Young Migrants' Aspirations, Expectations and Perspectives of Well-Being investigated using Biographical Narratives, the Capability Approach and Intersectionality

Young People of Ecuadorian Background's Narratives of Educational Journeys and Career Aspirations

A dissertation submitted to the

Faculty of Educational Sciences

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

In Education

and

European Doctorate

At Bielefeld University

By

Maria Ron Balsera

Bielefeld, Germany

June 2014

Host institution: University of Bielefeld

Secondment: Institute of Education, University of London (September 2011 – August 2012)

Supervisor at host institution: Isabell Diehm

Supervisor at secondment institution: Elaine Unterhalter

Co-supervisor: Sabine Andresen

Mentor: Sandra Boni

First examiner:	Prof. Dr. Isabell Diehm
	Faculty of Educational Sciences
	Bielefeld Universität and
	Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main
	Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaften
	Institut für Allgemeine Erziehungswissenschaft
Second examiner:	Prof. Dr.Dr. h.c. mult. Hans-Uwe Otto
	Fakultät für Erziehungswissenschaft / AG 8 - Soziale Arbeit
	Senior Research Professor, Sprecher der NRW-Forscherschule
	"Education and Capabilities" der Universität Bielefeld und
	Technischen Universität Dortmund sowie Sprecher des Bielefeld
	Center for Education and Capability Research der Universität
	Bielefeld, Adjunct Professor an der School of Social Policy and
	Practice der University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA
Third examiner:	Prof. Dr. Félix Lozano Aguilar
	Escuela Universitaria de ética y cooperación al desarrollo
	Universidad Politécnica de Valencia
Fourth examiner:	Dr. Alkje Sommerfeld
	Fakultät für Erziehungswissenschaft / AG 8 - Soziale Arbeit /
	Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research
	Bielefeld Universität

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Maria Ron Balsera entitled "Young people of Ecuadorian background's aspirations, expectations and perspectives of well-being in Spain: Narratives of educational journeys and career aspirations". I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education and the European Doctorate.

I hereby declare that the material in this thesis has not been previously submitted to any other faculty, either in terms of this current version or another version. I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and, in the content of my work, I have used no other sources than those explicitly indicated and where due acknowledgement has been made.

Selbständigkeitserklärung

Dissertation mit dem Titel:

"Young people of Ecuadorian background's aspirations, expectations and perspectives of well-being in Spain: Narratives of educational journeys and career aspirations"

Hiermit erkläre ich, die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig und ohne fremde Hilfe verfasst und nur die angegebene Literatur und Hilfsmittel verwendet zu haben.

_____

Maria Ron Balsera

Bielefeld, 05.06.2014

"Young People of Ecuadorian Background's Aspirations, Expectations and Perspectives of Well-being in Spain: Narratives of Educational Journeys and Career Aspirations"

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, especially to my wonderful husband who has given me his unconditional support making the doctorate journey possible; to my mother, who I owe so much that I cannot express with words; to my father and other loved ones who unfortunately are no longer here but have infused me with their high aspirations to achieve this degree; to my little son, who brings so much happiness and joy, who, like his mother, is marked by migration, and deserves a better world where genuine opportunities and substantive freedom are not constrained by ascribed social identities; to my participants, for trusting me and sharing their revealing stories.

.

Abstract

Young People of Ecuadorian Background's Aspirations, Expectations and Perspectives of Well-being in Spain: Narratives of Educational Journeys and Career Aspirations.

By

María Ron Balsera

This empirical research studies the impact of the interlocking of age, ethnicity, class and gender-related factors on the educational journeys and career aspirations of 15 young boys and girls of Ecuadorian background in three different institutions: secondary schools, remedial vocational centres and juvenile detention centres in Spain; complementing these biographical narratives with expert interviews. Understanding age, ethnicity, class and gender as social construction that shape the dialectics between identity and representation, and are linked to power and oppression that produce and sustain discourses and practices of material inequalities leading to social exclusion and capability deprivation, the dissertation asks and addresses four questions:

- How do some selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain experience age, ethnicity, class and gender in their social interactions?
- What is the role of social conversion factors in enhancing the capabilities of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?
- What mechanism do some selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain develop to increase their well-being?
- What factors contribute to upward and downward integration of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?

The added value of this research lies in combining the Capability Approach and the theoretical tool of intersectionality to analyse the biographical narratives of young people of migration background. By embracing the notion of capability deprivation looking at the compounded effect of age, ethnicity, class, and gender, this approach enables a broader but deeper conception of inequality and discrimination which captures the diversity between and within groups, and improves our understanding of the processes in which these differences are transformed into drivers of inequality of capabilities. By focusing on the relation between individual and structural conversion factors, it provides a more informed account, unveiling dynamics of discrimination that not only affect different groups of migrants in different ways but also the same groups in

different situations. In this fashion, this combined approach moves from focusing mainly on individual characteristics to unearthing the processes and dynamics by which these ascribed characteristics lead to a lower access to valuable doings and beings.

