one of these discriminatory situations and told your parents about it?*

Infor.: *My parents, never.*

Inter.: *Not even your mother?*

Infor.: *No.*

Inter.: *Why?*

Infor.: *I don't know.*

Inter.: *Because that's not the sort of thing you tell?*

Infor.: *In order not to have problems. If I tell my mother, she'll go to talk with the director and there in school they'll say to her, 'he only likes to make trouble.' My parents believe in me more now. If something happens to me, I just cause them more problems.* (Interview 7)

Some, however, do go to their families with these problems:

“Yes, I told my mother, and once my mother came here to talk to the teacher, that this was intolerable... and the teacher told her to go to the police [laughs a little].” (Interview 17)

They also go directly to their teachers at the institute:

Inter.: *You too? They bothered you, right? And how did you react?*

Infor.: *Well, I... always... I told the teacher [unintelligible bit] scolded [laughs]...I told her, sometimes I went to Direction, and all that... (Interview 17)*

Some are incapable of putting up with the situations and end up leaving:

"Just like me. At first, they didn't adapt, they sent him notes, he was attacked too, by Spanish people, and three months later he went back to his country." (Interview 7)

"Some other one? Well, at school, too. Not at my school, in another school, some of my friends told me that a black boy arrived and they didn't want to accept him because he was black, just because of that, and in the end the boy left." (Interview 15)

9.3.4.4. Teenagers' evaluation of this type of experience

When we asked about the reasons behind these situations, the majority said they do not know:

"Why do they say it's illegal and everything... they say go back to your country, you're illegal, you can't be here... go be hungry..." (Interview 2)

"They don't have anything to do with it... I have something... they don't have anything to do with it... And so, the thing on the bus, what I told you about the bus, that's every ... [noise] that happens... it happens every day, I mean, every day that we come on the bus, morning and afternoon... every day the women stare at us, but suspiciously... and I don't know why... we haven't done anything to them... we're just coming..." (Interview 5)

Inter.: *And why do you think that happens?*

Infor.: *I don't know... because... they differentiate between people... no, no, I don't understand it, to tell you the truth...*

Inter.: *And have you ever wondered, have you thought about why... why...?*

Infor.: *I've thought about it, but I've never reached any conclusion... who knows why...*

Inter.: *What kind of things, um... what do they say to them, or... do, or...?*

Infor.: *Well, they start to... to insult people who aren't from here, like that... And I don't like that, no I don't... I hate it...*

Inter.: *And when you... when you went out with [] did you wonder why...*

Infor.: *Yes, I said to them: 'But why... why do they say stuff if they're equals?'*

And they said no, that blacks, this and that... but... but they didn't, they never said why... exactly... (Interview 3)

Inter.: *And how did that situation make you feel?*

Infor.: *Kind of bad... because... like I told you before, we're equal... there shouldn't be any... any difference between anybody...*

... There was a person... because they were... a Spanish person, it was, who... because the other person had brown skin, started to insult her, called her all sorts of names... But... there's no reason for me to... [silence] bother another... another person, because we're all the same... but we're also different, but nobody is perfect... And... if the person is another color, you don't need to insult them... it's better to get along... than to not get along with them... And also... they laughed at how he talked... he doesn't know a lot of Spanish, but...it's not his fault... or hers ... (Interview 14)

Some suggest a lack of knowledge as an explanation for his kind of behavior:

Inter.: [] *It seems like... like... like it's an issue of them not knowing, right? Not knowing people...*

Infor.: *No. [silence] (Interview 3)*

"It could be... well, now, thinking about it, it could be... I mean, the feeling that I get when someone on the street looks at me suspiciously or simply that... it's like, I don't know, I feel like it's an unfair situation because they don't know me and they are already judging me. And we all, we all do that and... I mean, all human beings do that, when we meet someone or see someone, simply, there are even studies about it, I think we've talked about that in class sometimes, that impressions are made in the first thirty seconds. The thing is that... the thing is... That's not bad, the thing is that we shouldn't apply it, I mean, or we should keep them in mind as impressions that are made more or less from nothing, well, without the more or less, and we have to be ready to change them, like with anything else." (Interview 10)

In this example, the girl was able to make a historical analysis and connect her country's situation of colonial dependency with respect to Spain and the present-day process of reverse migration, even though only vaguely:

Inter.: *And how do you react to this... when you see something like that...?*

Infor.: *I kept quiet because... but, like I say... if they complain that we come over here... that's how we were, too, because, according to what they've told me about history... the Spanish people went to our country too [] But they went [] but we come here, they come to work... and... and to earn, with the sweat of their brows, to be able to eat and everything... I mean, they don't come here... I'm going to rob you and that's it ... (Interview 14)*

9.3.5. We all practice discriminatory behavior

The teenagers are aware that we all, on some occasion or other, have treated others in a racist way:

"Ssss...probably, I mean, yes, I've probably done that because I think that we are all racist. Um, right now I don't remember anything and I think that, if I realized it, I tried at least, even if only to say I was sorry, or..." (Interview 10)

Inter.: *Have you treated anybody in a racist way?*

Infor.: *In my country I did.*

Inter.: *You did?*

Infor.: *Not here. In my country, I was, sure.*

Inter.: *With whom? In what situation?*

Infor.: *With schoolmates, because I'm from Santa Cruz and there are some girls, you know, from different departments, like la Paz and all that, and people from la Paz talk differently, they say everything with 'S', and that's why. Normally Santa Cruz and la Paz don't get along, they just don't, because there are several barriers.*

Inter.: *So, what was it with the people from Santa Cruz?*

Infor.: *Santa Cruz is the prettiest city in Bolivia. It's more a tourist city.*

Inter.: *Where are you from?*

Infor.: *From Santa Cruz (laughs). The thing is that even the people from la Paz, have told me that Santa Cruz is pretty. Well, sure, each person defends wherever they're from, right? But yes, I've been a racist.*

Inter.: *And how did you treat them?*

Infor.: *I didn't say anything to them, they call people from la Paz 'coya' and they don't like it, and so I said "shut up, coya", and that's why my friends got mad at me, because I told them they were coyas. (Interview 1)*

Inter.: *Did it ever happen to you, that you treated someone, um, in a racist way?*

Infor.: *Yes! (Inter.: Yes?) Because there's one girl who is Moroccan, and I really dislike her, and I always insult her.*

Inter.: *Hmmm.*

Infor.: *The thing is that I really dislike her [laughs]and I say to her, 'Shitty Moor!' and all that...*

Inter.: *Ah...well, and is it just with her?*

Infor.: *Yeah. Because I don't bother the Latina girls, because I'm Latina, and...*

Inter.: *But in the end, do you get along? Or not at all?*

Infor.: *No.*

Inter.: *No, you dislike her and she dislikes you, right? And where is she from, from the institute or somewhere else?*

Infor.: *Yes, she's from the institute.*

Inter.: *And do you have more Moroccan friends? Or don't you have any? (Infor.: NO.) So then, no others, I mean friends...*

Infor.: *No, I don't want to have any Moroccan friends, no... I don't like Moroccans, people from Morocco..*

Inter.: *But do you think, because maybe it's just that girl that you don't like, but it doesn't have to be that way with all of them, right? It the same... when... the same as when they say to us 'because your a 'Sudaca' or something like that...*

Infor.: *I don't care if they call me Sudaca! I'd rather be a sudaca than a Moor... (Interview 17)*

The stereotypical opinions about gypsies tend to be very marked (see the section on stereotypes); this is one of the groups about which the most prejudices are expressed:

"With the gypsies, with them, we have more, lots of the people in our group here have had lots of problems with them." (Interview 7)

9.3.6. Reasons to discriminate

The reasons to discriminate tend to be rather superficial, focused mainly on physical aspects such as color, appearance, way of dressing, and associated with the identifiable origin of these characteristics. These are some explicit references:

"They say about being black to me a lot. I don't know why people are better because they're white, right? It doesn't matter." (Interview 8)

"My first... I mean, my first school, was also a subsi... a subsidized one, and I was the only other one like her... a foreigner and... they... I mean, they didn't say anything to me because I looked more like... like people here... that was... that was what they told me, but they made life imposible for another friend whose skin was darker..." (Interview 5)

"My mother's boss told me that I should use something to make my skin whiter. She said: 'why don't you use a cream? I got mad, of course. I told her no, be-

cause I liked being that color and that's it. If she's white she's white, and if I'm brown, I'm brown, but that's it. But nobody's said anything else to me." (Interview 1)

"There was a person... who, because... a Spanish person, who... because the other person was brown, began to insult them, said all sorts of stuff... But... there's no reason for me to... [silence] to bother other people... other people, because we're all the same... but we're different, too, but nobody's perfect... And... if they're another color, that's no reason to insult them... it's better to get along than... than not to get along with them... And also... they laughed at how he talked... he didn't know much Spanish, but... it wasn't his fault... or hers ..." (Interview 14)

Infor.: I don't know... because... Once, I... I... eh... I talked, once I talked with a Nazi, on the phone. [laughs] [...] because he said that he liked Latinas! [laughs] and he called me, and I asked him why he was a racist, and he told me that it was because they're invading his country... and they don't want that, the thing is he says that there are a lot today... there are lots of blacks and all that (Inter.: Hmmm.), that he doesn't want blacks here... (Interview 17)

Inter.: They are Rumanians and Spanish people. Mhmh... And who have you had problems like that with, the ones you say hit... hit you...?

Infor.: []

Inter.: No, [] no, but are they... are they Spanish, or...? Because...

Infor.: Spanish people, Cubans, and... all those kinds of people...

Inter.: And why? Why... but do you fight, or... or is it...?

Infor.: They insult me, they say to me: 'I'll shit on []!'

Inter.: Yes, but why... why do you think that...?

Infor.: Because I'm from Rumania and... (Interview 2)

"Ah! And do you know what...?... Yesterday we were talking with the social science teacher and he said to us that in France, a hundred and fifty years ago, they said that... about... that Africa began at the Pyrenees, and then on downward... this means that Spain is Africa... So ... [] that Spain is Africa... and then, that continues all the way up to now, and it's like a racism that France has with respect to Spain... And it's... and the Europeans have a little, like, of... of... of racism against the people who come from the south... just about..." (Interview 5)

The way people dress also tends to be used to label them, often mistakenly (see the section on perceptions of immigration), and these labels are used to assign roles and forms of behavior (delinquency):

"I think that older people are a little bit racist, too, eh? Like they look at you suspiciously [] More because of the way I dress, people take me along because of how I dress..."(Interview 3)

"And so... nothing... that... that's all... Then, too, we always bring out these issues, right? issues of... and I'm sick of it because... it's true, the gangs... the violence, they relate them to immigration, and that bothers me a whole lot... So, I don't relate it ..."(Interview 5)

"Yes, for boys. Because since you're a boy [] the clothes you wear... you wear makes them... just like that... delinquents... just like that..."(Interview 3)

"Yes, they think badly of you. They think we're delinquents or something" (Interview 8)

Infor.: Well, they beat up a friend of mine. That was a year ago or so. She's a friend who's older than me and she's a really 'pija' girl, really pija¹³. She's in another school, she lives in Toledo, and she told me that some girls had beaten her up because she was pija. And she had problems with them and everything."(Interview 15)

9.3.7. Experiences of discrimination are declining

Young people also perceive that, as time goes by and as they get to know the contexts that they move in, the people with whom they interact, they gradually become integrated and discriminatory behavior and attitudes towards them decrease:

Inter: Yes... And you... Do you still have... problems... like that...?

Infor.: Not now, not anymore... not many...

Inter.: When you were smaller...

Infor.: Yes.

Inter.: Mhmm.

¹³ 'Pija' is a word generally used by youths to refer to others who are identified with money, who wear brand-name clothes, some of whom speak in a very characteristic way.

Infor.: *And now, not anymore. I've already made lots of Spanish friends and all that...*

Inter.: *Mhmm. And how... how did you go from... from... them insulting you or... bothering you because you are Rumanian []?*

Infor.: *Well, I don't know... because something [], studying and everything... (Interview 2)*

Infor.: *Well, there's some... there's always someone [] they think I'm new, and some of them come and insult me and all that... But... I stand up to them. [silence]*

Inter.: *And why... why do you think they only do that to the new people?*

Infor.: *Because people who have been here longer than a year or two, already have Spanish friends, and...*

Inter.: *And how... how did you make Spanish friends?*

Infor.: *Well... at the institute... I don't know why... I swear...*

Inter.: *I mean, it's normal... it's natural, since... You're here with them...*

Infor.: *I was... they saw that I was alone... so talking to them... then playing soccer... I don't know... (Interview 2)*

"The students... not now, before they did... not now, really, things have changed a lot in my school, I'm not just saying it... before they did, not now, for example, at home, we all get along." (Interview 11)

"Yes, but they had been there longer... but just the same... they show off, I don't know... They changed... they've changed a lot... like I'm already Spanish now, like they were from here, they thought... And... with all that from here, well... I didn't... I was... alone there... until I got to be friends with some girls and then..." (Interview 14)

"Yes, then... Then... it began to... they started to make more friends, so then, like, those boys didn't bother them anymore" (Interview 17)

Other young people think that the social changes, the increase in the immigrant population and the longer time that different groups of people have coexisted can help to reduce this kind of behavior:

"But I'm telling you, four years ago, that... but now... the thing is that there are more Spanish people and... foreigners, more in a group ..." (Interview 5)

9.3.8. There are also positive experiences

Of course, the young people also describe positive experiences of friendship and of good relations at work:

"In my class... in my class... in my class, the thing is that there aren't any Latinas, but I... if I make friends with someone... because for me, there's no... since I have my friend, my friend says: "I don't think of you as a Latina, you're an equal human being, and for me, you're my best friend and I love you because of what... because of what you are, not because of the way you seem to be," do you understand me? And I went, and I said to him...

...No, seriously, now, that, that... that makes me really sad and my friend says that: 'I don't care what you're like... I mean, your color, or where you come from...' he's delighted to be..." (Interview 5)

"I met two friends of mine and I get along really well with them and... I mean... they're my best friends and I love them a whole lot, and you eat together and I get along really well... and everything, everything's fine, right? And... they were... that class was... that... they... that was a really nice class, nobody thought... nobody looked at me suspiciously, everybody was: 'Hey, girl, how's it going? And everything, didn't you come to this class? Here, copy it, and everything..., you know? And they never said..." (Interview 5)

"And I have always had lots of good people, really nice people, with all the people who are [] I work with people all day, because I'm in a shopping center, and there are lots of really good people... that you can trust, they... they say hello to you, they talk to you... and there are other people who just see you and walk away..." (Interview 5)

Inter.: *Have you learned anything from your Argentinean friend?*

Infor.: *Well, yeah, he told us some words that they use there. Because, sure, there were times we were in class, he was telling something and he didn't tell it the same way we did, or he said a word. For example, the dishwasher, he didn't know how to say it, he called it a 'plate-scrubber.' Things like that.*

Inter.: *So do I, and I'm not Argentinean.*

Infor.: *But he didn't know what that word meant. Things like that. You learn new things. And then, from this girl who's Moslem, I've learned a little about her religion. When it was Ramadan, she told us that in physical education class, when she had to do something, she couldn't. Things like that. I don't know. They've also told us a little bit about their country, what it's like. This Argentinean boy told us a lot about what his neighborhood was like, what the people there are like, and everything. I don't know. Once you get to know them, you don't talk about that stuff much anymore, anyway. (Interview 15)*

Dimension IV - STEREOTYPES, PREGUDICES AND RACISM

Outline of contents and subcategories

- 9.4.1. What does being a racist mean?
- 9.4.2. We all have stereotypes and prejudices
- 9.4.3. Consequences and reactions
- 9.4.4. Evaluation of stereotypes and prejudices
- 9.4.5. Influence of our surroundings on the way teenagers think
- 9.4.6. Some solutions

9.4.1. What does being a racist mean?

The teenagers understand racism to be discrimination against a person because of their physical characteristics or other criteria (color, origin, economic status). They sometimes even associate it with hate.

Inter.: *What does being a racist mean to you?*

Infor.: *Well, discriminating against a person because of their color or race or whatever... (Interview 3)*

J.: *What do you think being a racist is?*

C.: *Well, a racist is a person, mostly they say it about blacks, because he's black I don't want to be with him, and that's it. Mostly, you hear it here about blacks. (Interview 1)*

Infor.: *Racism, well... [silence] Fighting with a Rumanian, who hasn't done anything, [] and they beat him up and everything...*

Inter.: *For being Rumanian, right?*

Infor.: *Yeah.*

Inter.: *And... and that's not...*

Infor.: *And they say: 'Take that, for being Rumanian... (Interview 2)*

Infor. 1: *When someone's a racist, there are lots of people they don't like.*

Inter.: *Lots of people they don't like.*

Infor. 1: *They don't like all people.*

Infor. 2: *No, it's only the ones who are their race or white.*

Infor. 3: *Racist, racist, someone who doesn't want immigrants in their country.*

Inter.: *Doesn't want immigrants.*

All: *No.*

Inter.: *Doesn't want their race. (Interview 6)*

Infor.: *No. When a group of people is discriminated against and all that.*

Inter.: *Why?*

Infor.: *Because of their color, because of their race, because of the countries they come from, also because of how some of them think. (Interview 7)*

Inter.: *Can you tell me words, just words, that you associate with the word racism?*

Infor.: *Prejudice, classification...*

Inter.: *All the ones that occur to you. Without thinking...*

Inter.: *I'm interested in your free association of ideas, too.*

Infor.: *Let's see, prejudice, classification, and, well, all the words that go with classification, group, or maybe race... With racism, more things.*

Inter.: *Quickly, the faster they come out, the better.*

Infor.: *I don't know, the thing is that then...*

Inter.: *Don't stop to think.*

Infor.: *Maybe hate, maybe, um, inferiority, superiority, um, um, classification, but not according to groups, but from better to worse, quote-unquote. I mean, a scale classification, more or less, whatever you want to call it. Maybe..., the two first ones, I think, are the ones that come... that come into mind most, but then... the thing is that it's not... then I also said a lot of bad things, but I don't know any good ones. I don't know, it's pretty complicated, saying things without thinking. (Interview 10)*

"...The problem is the number of prejudices that we have associated with... simply with the label of race such and such, or a series of characteristics,

physical ones, more than anything else, well, physical, or maybe economic, social, well, a series of characteristics that we then associate with this kind of race or ethnic group, or... all of this quote-unquote. [pause] Eh... I don't know." (Interview 10)

Inter.: *What does being a racist mean?*

Infor.: *That you don't accept or you don't like people who come from other countries, especially if they're Asian or African or South American countries.* (Interview 15)

"Well, racism is when they don't like you because of the color of your skin, or because you're from another country... or because you've got a different accent, I don't know, all that..." (Interview 17)

They relate this behavior to **stereotypes** (such as classifications, even though we must consider that the concept of race is probably not the most adequate concept for making any kind of grouping) and **prejudice**.

"What occurs to me is that it's like a kind of classification that we make of human beings. [pause] The thing is that it's really rough because it doesn't... we don't... what a race, quote-unquote, is, doesn't have as many things in common as... But it's another kind of grouping, like, maybe, citizens of a nation, or... Well, I don't know, that's all I can think of. And the thing that I... the concept that occurs to me when I think about racism is 'prejudice'. But not... I don't know, I can't think of anything else right now..."

... Well, let's say that... I think this is how it is, but I'm not... So, 'I have prejudices' and 'I'm a racist.' Um, if the word is used to denote something, it's the same thing for me, it's the same because I use... it's... being a racist means that I'm using prejudices to classify people, right? I mean, according to my definition of racism. And I am using... I'm... I mean, 'I have prejudices,' is like... I'm also using prejudices to classify people, because you use prejudices to classify people, I think. However, in the society I live in, where I am, what I think is that in context... it's different. 'I'm a racist' is taken to mean 'I hate a certain group' or 'I'm xenophobic,'; 'I have prejudices' can be considered...[long pause] I don't know, but no so..." (Interview 10)

They point out that racist classifications refer to a **hierarchy** of groups.

"No, because... what you... as for racism, it sounds more like a classification for... I don't know how to say it, other than inferiorize... making like a scale, who is better, who is worse. It could also be done with nations, but at least it's not so marked. But, clearly, with races or however you say it, I mean, quote-unquote, it's not so fair as it could be with nations." (Interview 10)

This classification is made from a series of **negative or positive characteristics assigned to each race**:

"That's what it suggests to me, a classification, both negative and positive. I mean, in... I mean, not that it will benefit us, or maybe it will. But... No, I'm not judging it, but rather a group called race, right? that's how we're doing it, a series of qualities are attributed, perhaps, or characteristics, that can be both good and bad..."

...and what I say is that good, quote unquote, characteristics, as well as bad, quote unquote, ones are attributed to a series of people, their physical aspect, above all ..." (Interview 10)

Racism has also been related to **feeling of hate** towards others:

"We get hate out of our prejudices, but not the prejudices... they don't lead us directly to hate, but we build the bridge from hate to prejudices on our own, there's not a bridge from prejudices to hate. Maybe there's not even... it's also a one-way bridge, I mean, I can only relate hate to prejudices if I have hate, and I can take it over to this group or classification. Now, where does the hate come from? You can learn it... from your parents, from your society; you can acquire it from a bad experience, and I can't think of anything else. But I don't know..."