Chapter One introduces the study, justifying the need of this research in terms of the following statistics: a) the growing number of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain; b) the increasing presence of young people of Ecuadorian background in the Spanish education system; c) the concerning figures related to school attrition, the concentration in remedial courses, and the overrepresentation in juvenile detention centres; d) the research gap concerning young people of Latin American background in Spain due to the late arrival of these nationalities and the recent position of Spain as a migration receiving country.

Chapter Two examines the literature on migration, particularly focusing on the need to apply a gender lens due to the increasing feminisation of migration and the need to understand the impact of the migration process and policies on the migrant families, especially children. It pays particular attention to structural perspective and segmented assimilation to help understand the factors leading to different patterns of integration for children of migrants. It critically examines assimilation perspectives with the theory of institutional discrimination

Chapter Three situates the context of the research, by analysing the statistics, laws and policies related to Ecuadorian migration to Spain. It looks at the participants' parents' main occupations and education levels, and the processes of family reunification. It draws on the theoretical concept of 'global care chains' to improve our understanding of the circumstances of many Ecuadorian families. It interprets the education figures and juvenile detention statistics related to young people of Ecuadorian background.

Chapter Four proposes an innovative theoretical framework of analysis by combining the Capability Approach with the analytical tool of intersectionality, focusing on the interlocking of age, ethnicity, class and gender to uncover the complex systems of inequalities that affect the participants' conversion of opportunities into valuable beings and doings. It discusses the meaning of capability, functionings, vulnerability, social exclusion, capability deprivation; as well as the conception of age, ethnicity, class and gender as systems of domination, oppression, discrimination and exclusion.

Chapter Five describes the adequacy of biographical interviews as a method of data collection and of the biographical narrative interpretative method combined with grounded theory as the method

of analysis to study aspirations, expectations and perspectives, to unearth complex systems of discrimination in terms of access to valuable opportunities and resources, and to provide a platform for usually unheard or disregarded voices. It argues that biographical narratives are particularly well-suited to investigate the factors that lead to increasing levels of vulnerability and capability deprivation. It questions and addresses issues regarding epistemology, the meaning of narratives, sampling concerns, the interviewer's role, the difficulties of transcription, the complexity of analysis, and ethical concerns.

Chapter Six presents each individual research participant, analysing their life trajectories and comparing them against the concept of vulnerability. Vulnerability is here portrayed as a dynamic concept, where different personal and social factors become stressors which are more or less salient depending on the circumstances. It analyses the effect of these conversion factors in terms of mitigating or enhancing vulnerability, and in this manner, it introduces some of the findings of the research.

Chapter Seven explores the participants' school experiences from their point of view. It holds that schools are not isolated institutions, but immersed in a complex combination of systems where students' experiences of education are not just mediated by their individual characteristics, but also by their families, peer groups, their teachers, teachers' pedagogy, school ethos, mandatory and hidden curricula as well as the broader pervasive systems of oppression, discrimination and exclusion on the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender. Some of the findings from this section point at an "attitude-achievement paradox", where even when these students share the same educational values as the native majority and believe in the upward mobility promise offered by education, they are more likely to become disengaged and face greater risk of school attrition because of the lack of embeddedness in school which is brought about by pervasive institutional discrimination.

Chapter Eight addresses the first and second research questions regarding the participants' experiences of age, ethnicity, class and gender; and the impact of social conversion factors in expanding or decreasing the participants' capability sets. It analyses the participants' reported aspirations, relationships with their parents, teachers, peers, friends, and partners, as well as encounters with police, and reasons to join a Latin gang under a constructivist structural perspective; where age, ethnicity, class and gender prove to be interlocking systems of domination, oppression, discrimination and exclusion. Some of the findings from this section signal the prevalence of "marginalised masculinities" among some of the participants, highlighting

low capability sets where individual and social conversion factors fail to transform formal opportunities to study and obtain well-paid meaningful jobs. In these contexts, strength, dominance, risk-taking behaviours and violence are valued since they represent resistance mechanisms to gain respect and to obtain status and economic resources.

Chapter Nine addresses the third and fourth research questions by studying the factors and processes that may lead to higher levels of vulnerability and capability deprivation. The findings suggest that the barriers for successful integration and adequate levels of wellbeing are manifold and stem from: a) the migration process, including the common separation from parents until they are reunited, the working load of unstable low-paid positions in a discriminatory labour market, and the impact of these stressors on authority patterns, and the emotional and social development of the participants; b) the institutional discrimination at the school level, with an ethnocentric curriculum and pedagogies that disregard knowledge from other countries and cultures, where peers subject the participants to constant subtle and explicit forms of psychological and physical violence, with low teachers' expectations that burden their already lower aspirations due to their parents' job-education mismatch; c) the impact on migration laws, xenophobic political discourses and social attitudes, the effect of the financial crisis on unemployment, the precarisation of the labour market, and the inability to pay debts, as well as the constant police profiling experienced by some of the participants. These factors led some of the participants to find alternative mechanisms for affiliation and self-respect in a highly constrained opportunity structure; joining a Latin gang was the alternative for some of the participants.