... Explanation? No, because I think that it is..., I mean, not prejudices... hate cannot come from prejudices, no, no, at least it shouldn't appear. Because we are applying this hate to a group, and we're not... besides, this hate prevents us from seeing that it is a prejudice, it prevents us from seeing that it is a prejudice and it prevents us from identifying it as such and being able to change it, which is how it should be... how, I think that prejudices should be used. So, what was the question?" (Interview 10)

Teenagers who belong to groups from other countries are conscious of the prejudices that are held about them because of this, and that is why they try not to feed these kinds of prejudices; they **feel responsible for the negative behavior of other people** from their same group of origin:

Infor.: *Drinking... alcohol...*

Infor.: *...Drinking... I mean, it's fine, right?, that there's a meeting point for the Latinos... the thing is that... I mean, they leave the park a mess, an absolute dump... it used to be the Retiro, but now they've gone to the Casa de Campo... and sure, that gives Spanish people a reason to talk, that infuriates us... and they're right about that...*

...So then they got on the me... at the Casa de Campo stop, two Ecuadorians got on and they were... they were drunk, but really, totally drunk, I mean, it was embarrassing... and that really does embarrass me... and of course, that's the way we get labelled... they go... (Interview 5)

9.4.2. We all have stereotypes and prejudices

The young people understand that prejudices and stereotypes are a way of organizing our surroundings:

“And we... we all do that, and... I mean, all human beings do that, when we meet someone or see someone, simply, there are even studies about it, I think, that, we talked about that once in class, that impressions are made in the first thirty seconds...”

... Because, then too, I have my prejudices about that person, maybe I think that all older people are going to look at me suspiciously because they are prejudiced against adolescents, that they're, that they're going to push them, for example, or that they'll jump the line for the bus, or that they're not going to pay somewhere.” (Interview 10)

9.4.3. Consequences and reactions

The consequences of having prejudices, especially the negative kind, can be very diverse; one outstanding one is that they **generate tension in interactions**:

“The consequences? It's...they're...well, I don't know, my opinion is that they generate an environment that is too tense, because above all, what stands out the most of a..., this kind of classification, or of a group of this kind, you are always more conscious of their bad characteristics, how they can attack you, quote unquote, how they can hurt you, because, I don't know, the gypsies are going to rob me, the... I mean, this or maybe... that person's going to be rude, I don't know who is going to be... going to be... going to be a...” (Interview 10)

Reactions of the person who pre-judges

The assumption that people that we identify with a specific group will behave in a certain way can generate a **previous reaction** (fear, generation of expectations, etc.) in an individual even before the other takes action:

“Yes, when I or anyone else who might have these kinds of prejudices... I mean, the case, the consequence of having these kinds of prejudices would be that the individual, the person, when he meets someone that he considers to be... that he identifies with this group, that he has this kind of prejudice, on the street, he will have, for example, if he thinks he's a gypsy and that gypsies steal, well, he'll be more frightened, he'll look at him suspiciously.

... Well, first, he'll be scared, whenever he sees a gypsy or someone he thinks is a gypsy, that they've pointed out to him, or they've... yes, that they've... he identifies as a gypsy, because he might not identify the person as a gypsy,

or... simply... or he might, but anyway, there's no reason for us to classify him that way. [telephone, interruption]" (Interview 10)

Reactions of the person who feels judged

Negative thoughts and opinions that confirm the first impression and that are generated in relation to a **tense atmosphere** stand out. But the teenagers are aware that this is a situation which is provoked:

"It might be that... well, now, thinking about it, it might be that... I mean, the feeling that I have when someone on the street looks at me suspiciously or simply that... it's like, I don't know, I feel like it's an unfair situation because they don't know me and they're already judging me..."

... And, then, if... imagine that they're looking at me suspiciously because I'm an adolescent and adolescents steal or... or I'm going to push an old lady. Well, then, he's going to look at me suspiciously, and if he looks at me suspiciously, well I, sincerely, think that he's not a very nice person, because he's looking at me suspiciously. And then, it generates an atmosphere of tension between one... and it could perfectly well generate a confrontation." (Interview 10)

One of the most negative consequences of prejudice and stereotypes about people is when **the person accepts the stereotypes** that society has about his or her own group. The stereotypes influence the construction of the person's own identity:

Inter.: No, what... Well, exact.. what he is, do you understand? Because we're talking about groups, that is, if a person has ever considered you to be superior to him because he classifies you in a certain group.

Infor.: Ah, but, sure, he...

Inter.: I don't know if it's the same as an individual, but as belonging to a group.

Infor.: You mean that he himself is classifying himself as inferior. (Interview 10)

"Well, some, some don't think that, they think that, well, Latinos and people from Spain here, they think they're not the same because they themselves give us, they insinuate that we're not the same people as they are." (Interview 1)

The consequences of prejudice for the actions, behavior or expectations that we may have of others are, in their opinion always negative, even if the prejudice expressed is a positive one:

"That depends on the person. Maybe being over-valued is positive for me, but it might be negative for another person, to be over-valued; maybe being under-valued is positive for me, but it might be negative for another person to be under-valued; or the other way around..."

... Yes, over-valuing me has bad consequences, because then, it generates high expectations, which might be good or bad, depending on the person. Under-valuing creates low expectations, you could say, they can also be good or bad, depending on the person. Not only that, but self-esteem, in two different people, depending on the two people, will go down more or go down less, or it won't have any influence, but the thing is that it can generate an influence, it generates an influence lots of times, or even all the time." (Interview 10)

International conflicts

This boy, thinking about these issues, makes a qualitative leap to establish a parallel between this behavior and these interactions oriented by prejudice and international conflicts, showing that these are also guided by prejudice held by the different sides:

"And then, well, generalizing, I mean, on a larger scale, it could lead to real problems on the international or national level, or... Wars? Maybe, small wars, I don't know. But, I don't know, I think that everything that's going on now between Israel and Palestine, everything, simplifying it a whole lot, like, is, it could be like this: I'm from such and such a group and since I see another person who isn't... who's from the other group, that's it, since there's this... this atmosphere, this confrontation between groups, even though I don't have anything to... nothing to be angry with with, with... with the person from the other group, who I'm going to run across, well, I'll throw a stone at him or not, or I'll simply continue to generate this atmosphere of tension, confrontation. And this, in turn, increases, because maybe the other person didn't have that feeling, but, because of my feeling, that someone else has caused me to have, probably, he... he generates it in five more people, and then, that's how it can become a hundred, or two hundred... that's it, on a really really really large scale, and that is a large-scale problem then. And that is why those prejudices are maybe so problematic, because they can... they can generate problems that are a lot bigger than what is simply a mere assumption." (Interview 10)

9.4.4. Evaluation of stereotypes and prejudices

The young people realize that, initially, they can be useful and necessary, to categorize reality in a basic way, but they also realize how **unjust** this kind of generalization and prejudice can be.

"Because it's compared with... or maybe because it's taken too seriously... I don't know, because... because it's making a prejudice and prejudices are unfair, at first, at first they may be useful or they may be more or less, more than useful, maybe they're necessary for us because... we classify everything. I... I

mean, that, for example, is an idea of Aristotle's that I read, that we always classify everything, prejudices are a way of being able to classify everything, but, sure, wait a minute, to classify oneself..." (Interview 10)

As happened with the situation of discrimination, the adolescents feel themselves **unable to understand** racist behavior:

Inter.: *And what do you think about... about... about what you call racism? What... what...? What... what... do you think could solve all this?*

Infor.: *I think that racism doesn't make sense, because we're all the same, you know? But I don't know exactly why racism exists...*

Inter.: *And why do you think this happens?*

Infor.: *I don't know... because... they differentiate between people... no, no, to tell the truth, I don't understand it...*

Inter.: *And have you ever wondered, have you ever thought about why... why...?*

Infor.: *I've thought about it, but I've never reached any conclusion... who knows why ... (Interview 3)*

Inter.: *Do you think being a racist does any good or is it something that's useless?*

Infor.: *I don't think it does any good. It's useless. The only thing you do is miss chances to meet new people. If you're a racist, maybe you don't want to meet them.*

Inter.: *What's good about meeting new people?*

Infor.: *Well, if they're from other cultures, you get to know other cultures and you talk with people who have different interests from yours. You might find out that you like to do the same stuff they do and you have more friends. (Interview 15)*

The teenagers vindicate the need to **accept one's own individuality, one's own difference** beyond assigning/identifying the person with a specific group:

Inter.: *Wouldn't it be better if they took you the way you are?*

Infor.: *It would be better...*

Inter.: *Instead of under-valuing or over-valuing you.*

Infor.: *Um, take you like just another person, not have... you're not just like anyone, you're not any better or any worse, you're different. I mean, what's better, white or.. triangular? Well, I don't know, it's different. (Interview 10)*

"But it's like everything else... what I... I say, why generalize? Why do they

say: *oh, they're the Ecuatorians, oh, they're the Colombians, oh, they're the Peruvians... if we're all... on a general level, we all have the same head... and lots... there are groups that are divided, that... there's bad and good things...*" (Interview 5)

They also vindicate the need to always remain open to modifying our impressions about others:

"But, then, too.. maybe this change becomes another prejudice, because, if someone smiles and says hello, that doesn't necessarily mean that he's also nice or friendly, or if someone tells me a joke all of a sudden, it doesn't mean that they are necessarily funny, no. Well, I don't know. That's why, our impressions of people... the impression we have of people should be open, as it were. And with prejudices, even more so, they should never be closed..."

... This isn't bad, the thing is that we shouldn't apply it, I mean, or we should keep them in mind as if they were impressions formed, more or less, from nothing, or without the more or less, and we have to be ready to change them, like with anything else." (Interview 10)

They insist on the errors that **generalization** can lead to:

"Well, first, the characteristics that can be attributed to a so-called group or race, quote unquote, of course, are prejudices and are always going to be prejudices, even if we know all but one of this group that... I mean, that we identify as a group... which is, anyway, it is... It seems impossible to me to make a circle: you're outside, you're inside. But anyway, the thing is that if it could be done or if there's anyone who believes that it can be done and does it and knows everyone in the group except one person, even if there are nine million of them, and he's missing number nine million one, and he could say: 'Well, then, now I've got a very carefully formed opinion because I know nine million people, this one won't be any different. Or at least I've got the most general characteristics.' No, no, there's no reason, it's still a prejudice just the same when you don't know the person as they really are. Perhaps, since we get into groups, maybe they're from certain times in our lives or from a series of more or less common characteristics they have experienced, but you see, then, I mean, simply, me and my neighbor, you'd probably put us in the same group or you would put lots of people in the same group, because they could even say, maybe we went to the same... to the same school, we've got the same kind of parents, in the same type of social class, in the same type of neighborhood, the same type of friends, and all that; we're not the same, I mean we're very different. Oh no!, but one thing doesn't necessarily lead to another." (Interview 10)

9.4.5. Influence of our surroundings on the way teenagers think

Four main nuclei of influence in adolescents were identified in the interviews: friends, family, education and travel.

They give a positive reading to **the influence of friends**:

"Well. I think my friends think the same thing, that we're all the same." (Interview 1)

As well as negative readings:

Inter.: *Your friends, how do they influence you?*

Infor.: *Kind of badly, because they have a lot of fights. (Interview 7)*

Inter.: *Do, do you think that they influence you, for example, what you told me, about the... about the Moroccan girl, do others influence you, what others think, or is it because that's how... that's how you feel about her?*

Infor.: *Hmmmm.*

Inter.: *I mean, do your girlfriends, maybe, influence you, the ones from the gang, or...*

Infor.: *No, I, I already think like that... If I say it, it's to other girls: 'Don't you dislike that girl?' I'm the one who wants.... (Interview 17)*

They evaluate **the influence of family members**, mainly mothers and fathers, very positively in the shaping of ideas (concept of equality), in the norms of behavior (how to treat older people, healthy habits) and in the way they learn to deal with conflicts:

"Well, my mother has told me that we're all the same, it doesn't matter whether they're brown-skinned or they talk differently, or whether they're from one place or another, we're all the same. We're all the same, whether someone's missing an eye, a leg, we're all the same. That's it." (Interview 1)

Infor.: *I don't know. Also because of how my parents, my family, have raised me.*

Inter.: *And how was that? Can you explain it to me a little, give me some advice, so that parents can keep it in mind?*

Infor.: *From when we were small, they told me to respect people who were older, pay attention to my parents, that I should ignore anyone who tries to bother me, not answer back with violence, and all that. (Interview 7)*

"It influences me a lot. When I go out, they allow me three hours, if I don't stick to that, they punish me at home, they take my key away. They want to keep

track of me like that... for in case I start to go wrong.” (Interview 7)

“I don’t know, not to look for trouble, not to smoke, not to drink, if anyone says anything to you ignore them.” (Interview 8)

“Other things, um, experiences of attitudes that I consider to be bad; now, why do I consider them to be bad? Because I must have learned it from, from you (from parents). And... and I agreed, I mean, because then there are other things, maybe, that you think about that, that I don’t agree with, or there’s no reason I need to agree. But about that, I do. Do you more or less understand what I’m trying to say?” (Interview 10)

Infor.: *Well, my friends, no, they haven’t influenced me, and my parents, well the things I hear them talk about, that, well, you know what my mother’s like.*

Inter.: *What’s your mother like?*

Infor.: *Well, she’s not racist at all, evidently, because I’ve also adopted some of the opinions she has given me. (Interview 15)*

“Well... my parents... brought me up their way... the way they wanted to: they take care of me, they give me a lot of advice about what I need to do... and they don’t give me as much freedom as... as they give them here... [silence] I went to the doctor here, and just because I had a stomachache, the doctor told me to take pills so I wouldn’t get pregnant... But... if... for me, that’s a... because... no... here, take this right from when you really young, me... here, people... um... teenagers take that right from... they let them smoke, they say that they roll their joints, and I don’t know what all... My country is very different that way... there, in my country, that isn’t... it’s not allowed, when you’re young...” (Interview 14)

They also notice the influence that the family has on their classmates’ behavior:

Inter.: *And you, why do you think that he’s like that?*

Infor.: *Well, because his family is like that. He talks a lot about Franco this and that and he wants to go back to the time of Franco. He evidently didn’t live that period, so he doesn’t know, someone must have put those ideas into his head, I suppose. (Interview 15)*

They believe that the **influence of the media** works to reinforce stereotypes:

Inter.: *Yes, because, for example, you don’t like Moroccans, or...?*

Infor.: *Well, because... hmmm.... I don't know... because... it came up that in France they were burning cars for no reason, I mean, burning cars for no reason, that's not...*

Inter.: *I know, but...*

Infor.: *It's pitiful. (Interview 17)*

The young people evaluate the influence and introduction of **philosophy as a subject** in the 'bachillerato' very positively when it comes to dealing with and understanding these kinds of situations and ways of conceptualizing reality:

"That, I mean, that you devote your time to studying this subject and to educating, especially in recent years, which is when more... maybe more, in recent months, right? Now I'm studying Philosophy. I also believe that the subject of Philosophy and the book Sophia's World, and this whole way of thinking that it's presenting to me or that I'm starting to use." (Interview 10)

And finally, they highlight the good influence of **travelling and getting to know and understand other points of view that are different from one's own, or the ideas in one's own context**:

"Yes, travelling maybe, um, is a way of, of opening your head or of being able to... of trying to identify yourself, or simply of making the attempt, with other people with... with other points of view. Having lived in the United States as a foreigner, although I've never considered myself to be a foreigner..."

... Because it's hard to imagine yourself in that situation if nobody has experienced it, and if you can't imagine yourself in that situation, you might not be able to know what's best. Even if you have experienced it, even then you might not be able... I mean, it's still really hard or you simply don't keep considering it. Then, other things, well, like that, trips, trips. I've seen other ways of thinking, other kinds of... of rankings, maybe moral rankings, or rankings of classifications of..., or of ways of living, things that don't... don't necessarily make me think... I don't know, no, no, not that. I don't know if you more or less understand what it is I'm trying to get at about travelling. [pause] I think that maybe, too,... No, no. I don't know, I think that that, travelling, having lived somewhere else and seen the... the points of view, the opinions of others who have not had these opportunities to travel or who have used them in another way, have learned other things from them, or they've dealt with these life experiences in a different way, or they've simply dealt with them the same way, but... the road is still different because of..." (Interview 10)

Inter.: *Why do you like to meet new people?*

Infor.: *To see new ideas. I don't like to stick to one kind of people. I like to meet people and then when you are familiar with all kinds of ideas of what people think, then I adapt to the one that I like best. (Interview 9)*

Inter.: *What's good about meeting new people?*

Infor.: *Well, if they're from other cultures, you get to know other cultures and you talk with people who have different interests from yours. You might find out that you like to do the same things as they do and you have more friends. (Interview 15)*

9.4.6. Some solutions

"Because we can't not make mistakes, but we can know what mistakes we make." (Interview 10)

The realization of our errors of thought and action is one of the best pieces of advice that is offered to help avoid discriminatory behavior and attitudes.

*"Umm... yes, I mean, no, I don't agree with this vision because... I think that it is a much more widespread problem than it is made out to be, the way it is presented, and not only is it a... I mean, it is a mechanism that we have or that has, that we've used, that society has used and the thing to do would be to try not to get rid of it but to be aware that we use it. **Because we can't not make mistakes, but we can know what mistakes we make...**"*

... Uh, well, another thing that occurs to me is that another reason I don't agree is that I think that also, first you have to look at yourself and then see what... how others respond to this attitude. But I understand that it is very difficult, that we can't judge ourselves... or that it is easier to compare others and always think by comparing, more than how I think that I'm acting in this situation, without considering how one person is going to act or how another person is going to act. And now the question." (Interview 10)

The teenagers believe that **the school, from its position**, could help to change attitudes and values, to make us aware of our prejudices and stereotypes and of our discriminatory behavior:

Inter.: *What would you do to... to... to solve this? How would you solve that problem?*

Infor.: *That's really hard... because I don't know, the truth is... I think that... [silence] to help more... do you understand? In schools, institutes... Like talk more about racism... (Interview 3)*

Dialogue, coexistence, are some of the other alternatives proposed, while learning to **know ourselves** is one of the best paths that we have to take apart the stereotypes and prejudices that we use:

Inter.: *But look at... talk more, you mean that the teachers should help more, or...*

Infor.: *Of course, or what... or what can be done, too, is to get people together... uh... Spanish people with Ecuatorian people and... groups to talk... about... about racism. (Interview 3)*

Inter.: *And what would you do to... to convince... to convince or... to manage this situation, or to... to say to that person ...? How do you think this could be... solved?*

Infor.: *That this person should interact with... people with different origins well... and they'll understand what other people's lives are like...*

Inter.: *They should interact with... more, with people with different origins...*

Infor.: *Yes. (Interview 14)*

This dialogue and knowledge needs to be promoted, because it does not usually occur spontaneously:

"No, never. I've never talked to Spanish people like that, about why racism exists, never..." (Interview 3)

Here, we can see the image, the self-description of a teenager, who looks like a rapper and who can easily be labeled as part of a Latino gang.

Inter.: *What are you like?*

Infor.: *Nice.*

Inter.: *What would you say to someone who sees you with your cap, your baggy clothes, your dark hair and skin?*

Infor.: *I like to wear these clothes. Each person has their own way of dressing, of talking. Everybody is free to do what they want.*

Inter.: *And what would you say to people about what you're like?*

Infor.: *Me? I don't know.*

Inter.: *Come on, say it, don't be embarrassed, sometimes it seems like we're embarrassed to say good things about ourselves.*

Infor.: *I'm nice, I like having friends from all sorts of cultures, Chinese, Africans, Blacks. I'm not like other people who only have Spanish friends, even if they're black. I like sharing my things with other people, if someone comes to ask me for something, I'll give them anything I've got, if the person looks bad, I won't give it to them because they'll do something bad and all that. (Interview 7)*

We must stop being so unfair in assigning a behavior based on our stereotypes; we should make the effort to get to know the person under the cap.

The teenagers suggest that, when we realize we have made a mistake, we **apologize**:

“Ssss... probably, I mean, yes, I’m sure I’ve done that because I think that we are all racist. Um, I don’t remember anything right now and I think that, if I realized it, I at least tried to say I was sorry, or...” (Interview 10)

Referring specifically to situations experienced in the country of origin, one girl suggested the solution of **solidarity and economic aid** to other countries:

Infor.: Well, if I try to help all by myself, no, but if everybody tries to do something and all that, well, I think that things would change a lot. The 0.7% would help a lot, but since not everybody can give that much. Spain, for example, gives 0.3%, we were looking at that the other day, but if everybody gave money, it would solve things. (Interview 15)

Infor.: I would like to work in something that had to do with human rights. They also told me... the thing is that I, I would like to go to Africa or some other place like that to help there, but I don’t know how, that’s the problem. Because the thing that I think they must need the most there is for people who are doctors or something like that, but since I don’t like that very much, well, I don’t know, I thought about other things, and there’s a job, I don’t know what you call it, one of my father’s friends works in an NGO and they go searching for aid. So they go from one place to another looking for aid, important contributions to give in those places. (Interview 15)

Dimension V - PERCEPTIONS

Outline of contents and subcategories

9.5.1. Perceptions of immigration

9.5.1.1. *Takes jobs and privileges away from Spanish people vs. enriches the country and makes it grow*

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9.5.1.3. *Mistakenly assumed to belong to gangs*

9.5.1.4. *Association with delinquency*

9.5.1.5. *Migrations: Taking stock of history*

9.5.2. Perceptions of here and there

9.5.3. Perceptions of other groups

In this chapter, we will focus on young people's perceptions of the ways Spanish people perceive them and immigration in general. They believe the majority of these images that they perceive are motivated by prejudice and stereotypes.

9.5.1. Perceptions of immigration

9.5.1.1. *Takes jobs and privileges away from Spanish people vs. enriches the country and makes it grow*

One of the perceptions that teenagers subscribe to is that Spanish people see immigration as an invasion that takes jobs and other kinds of subsidies or aid away:

"Because of problems... family problems, above all, it all depends on what's going on inside the family, you know what I mean, the whole thing is that society rejects foreigners, why? Because they think that they are taking the place of Spanish people, I don't know, that they take jobs away from Spanish people, that they provoke unemployment for Spanish people and that the state, the government supports foreigners more than it does Spanish people, and this causes conflicts among... among people themselves, and so... it's also because Spanish people tend to generalize a lot..." (Interview 12)

"Well, kind of. But it's not that they arrive and say, 'let's go take it away from them, or anything.' They arrive looking for an opportunity and they have to work somehow. There are a lot who can't even gain access to a job, but they're

out in the street with the 'top manta'¹⁴ or things like that, or illegal things." (Interview 15)

However, these readings of the work world can be different: they believe that immigrants offer strong support for a country's economic development and that they cover the hardest jobs:

"They're hard workers, who watch over their children, so that they can have something more that they couldn't have in their own country. That..."

...Yes, I think so. Because, for example, in Carrefour¹⁵, you go there and they're all Latinos, in the Día¹⁶, you go and they're all Latinos. All Latinos here. I don't know, I think so, because, well, the other day I was watching TV and they were saying that without the Latinos, Spain would be nothing, that Latinos do all the hardest jobs, with the longest hours and everything." (Interview 1)

"No, because the majority of Spanish people work in offices. The people who come from other places come to work in construction and all those things. Very few people come and work as lawyers, the majority come to work in construction and all those things." (Interview 8)

"They help a population's development. If not, there wouldn't be anybody to manage the buildings, the population level wouldn't increase, development. On one hand, it's good." (Interview 7)

9.5.1.2. They come to seek a better life, due to problems in their country of origin

Infor.: That these people, if they come here it's because they need to be able to live, because they're not all right in their country and they come here looking for something better. He says they shouldn't come here, that he doesn't want them here.

Inter.: What do you really think about immigration?

Infor.: Well, you know, the normal thing would be that immigration shouldn't have to exist. If everything was fine, nobody would have to come looking for work here. But, I don't know, in order for there not to be any immigration, it would be necessary first to start to solve the problem in those countries, because if not, people will keep coming. (Interview 15)

¹⁴ Illegal street sale of burned CDs and DVDs on a blanket on the streets or in the subway.

¹⁵ Big food market chain in suburban areas.

¹⁶ Supermarket in urban areas.

9.5.1.3. *Mistakenly assumed to belong to gangs*

Membership in gangs, mainly Latino gangs (Latin Kings, Ñetas), tends to be a very frequent error of perception. They say that we are very easily swayed by aesthetics, ways of dressing, skin color, and this leads us to mistakenly attribute very specific behaviors to them.

“Because they think we belong to gangs...

...The majority of Latin Americans. Some too, they don't all belong to gangs. The groups I've gone out with, we meet to go to the discotheque or play soccer. And some gangs have started to come and look for fights and everything. If we don't leave, we call the police and they don't pay attention to us, they think it's a thing between teenagers in gangs.” (Interview 7)

“That's the thing... what doesn't seem right to me, and I'll keep repeating it, is that there's... there's no... no reason to mix immigration with... with gangs...” (Interview 5)

“I don't know, the thing is that they, since I get along with them and they dress like rappers, they think they're Latino Kings...” (Interview 12)

“One Dominican, since he was wearing black and white, I mean, black and yellow, they thought he was a Latino King, and they grabbed him and stabbed him, and they caught some people who weren't guilty, some friends, and they weren't part of any gang, the thing is that the police, everybody who was there, they were dressed rapper style and that's why they took them in, and they were there and they caught them, my friends, and that's a mistake on the police's part, too.” (Interview 18)

Teenagers criticize this kind of generalization, claiming that the majority have other objectives such as progressing, working, studying:

“Do you understand? Because, imagine, there's a Latin King, which is an intolerante group, that goes looking for trouble and everything, but they think that the Latin Kings are Ecuatorians, they generalize everything and think that all the rest of the Ecuatorians are like the Latin Kings, and that's a lie, the rest of the Ecuatorians are hard workers, they study and come here, not just to cause trouble, rather they come here to, to, to... to make progress, to find a better future, well, they think that we all go with the rhythm of the Latin Kings, only looking for trouble...” (Interview 12)

9.5.1.4. Association with delinquency

They perceive an automatic association of appearance and clothing, immigrant origins and darker skin, with delinquency:

"Yes, they think badly of us. They think we're delinquents or something." (Interview 8)

"They see us with a mobile phone and they think we've stolen it, they see us on street corners and right away they call the police because they think we're going to steal." (Interview 7)

"Ah! You know what else...?.. Yesterday we were talking with the social science teacher and she said that in France, a hundred and fifty years ago, they said that... that Africa started from the Pyrenees, all the way down... this means that Spain was Africa... So... [] that Spain is Africa... and so, it's still that way now and it's like racism that France has towards Spain... And the thing is... and so Europeans have a little... a little... racism against all of us who are from the south... practically... And so... nothing... that was it... And then, too, we always bring these issues up, right? About... and I'm sick of it because... it's true, gangs... violence, they relate them to immigration, and that really, really bothers me... So, I don't relate..." (Interview 5)

They attribute this perception to the police, also:

Infor.: *...for example, one night we were at Atocha and there were a lot... [] I see... I was waiting right by the entrance... and the police decided... and, well, you know what I'm saying?... that they, for example, see a teenager who looks South American with... with a headscarf or a cap or those pants that they wear...*

Inter.: *The baggy ones...*

Infor.: *...the baggy ones... well, right away they call them over and they check them out completely..., I mean completely... Sometimes they're kids, maybe just normal, good kids, who like to wear that fashion... but, well, they check them all out...*

Inter.: *Check them out means that... they ask them... they look them over for...*

Infor.: *They look through their clothes, everything...*

Inter.: *If they've got weapons... yeah, knives... um... axes and everything... (Interview 5)*

The young people try to find an explanation of the generalized stereotypes, which they have interiorized to a great extent, falling back into other stereotype themselves:

"The thing is, the older people are one thing and the young people are another, young people do steal, they often kill people, but the older people, basically

they devote themselves to working.” (Interview 1)

9.5.1.5. Migrations: Taking stock of history

The teenagers interviewed expressed a critical attitude towards the historical readings of migrations and colonizations.

“Sure, I’m the only Latina... So, oh! Sure, it’s that... they come here to... to... what was it?... to colonize us...”

Inter.: Oh, yeah?

Infor.: Colo... and I went and laughed in their faces and they got mad...

Infor.: But they’re the ones who went to our countries to colonize us! [noise] Most of what they’ve got here is because of us, it’s obvious...

...Listen, and look, they’re the ones who went over there to rape, kill and assassinate people...

Infor.: Yeah, yeah, yeah... and they supposedly did a good thing: the language and I don’t know what all... and compare what they gave us with what they took...

...This is our history, agreed? They came to steal the gold, the riches and everything that there was there, that’s our history. They, here... that’s why they’re so... And educated people, because I know a lot of educated Spanish people, they know the real history... (Interview 5)

9.5.2. Perceptions of here and there

Some teenagers do not find their country of origin and Spain very different; they **evaluate the new country positively**:

“Well, Spain is pretty. Everything’s fine. In my country, I can’t say it’s the same but it is similar. Here, there are buildings everywhere. In Bolivia, there are houses everywhere, houses. That’s the only difference I can see, otherwise everything is the same, the same.” (Interview 1)

“Paella (laughs).” (Interview 8)

“About Spain... let’s see, I like almost everything about Spain... the only thing that I don’t like is that... that it’s very far away from my country [laughs].” (Interview 3)

"Mmm... well... well, it's... Spanish people... really pretty, the... really green, there are lots of tr... trees... and lots of parks... and... and the... and more places to... to play basketball, to play soccer... and China, no, there aren't many..." (Interview 4)

Inter.: *What is it that you like about Spain? If there's something that you... that you like... What is it that you like the most?*

Infor.: *The city...*

Inter.: *Madrid?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *Why do you like it? What... has it got that...?*

Infor.: *[silence] Because... it's peaceful and... [silence] and because of its landscapes... so many things...*

Inter.: *Madrid is peaceful?*

Infor.: *Yes.*

Inter.: *Doesn't it seem very noisy to you?*

Infor.: *No. (Interview 14)*

They do point out differences with respect to the **standard of living and poverty** in the countries of origin:

Inter.: *Ahah. [silence] All right, and do you find a lot of differences between how people live... there and how they live here?*

Infor.: *A pretty lot...*

Inter.: *For example? I... the thing is that I've never been in... in Rumania... I don't know what it's like... but...*

Infor.: *Well, Rumania is a...it's kind of poor... and here []... it's better... (Interview 2)*

Regarding the **quantity and quality of jobs**, they perceive them to be better here in Spain. They also highlight the political corruption that exists in their countries of origin:

"Partly good, here in Spain there is work to be had. Sometimes in our countries there's no work, right? Or if there is, the politicians are the ones who pocket everything and that's it." (Interview 1)

Infor.: *The salaries are low, buying power is very low...*

Infor. 2: I mean, the salaries... the highest salaries, well, the politicians', even higher than the politicians here... the president of the government of [noise] just like the members of parliament...

Infor.: *Because it's a very rich country, with the oil... [noise]*

Infor. 2: *There's a lot of diversity...*

Infor. 3: *They don't know how to take advantage of what we've got...*

Infor. 6: *And the number one problem is production, I mean, all the politicians don't...*

Infor. 3: *They don't think about the people. (Interview 5)*

They notice differences in the **routines and ways of life** in the different countries: education, greater freedom, etc.

"Well, in China we study a lot and that's why... we can't go out neither... we can't go out of the house hardly... only... only Saturday... And here I can go out to play... everything... like... like I want to do when... when I call me... when I go to call my companions from China, and they say: 'Wow, this is great, not much homework here!' And... [silence] well... like that..." (Interview 4)

"What I do, compared to Ecuador is very different, because you get up and do the same thing, go from school back home and you never vary that routine. For example, in Ecuador you have more freedom than here." (Interview 8)

"No, but people are held behind there too. Not many, no more than here, but yeah, some... but I think that that's why, because of the stress, the change, the change in people, I mean, because, imagine coming when your 12 years old, because I came when I was 13, but imagine, I know people, women who have brought their children and they're 10 years old, 11 years old, imagine coming here and you're in a big, spacious house, a house, not an apartment, and you've got your desk, your bed, your things for studying, your friends in Ecuador, for example, suppose, a girl from Ecuador comes, a girl from Ecuador, and her parents bring her here to Spain and there she was by herself with her grandmothers, so imagine, used to having your freedom there, not to go to dance, freedom for doing your homework, then going outside to play with your little friends, and then in the afternoon your mother came home from work and you prepared the meal together, with your brothers and sisters, with your parents, so imagine coming here and finding yourself with the four walls, because as far as I'm concerned here these are just four walls, because if I go there I know what's there, I come here I know what's here, so your house, even if it's small, but you find something, it's small but it's big enough for you, but imagine coming to... my mother says it's a cage, but it is kind of like a cage, right where you go out, there's nothing, there are streets along the sides, there are neighbors over there, so imagine coming here and that they take you up to an apartment that you've never seen before." (Interview 11)

"They have more freedom... they want you to... to start to smoke because they already smoke... and... if you want... if you don't want to do something... they, like they want to... to make you... And I don't like that... And I don't like how... they don't let... [] but they don't let you respect anybody... I don't know why... [silence] And... on the other hand, with my friends here, well... they understand me... if they don't ha... they... for me... they want the best... if I don't like something, well... they don't...they don't make me do anything... They respect my decisions." (Interview 14)

Inter.: Is it more fun in Quito?" What did you do in... in Quito for fun?

Infor.: I went out, I went to the shopping centers... and... you spent your time there with... in the stores, you talked and you laughed some... And there were lots of things that... little dolls or stuff like that... it was... it was pretty... And here, on the other hand [] the stores are quiet... you can also walk down the street with no worries...

Inter.: When you say quiet, do you mean boring, or...?

Infor.: A little boring, yes... The thing is that I see more old people instead of more young people...

Inter.: You see more old people... out on the street?

Infor.: Yes. [silence] And in contrast, on the weekends [] bored, because there's nobody out on the street. [silence] And I don't know if they're hiding in their houses, or... But there's nobody... (Interview 14)

Regarding the **forms of coexistence** in one country and the other; they think that people have more individualistic habits in Spain:

"But, for example, let's see, coexistence... in my country, if you live in a building, everybody knows everybody else, here... here they never..."

Infor. 2: In contrast, in other countries no, because in []

Infor. 1: In the neighborhood itself, everybody knows everybody and everybody helps everybody...

Infor. 4: On the block, everybody knows each other, the... the neighbor from there is... something happens to him well everybody helps him out...

Infor. 5: [] they find someone dead, and the dead person has been there in their home for eight days...

Infor. 2: And that happens here... here...

Infor. 1: Old people die all alone in their houses here...

Infor. 5: And they find the body three or four days later...

Infor. 1: Yeah, because it smells bad...

Infor. 5: Or a month later, when it's already all... in contrast, not there... (Inter-

view 5)

They point out some of the things that they **do not like about Spain**:

Inter.: *And what things don't you like? About Spain, about Spanish people, about...?*

Infor.: *About Spain, the thing is that... the parties.*

Inter.: *You don't like them?*

Infor.: *No, because people don't live the same way in my country. In my country you... it's lots of fun... [silence] And what I don't like is that the parents give their children a lot of freedom... right from when they're really little... they don't worry about them... [long silence] (Interview 14)*

Infor.: *Well, the ones who don't pick on the kids who.. they're like this, that... they should pick on the ones who are their own age...*

Inter.: *Of course..., so there you've got older kids who pick on the (Infor.: Right!) the smaller ones, right? And... what things don't you like?*

Infor.: *What things don't I like? Well that, that they pick on the little kids and they mistreat the rest, they should pick on the ones their own age! (Interview 16)*

The perceive differences in the **racist situations** they experience. Some believe these are less common in their country than in Spain:

Inter.: *How are people different here from people there?*

Infor.: *I could say that there isn't so much discrimination in Bolivia, let's say, with us Latinos. It's different here. There, they don't discriminate against anyone because they're white or black or anything.*

Inter.: *So you notice discrimination and different treatment here?*

Infor.: *Yes, I do notice it here. (Interview 1)*

"Ah! Because... there, the only... the only... the only thing you notice there is that, well, that you... what happens is... because of racism, do you understand? There, like there's not much racism... do you understand? And that... you are welcomed... but it's like the people push it to one side a little." (Interview 3)

Other teenagers, on the contrary, are aware that these kinds of racist situations exist in the countries they have left, too:

Infor. 4: *Right in our country there's racism...*

Infor. 3: *Yeah, there's regionalism... [noise]*

Infor. 2: *And it's really strong in the mountains...*

Infor. 3: *Coast... mountains...* (Interview 5)

They perceive **positive changes** in the adjustment process of both sides, host country and foreign population living in Spain:

“But I think that it happens more with older people, who have not yet adapted to the new change of our having come here and that there are more foreigners, right? Because young people, I think that... I... there are more... well, me, it must be because it's at work... there are always women, like, older women, who go around, like, with that... like that, like they're on the defensive... But not young people...

... No, but young people are adapting, now, because at first... I mean four years ago it was horrible...” (Interview 5)

9.5.3. Perceptions of other groups

The teenagers have different opinions about Spanish people, and they realize that it is impossible to generalize.

Inter.: *How do you see us Spanish people? Or what... what do you think about Spanish people?*

Infor.: *I think that they are [] lots of things, but... I can't judge anybody because I've had problems with them... There are lots of people who are very different from the rest... I like how they are and everything... But everything's fine...* (Interview 14)

“Me... fine... Because [] well, with some fine, with some, badly. [silence] The ones I get along well with and I know, well, yes, they are... I mean, [] good people... [silence] because [] I don't know what... well, I get along with them now... But there are others who I don't... no ...” (Interview 3)

“... but there are a lot of good Spanish people, too... there are... a lot...” (Interview 4)

Nevertheless, they evaluate people who they perceive to behave in discriminatory ways negatively:

Inter.: *What do you think about Spanish people?*

Infor.: *Well, this doesn't go for everybody, because they're not all the same, either, but about the kind of bad ones, well, that they're bad.* (Interview 1)

"They think they're superior... and that's it..." (Interview 5)

This can, in some cases, limit their interactions with Spanish people:

Inter: *Do you make friends []? Did you make friends easily?*

Infor.: *Yes. At first, I went around with Spanish people, before I went with them... but I didn't like them because [] so I didn't like them...*

Inter.: *What do you mean?*

Infor.: *That they said things to you... I didn't like to say... because I... I was from Ecuador, and I liked to defend... to defend people, too, right? Because... I'm from there... So they started to say: "Fucking blacks, this and that..." And I didn't like that way of talking... So then I said to them: "But what... why do you say that if we're all the same?" And they started to pick on me, and they all said... a 'sudaca,' this and that... and then I got out of there, of that group... I said... then I had already met... met... met [] so I really got along with them... [silence] Although there are people... I mean, Spanish people, who I get along... I also get along with them... or with some people... because they showed me that it... it isn't like that ... (Interview 3)*

The teenagers interviewed showed a great deal of prejudice towards the gypsy population, associating it mainly with delinquency, theft and violence:

Infor.: *They're usually bad. Because I lived in a gypsy neighborhood and it was. They're really like the mafia. Really.*

Inter.: *And would you say that all gypsies are like the mafia?*

C.: *Well, not all of them, because we're not all alike, right? But the majority, I think so. (Interview 1)*

"Like that, fights. One of my friends, they robbed his mother, they took her cell-phone and her wallet. We went there and they almost stabbed one. It like they... While we were there, we called them all sorts of things, we called one of them a racist, but it's like they... they earn it, because they steal, because there are a lot of delinquents there." (Interview 7)

"The thing is that I don't know why it's like that, but the gypsies are kind of strange, they're not good people, because they're always looking for trouble." (Interview 8)

Fortunately, there are other opinions, too:

Infor.: *"No, because, besides, I have a friend who is a gypsy and she's really nice. They introduced me to her once a long time ago and she's really nice. I don't know. She didn't go around stealing anything." (Interview 17)*

Dimension VI - GANGS

Outline of contents and subcategories

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| 9.6.1. | Latino gangs: Latin Kings, Ñetas |
| 9.6.2. | Ultra-right-wing gangs |

9.6.1. Latino gangs: Latin Kings, Ñetas

The teenagers know a certain amount about the origin of the gangs and the reasons they appeared:

"The thing is that... depending on... for example, the Latino gangs, they arose particularly in the ... in the... in the Bronx... but the thing is I was reading on Internet that first they were like a... like a... like a... like a... just... an intention..."

... Yeah... supposedly... but... but later, they started to... um... the kings in... in different countries... I mean, the heads of the gangs, they started to misinterpret that... that idea. So they attacked other people and young people who had nothing to do with racism or with... you know?" (Interview 5)

"I know about the Latin King gang, one of my friends was in it. That gang was organized in the US in a prison. And it has spread throughout Latin America and then some Ecuatorians started a group here, here in Spain." (Interview 7)

"They think they're the kings of the whole world, and another Latin American gang, too, the Ñetas from Puerto Rico, they're two rival gangs, and ever since they've existed they've always had fights." (Interview 7)

Some explain the existence of/membership in gangs as a form of **defense against racist behavior**:

"Well, he told me some stuff about... about this subject, right? So that's why she says: 'But what I, Roxanna, I'm Spanish and I've realized what it is that's going on with the Latin Kings, I mean, they fight because... because sometimes there's racism, because there are groups of Spanish people...' And she looks at it, and says... and they defend themselves... and here they even do it"

to the death, they go that far because, sure, there's a lot of aggression... but she says that what they're trying to do is defend themselves, fight... so that if a man argues, [], they start in... and maybe they kill each other...

Infor. 3: But... what I'm saying is that if... if that's how it is, why do they accept Spanish people now in the Latin...? (Interview 5)

Inter.: And why do you think that these... these gangs appear?

Infor.: Hmm, I think its because of the racism, because the Latin King come from New York, well, from one area of Chicago, I don't know, around there [laughs] and.... and they were created, I read it on Internet that they were created because of racism, because since they hated them, they were like discriminated against, and if, and... they made a gang, and that's why... this... yesterday it was on the news that in the United States they were investigating these Latin Kings, and all...

Inter.: Hmm.

Infor.: And the Ñetas were created [laughs] in jail in Puerto Rico [laughs more].

Inter.: Come on, I mean it was all, kind of like defense, maybe...right? From... And why are they creating them here now?

Infor.: I don't know, I suppose for the same reason, because... there's a lot of racism here, a lot more, and I think that that's why they all band together, they make their gang, so that nobody will bother them, to defend themselves. (Interview 17)

Inter.: And why do teenagers want to belong to gangs?

Infor.: Because they feel protected with gangs... they feel like when someone is going to hurt them, they've got people behind them to protect them, but they don't know that it's bad, too.

Inter.: But you think that there's some risk that someone's going to hurt you...

Infor.: If I'm in a gang?

Inter.: No, if you think that some young people think they need protection.

Infor.: Some girls, since Latin Fuego is boys and girls, and there are lots of girls mixed up in it because they need protection, but that's not it either, it's not because...

Inter.: Protection from what?

Infor.: Because there are people who bother them and say all sorts of stuff to them, some tell them: go on back to your fucking country, and all sorts of stuff. (Interview 18)

But they explain belonging to gangs in different ways: lack of orientation from their families, external pressures in an unfriendly environment, etc.

“And the origin of this, why they want to be in these groups, is because of their families, I imagine, because when they get here, people feel... um, intimidated by the Spanish people, they feel like they're weird, faced with another culture that is not so different from ours, but...” (Interview 12)

Other reasons they give are: to feel more protected, to “be cooler,” to be more important or a stronger presence, etc.

Inter.: *And why do you think people join?*

Infor.: *To feel more protected, to be cooler, to be something more and all that.* (Interview 7)

“To have support... and... because... they think that... that if they are with them then they're more protected... The thing is that the gangs appeared after... the... Spanish people started to marginalize people of different origins, from other countries... [silence] That's why they... they support each other, so that they can marginalize the rest of the people, too.” (Interview 14)

Why don't they join?

Even though many of these young people have a more or less immediate knowledge of these realities, they do not join any of these gangs, for different reasons:

Inter.: *And why don't you belong to any gang?*

Infor.: *Because they scare me.* (Interview 7)

“I don't know, but no... I've never liked that and I will never, ever in my life belong to a gang, because for a gang, I've already got my family, I feel protected enough with my family, they protect me, they're my gang and they don't ask me for anything in exchange.” (Interview 18)

However, they realize that it is probably only a form of **unjustified aggression** :

Infor. 3: *Sure... if they supposedly create it to defend themselves from Spanish people, why do they accept them in their gangs?... And the Latinos' girlfriends are Spanish, too... well, no... I mean, what they say is not coherent with what they do...*

Infor. 1: *Sure...*

Infor. 5: *I think that it's pure aggre... that it's due to pure aggression, that's all, to attack... the...*

Infor. 3: *Yes, to think they're really cool and in charge... and all that... (Interview 5)*

"The thing is that there are people who say join this gang, get in, because there you'll find protection and help and when it comes down to it and you're in and you think, and you know that they only defend the people at the top, you have to defend them and they don't have to defend you, sometimes when you have a real problem, when they kill one of them, maybe there they'll defend you, but if not, no, when you're inside your figure it out, but then it's too late." (Interview 18)

Gangs use **knives** and try to **take over spaces** (parks):

"He had, he had, but... they didn't behave badly with us, never, they've never behaved badly with us, but they did beat up the Spanish people, they beat them up and one day Cristian, who's Spanish, told me, we were talking, and an Ecuadorian and a Spanish guy were going to have a fight, I don't know why, but they were going to fight afterwards, when they left, and he said, Cristian said, I don't understand this because those people, you people, you guys, from over there, in order to fight, they always have to go with a knife, he said, for example, the Latin Kings, who are always armed, they don't have fist fights, they have to use weapons and he says, they're a little messed up, or something like that, he says, for example, not too long ago, he told me not too long ago, before the gang started out there in Pavones, they wanted to take over the park, the parks, the Latin Kings, who wanted to take over the parks in Pavones¹⁷...

... It's our part, and you need to charge, because they say that before the Latin Kings charged and the Ñetas charged even to play soccer, it's not Pavones, where they say the best-known Latin Kings gangs are in Valdebernardo¹⁸, Plaza Elíptica¹⁹ and in Usera²⁰, that's where the gangs are." (Interview 11)

"Yeah, it's really hard, they think we're Latins, but it's not true, so they want to beat us up, they want to get all the Latin Kings out of here, to beat up all the Latins... the other day I found out that they'd stabbed a friend already, yeah, here, they'd stabbed a Dominican, and four Dominicans, they'd caught another one and beaten him up." (Interview 12)

They know that it is very difficult and even risky to leave a gang once you belong to one:

Inter.: And what happens when you're in a gang? Because some people told me that it's easy to get in but hard to get out, and why would somebody want to get out of a gang?

¹⁷ A subway station.

¹⁸ A subway station.

¹⁹ A square in Madrid and a subway station.

²⁰ A neighborhood in Madrid.

Infor.: *Because they're going to kill people, and there are people who don't want to... and sometimes they run away, because when you need to get out you need to pay a quota and then there are the ones in the Ñetas, they have to kill the person you love best in your family... if you don't want to they kill you and they kill your family.* (Interview 18)

Using the opportunities for communication that Internet offers, using **Chats**, the young people have had access to and have communicated with groups and young people who belong to gangs:

Infor. 3: *Me, on Messenger... well, mess... um... with a chat, I got to be friends with a Latin [] I got to be friends with a Latin... Well, and I asked... tried to ask him, we did an interview and he didn't... and they don't say much... only a little... and we asked him if they were capable of killing people and I don't know what... and they said yes, to die for a friend...*

Infor. 3: *For a brother...*

Infor. 2: *...or for a brother... to die, I mean... and they said yes, if they had to kill... because that's what they were doing to each other... [] Ecuadorians and with so many Latinos, but why they do that... well, they don't tell it all, because they can't tell it all... But the only thing he said was that in Atocha, they...*

Inter.: *And this was on...?*

Infor. 2: *On Messenger... well, in a chat, we entered, we met him there, and on Messenger... well, Fernanda has his Messenger and talks to him a lot... but he won't let you see his face, you know?... he puts the camera on, but he covers his face with a... I don't know what, but with something, you know what I mean?* (Interview 5)

The teenagers interviewed explicitly said they do not belong to any gangs but they do **know boys and girls who belong to gangs**: Latin Kings, Latin Queens, Ñetas:

Inter.: *Diana, do you know anyone in a... a Latino gang or not?*

Infor. 1: *In my other school there were girls who... there was a girl who was in the... in the Ñetas, or the Latin Queens, that were... the...*

Infor. 5: *King or Queen?*

Infor. 3: *King are the boys and Queen the girls...*

Inter.: *But the same group...*

Infor. 3: *They're the same think, I mean, they're their girlfriends...*

Infor. 1: *The girlfriends...*

Infor. 2: *I didn't know about the Queen...*

Infor. 5: *Me either, I'm a little behind...*

Infor. 3: *The Latin Kings and the Latin Queens...*

Infor. 1: *They knew each other and they told me that, no, that that was... that*

the *Ñetas* didn't... didn't... (Interview 5)

Infor.: *Well, in the Latin Kings or the Ñetas. Yes, I have girlfriends, but what they do doesn't seem right to me. Because some of my friends tell me things about those people and everything, and some of them join because their family, their brothers or whatever, are in, but others, it's because it's a way of denouncing that somehow they're not being treated well. But it doesn't seem right to me for the gangs to exist.*

Inter.: *Why?*

Infor.: *Well, because they're attacking people. They're not just gangs of people who are immigrants, which is what people usually think. There are, the friends of these girls, for example, who are white, they're originally from Madrid, but they think differently. But this, they don't seem right to me because they use violence instead of trying to talk and fix things like that. And that's all I can think of. (Interview 15)*

They also **interact with teenagers who belong to a gang**. One girl tells about her experience, with negative consequences:

Infor.: *I'm punished, I can't go out now [laughs].*

Inter.: *Oh, why, well, I don't know, do you want to tell me why they punished you, or not?*

Infor.: *Yeah... do you know about the Latin Kings?*

Inter.: *Yeah, a gang.*

Infor.: *Yeah. [giggles] Well, um, we were at a friend's house, and because we'd all 'cut' school [laughs], and, well, there was a group of 'Ñetas' there, and since one had put the crown on a backpack, well... a Ñeta came and told her 'take that crown down for me' [laughs] and right there one said... he got a knife, and they were going to fight there, they were going to kill each other, and then a girl came and said that... not there in the house, that if they wanted to kill each other they should go outside... So then one came and said that they should stop the fight and that... well... and the Ñetas went one way and the Latin Kings the other. I went with some... and, well, the rest stayed there, and everything. The... the girls who stayed there in the house, well they stole stuff [Inter.: *Hmmm.*], and well, they stayed... they stole stuff, and the police..., and when the mother came home they had destroyed everything, the doors, the blinds, everything, and... the mother came and lodged a complaint against them all, but... and... she accused the one who had stolen everything, and said that if he didn't return it all, that guy, that she was going to put him in jail... And, of course, the girl's mother, well... [interruption], well, then, the girl's mother went to the house of each one of us and told our mothers, and my mother punished me and she even hit me and everything, and well, and that's it, that's why they punished me.*

9.6.2. Ultra-right-wing gangs

With reference to the gangs, the teenagers pointed out the existence of ultra-right-wing groups of young people in school, with a characteristic appearance (shaved heads, bomber jackets, etc.).

"Well, there's an ultra-right group here, you know what that is? Ultra-right..."

... And in fourth year, there was a skin head in that, in his class, his name was Manuel, I remember, he came with his bomber jacket, do you know what a bomber is? A jacket, a bomber jacket. He came with his insignia, that Hitler mark, right? the swastika." (Interview 12)

"Sometimes they fight for... some of them think of it as fun, to have a knife and all because some of them are in gangs too." (Interview 7)

They clearly associate this kind of gang with neo-Nazi ideology and with markedly racist, xenophobic ideas:

"I don't know. There are also weird ideologies, like the Nazis, the Francoists, the ones in the PP, their parents give them stuff. The other day I saw a report on that and some of them, right from when they're little, they put Nazi flags around. They go too, now. Instead of thinking about the good side, they go to the bad side, they've got Nazi figures." (Interview 7)

The young people notice that this ideology is always defended as a group and they think that it would be much harder to maintain individually:

Inter.: *If it's not with other people...*

Infor. 2: *With other people...*

Inter.: *And why does he need more people?*

Infor. 2: *It's people who support him and...*

Inter.: *So, one person on their own wouldn't be a racist...*

Infor. 2: *No, no.*

Infor. 1: *If, if there's one...*

Infor. 2: *Only one... (Interview 6)*

The teenagers are aware of the indiscriminate violence of neo-Nazi groups like the Skin Heads:

Inter. 4: *But, for example, among the Latino gangs, the rivalry is between gangs, but the groups... um... the radical groups... um... Spanish people against...*

Infor. 1: *Against everybody...*

Infor. 4: *...because the skinheads...*

Infor. 6: *Skinheads...*

Infor. 4: *...the skinheads, they attack whoever they feel like, don't they... in contrast, the other ones fight to show that one gang is stronger than the other... (Interview 5)*

They know where these kinds of groups are found:

"No, no, no, it's not Latino, I thought it was Latino, but it was a Spanish one, and well, in San Sebastián (de los Reyes) is where there are more of these skinhead groups." (Interview 12)

"It's a racist gang, from soccer, from the Real Madrid, it's a fan group that goes hunting after midnight, you know, when the game is over, for example, if the Madrid team plays today and at ten o'clock, at eleven they go to Cibeles to attack Latinos, I mean, I've seen it and read about it in the newspapers and stuff... there's also the Athletic fan group, the boixos nois²¹, they're all over Spain and such, in Barcelona, the Deportivo group, the blue fan group, all sorts..." (Interview 12)

They believe police and press action is much more limited in the case of these gangs than in the case of Latino gangs:

"... and the police, as long as they don't kill anyone and they don't... well, that they don't kill or attack anyone, they can insult Latinos, they can do whatever they feel like, write 'sudacas' and all that on the walls, and the police don't do anything, but if a Latino does it, insults a Spanish person, then right away it's on TV, and they say all sorts of astonishing things about Latin Kings, and about Latinos here... and that seems wrong to me because... you know here, the 'ultra sur' I don't know why.... A Latino couldn't just go to the stadium without worrying because they said it was only full of ultra-right-wing people and all that and that the Spanish police don't do anything, they don't do anything, ever since I arrived here and... those groups have existed since the eighties, I mean, that's twenty years already, and the police still don't do anything to eliminate that." (Interview 12)

²¹ Hooligans related to the Barcelona soccer team (Barça), and similar to the 'Ultra Sur' from the Real Madrid team.

10. CONCLUSIONS

With the five dimensions analysed, we have been able to prepare the following conclusions about how the adolescents interviewed perceive their experiences with racist attitudes and behavior.

Concerning the process of **arrival and adaptation** of teenagers of foreign origin, the young people interviewed showed a vague knowledge of the reasons why their fathers or mothers came to Spain; the economic situation of their countries of origin, the search for better living conditions and the possibility of helping their families in their countries of origin; this being one of the most frequently repeated reasons. At the same time, they express a clear feeling of ambivalence about having moved, which can perhaps be explained by the difficulties that they encountered when they first arrived. They even sometimes question the reason for coming. Of course, this does not occur in all the cases, because there are young people who are relatively satisfied with the entire process they have gone through.

Some of the difficulties the teenagers have encountered in the process of adapting to the new context are conditioned above all by the perception of the differences in ways of being and of living. Learning the language of the host country is one of the difficulties expressed, even learning the differences of use among Spanish-speaking countries. This learning process is usually carried out very fluidly (some of the young people even say that they learned Spanish in two months, although others seem to find it more difficult). Their parents' use of the language is also different; some of them have a certain amount of difficulty in using the new language and they go through rather ineffective processes to learn. This probably makes it more difficult for people to integrate and to coexist with others in their environment. Systematic learning in school or support among the teenagers themselves are basic strategies for learning the language.

Emotional reactions and ways of facing this process were the focal points of our interest. Rather undefined feelings of nostalgia and discomfort were essential aspects that the teenagers referred to very frequently. Among these reactions, one that should be highlighted is the process of being reunited with their families. The parents often began the migration process by themselves, leaving their children in the care of family members in the country of origin and calling them to come when their job situation had become stabilized.

The role of the school as a place of socialization was underlined. This was particularly important in the case of the teenagers who arrived in the middle of the school year and did not start school right away, instead spending a lot of time (in some cases, months) isolated in their homes. The moment of entering school is an opportunity to begin to interact with other teenagers. It is, however, true that there are difficulties in adapting at

school, too, difficulties that are provoked by the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors of classmates and sometimes teachers.

Despite all of this, as some of the young people express so well, each one had different ways of adapting, different ways of dealing with the different situations.

As for **interactions with others**, we could also perceive a rather generalized tendency to form groups according to origin. This may perhaps be due to the difficulties in integrating with and being accepted by others, or, in other cases, because of pressure from one's own group against forming relationships with Spanish boys and girls. At any rate, they usually evaluate interaction and knowing people from different places very positively, because it enriches one's own perceptions and favors familiarity with different ways of interpreting the world and of living. In some interviews, the adolescents started out by stating that they interact equally easily with Spanish people and with boys and girls from their country of origin, but later on acknowledged that their friends are mainly from their same country of origin. This contradiction may indicate the difference between what is desirable and the real possibilities that they have.

The **experiences of discrimination** that they spoke to us about are very diverse, but they can be summarized under these headings: contempt, under-valuing, insults, expressions such as 'go back to your own country,' physical aggression, ridicule, refusing favors, rudeness, intimidation, persecution and physical threats. These were the most direct descriptions of the behavior that the teenagers identified as discriminatory. However, the young people also interpreted certain behaviors in their environment as discriminatory: the fact that people assign them to a certain group and attribute behavior observed in people from that group to them, the fact that they feel under-valued by the teachers regarding their capabilities or future possibilities. This last aspect is reflected in the academic orientations that teachers give to the teenagers, directing them more often towards training courses than towards the 'bachillerato.' With reference to the teachers, they also spoke, on occasion, of direct discrimination, mentioning racist statements they had heard in class, such as: "Latinos only come here to steal," or when they were advised not to interact with people from their same country of origin, with the intention of making it easier for them to integrate quickly. Some of the young people pointed out their preference for attending schools where there are other students with foreign origins. With respect to this, they also expressed a preference for public schools over subsidized schools for the same reason, stating that they find more racist attitudes in subsidized schools. We feel that it is important to point out that the teenagers brought to our attention the fact that racist behavior is carried out as a group more often than individually, and they explain that this has to do with the relationship between an individual and the rest of the members of his or her group of friends. Finally, the young people interviewed perceive the working conditions of foreigners from certain countries to be harder than for Spanish people and other foreigners. They point out that the adults from their same place of origin do not have access to all kinds of jobs (they are limited to sectors such as

construction), they work longer hours and are paid lower salaries. This perception influences the expectations of the teenagers themselves regarding their future and their opportunities. We feel that we should add that the young people have also, on the other hand, pointed out very positive experiences with people in their environment, both Spanish people and foreign people, and with students and teachers.

The ways the adolescents respond to these kinds of attitude are varied and often contradictory. In general, these attitudes could be said to produce very negative feelings. What they want, in all cases, is for the aggression to stop; however, the way of making this happen depends on each person, on each moment, and even on the accumulated experience and the process of change that each person is undergoing. On one hand, there is a wide variety of responses whose purpose is to make the aggressor think that the aggression did not have the desired effect: ignore it, be quiet, laugh at it, pretend you have not heard, etc. The explanation that the adolescents gave for this kind of response is that it is a way to avoid an escalation of conflict. On the other hand, other people spoke of responding by actively defying the aggressor, seeking respect and, from there, making the conflict disappear; in this sense, they explain the existence of the Latino gangs to which we will refer shortly. In addition to these two types of response, the teenagers spoke of the need to find support in other members of the group and their attitudes of empathy with other victims of racism. Curiously, though, they do not usually seek support from adults (parents and teachers), except in a very few cases, for very different reasons: credibility, not increasing the magnitude of the problem, thinking that this is not effective, that they will not be understood. In the most extreme cases, the response to an aggression that is repeatedly produced may be leaving that place.

When we asked the young people about the reasons for racist attitudes and behavior, they answered in many different ways, but we can gather their responses into two groups: the reasons that the victims give and the reasons that the aggressors give. On many occasions, the same person is both a victim of racism because of minority status and an aggressor towards other minorities both in Spain and in the country of origin. The reasons the people give as victims are much broader than the reasons they give as aggressors: because they learned it from their families, because they are afraid, in order to avoid illegal immigration, because the behavior of one person in a group is attributed to all the people in the group, to differentiate among people, because they think that some groups are better than others, because of the discrimination by Europeans towards everyone who comes from the south, from ignorance, because they assume that white skin is better than black skin, as an effect of the Spanish colonization of Latin America. But it is necessary to point out that many of the people interviewed explicitly state that they do not understand the reasons behind racist aggressions. The aggressors' explanations are more vague and general, and can be placed in two groups: because we are all racists and we all behave like that at some time even without realizing it, and because they had problems with members of a certain group.

Dimension IV allowed us to analyze the perceptions of **stereotypes, prejudice and racism** among the young people. The people we interviewed answered the question 'What does being a racist mean?' in different ways. However, they all add aspects that are important for understanding such a complex behavior and attitude: discriminating against a person because of their color or race, not interacting with black people, fighting with another person because he or she is from another country, only valuing people from your own group, associating prejudice with a group that we call a race, classifying human beings, classifying human beings according to prejudices, classifying groups of human beings on a scale from better to worse, attributing a series of "good" and "bad" characteristics to a person according to physical appearance, hate identified with a series of prejudices.

These people have pointed out some very important consequences of racism. Evaluating people based on prejudices is always negative because, even if the prejudices are positive ones, they always generate expectations that are not realistic. On the other hand, negative prejudices provoke a tension that feeds back into the relationship, because one responds negatively to a negative attitude, so that one adapts to the negative expectation of the other person and vice versa: if a person feels that they are being treated unfairly, they are more likely to react negatively to this injustice. Finally, we would like to quote the testimony of one person because it very graphically expresses what many others have wanted to say: "I've thought a lot about why racism exists, why differentiate among people, but I've never reached any conclusion."

Finally, in this dimension we explored the teenagers' opinions on the possibility of preventing racism, and the measures that they think would be adequate for this purpose. Almost all of them pointed out that the role of parents is fundamental and helps prevent racism when they teach their children that all human beings are equal. Some also pointed out the importance of respect towards older people and the need to guide children's experiences. But on the other hand, we must remember that the same teenagers remarked that families were the origin of racist attitudes and behavior. Other ideas to help prevent racism that were mentioned were the need to try to identify with other people and other points of view, the experience of having been a foreigner oneself and being able to put oneself in the place of the foreigner here, being familiar with other ideas, other ways of thinking and other classifications. One informant mentioned the importance of philosophy for understanding that there are different ways of evaluating things. The need to deal with people of different origins and understand their lives, to acknowledge that racism is a mechanism that society uses and that we need to be aware of when we ourselves use it, wondering about one's own behavior with respect to racism, before evaluating the behavior of others: "because we can't not make mistakes, but we can know what mistakes we make."

The teenagers interviewed interpret the **perceptions** of Spanish society concerning immigration; sometimes they take on society's prejudices as their own, as in the statement that immigrants take jobs and privileges away from Spanish people. But in contrast, they point out several positive consequences of this immigration (rejuvenation of the population) and one person even defies the widespread ideas about immigration in Spanish

society by arguing that the Spanish people went to colonize his country and immigration is a consequence of the impoverishment of his country caused by colonization.

The perceptions of the young people concerning the majority group in society included perceptions about Spanish people and, in particular, perceptions about gypsies. Regarding the first, we must say that it was impossible for the interviewees to generalize; however, for the second set of conceptions, they seem to have adopted the same racist, discriminatory attitudes held by Spanish society concerning gypsies, justifying them the same way that Spanish people do, but contradicting the reasoning they used to talk about the racism that they themselves suffer.

With respect to the last dimension, devoted to the subject of **gangs** almost as a footnote, we should say that the people interviewed spoke to us about the experience of other adolescents who were close to them, but never in first person and they distinguished between two kinds of gangs, the Latino gangs and the ultra-right-wing gangs. They saw the existence of one set of gangs as the result of the existence of the others, and they explained membership in them as due to the need to seek protection from aggressions, although the majority of the opinions coincided in casting doubt upon their efficacy.

Based on the conclusions presented, we would like to end by including some **ideas about the work that we think should be carried out in the near future**:

All of the adolescents interviewed were able to cite racist experiences in their daily environments. The majority suffered these experiences as victims, although some admit having expressed themselves in a racist fashion towards others, aware or unaware of what they were doing. Similarly, they are all convinced of the need for anti-racist education and they propose several interesting ideas related to this, among others, the idea of initiating an honest dialogue on the issue, reflecting on their own experiences. Nevertheless, the majority did not go to the adults in their environment when they needed to try to resolve racist conflicts because they doubted the efficacy of these adults' response. The team that prepared this report believes that it is necessary to involve both adults and students in setting up an anti-racist education.

The people we interviewed understand the mechanisms that are employed in racist attitudes and behavior and are able to detect the complex causes and associate them with mechanisms of behavior such as prejudice and stereotypes, although some do so only in a vague way. However, they admit that they cannot manage to understand the reasons for the existence of racism.

Our proposal for future work is based on the development of a useful tool that would allow us to initiate this dialogue that the teenagers call for, but that would at the same time involve the adults, the objective being that fathers, mothers, educators, organizers of social activities, immigrant and non-immigrant teenagers learn to:

- a) understand the experiences of racism of young people of different origins,
- b) explain them in their social context, understanding the reasons for racist attitudes and behavior,
- c) detect them in their immediate environment, starting by recognizing their own racist attitudes and behavior,
- d) become aware of the mistakes they make because we learn, unconsciously, from early ages to think and act in a racist fashion, even though it may be unconscious, and
- e) prevent racist attitudes and behavior through the experience that we acquire when we become aware of them.

We believe that this useful tool could take the shape of a Guide, a format that this team has experimented with satisfactorily on the issue of Intercultural Education.

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