Chapter Ten presents the conclusions of the study, arguing that it is impossible to disentangle personal, family and social conversion factors, since the institutional discrimination, more visible in the labour market and mass media, also affect laws and social policies, and pervade other social institutions such as schools, affecting all micro, meso and macro levels, lowering the capabilities of the participants. As a piece of a wide and complex system of allocation of advantages and disadvantages, the configuration of education institutions as gatekeepers of valuable opportunities in the short, medium and long term, reflects socio-economic inequalities in the wider society. These dynamics of discrimination permeate the relations amongst teachers and between teachers and students, teachers and families, students and students in a subtle and occasionally explicit manner. Representing the monopoly of valid knowledge, schools reinforce the oppression of vulnerable groups legitimising the symbolic violence of rewarding only knowledge, practices and habitus, from an ethnocentric hegemonic perspective.

Acknowledgements

This acknowledgements section would be as long as the dissertation itself if I attempted to fully express the depth of my appreciation for the members of the faculty, friends, and colleagues from different countries who have contributed to this dissertation, so I will try to do more of that in person and offer just a gesture here.

This project would not have been possible without the encouragement, support and help of a good number of people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my first supervisor, Isabell Diehm, for believing in my potential before we had met when she helped select me for the Marie Curie Eduwel position at Bielefeld University; for supporting me in happy and sad moments in my life, as well as during high and low times throughout the doctorate process; for fostering my agency by empowering me to decide the research topic and approach, and for guiding me when I was stranded.

I am also indebted to my supervisor at the secondment institution Elaine Unterhalter (Institute of Education, London), for integrating me into such a lively and fruitful place for research; for opening my eyes and making me reflect on my positionality as a researcher; and particularly, for her careful reading and extensive feedback on some of my writings.

I am also deeply grateful to my mentor Sandra Boni for her constant support, invaluable references, and sense of humour, which have smoothed the Ph.D journey and the delivery of projects for the international research network. Likewise I would like to thank my second supervisor in Germany, Sabine Andresen, for her support and encouragement, and for finding solutions to what seemed to be insurmountable problems. Furthermore, my sincere thanks to Hans-Uwe Otto for his incredibly useful feedback, for going the extra mile to secure my well-being as a researcher, and for integrating me into such a wonderful research school: Bielefeld Center for Education and Capability Research.

I also feel extremely grateful to Rosa Aparicio (Instituto Ortega y Gasset, Madrid) for finding time to meet with me and discuss my ideas, for giving me her very insightful and constructive advise, for sharing her extensive academic experience in the field of migration in Spain, and particularly for her fruitful feedback as a discussant at the final Eduwel conference in Valencia 2013.

Other professors and members of the faculty such as Thomas Faist, Sabine Schäfer, Margit Fauser, from Bielefeld, Gabrielle Rosenthal (Gottingen), Jenny Parks (Institute of Education)

have deeply contributed to this dissertation through their constructive feedback and inspiring suggestions that they and other members of their colloquia have kindly offered.

I have very much benefitted from, and greatly enjoyed, the interaction with all my colleagues at the Marie Curie International Research Network, both senior and early stage researchers: Aurora Lopez, Melanie Walker, Agnese Peruzzi, Burcu Guner, Davina Gateley Saïd, Holger Ziegler, Hans- Uwe Otto, Lukas Ertl, Elaine Unterhalter, Enrica Chiappero, Sara Bonfanti, Alberta Spreafico, Mattias Strandh, Björn Halleröd, Janine Leschke, Marek Kwiek, Petia Ilieva, Sofia Ribeiro, Mario Biggeri, Annica Brännlund, Guntars Catlaks, Krystian Szadkowski, Margherita Bussi, Maria Jepsen, Jean-Michel Bonvin, Stephan Dahmen, Virva Leppänen, Vincenzo Mauro, and Susanne Gottuck. As well as those in the Bielefeld Research School: Joshua Amunga, Brana Bosnjak, Erika Bozzato, Antje Brock, Zöe Clark, Anika Duveneck, Franziska Eisenhuth, Grace Shiao En Chng, Davina Gateley, Johanna Maria Gold, Pinar Burcu Güner, Rada Jancic, Natalia Karmaeva, Ksenia Kuzmina, Anetta Potsi, Daniel Rebbe, Bettina Ritter, Jana-Elisa Ruth, Lakshmi Venkataraman, Sittipan Yodyotying. And my small group of friends at the Institute of Education: Carolina Junemann, Charley Nussey, Tristan McCowan, Antonio Olmedo, Ivette Hernández, and Claire Postles.

Finally I would like to thank some friends and colleagues from previous stages of my life who have continually supported me in this academic endeavour. First of all I would like to thank Saamira Halabi, for making my participation in two international congresses (CIES, Puerto Rico and CES, Washington DC) possible by providing accommodation, support and loads of fun. I am also indebted to Paz Teresa Matamoros, for introducing me to the world of juvenile detention institutions and discussing my research project and findings. Special thanks to my friends and colleagues at ActionAid and the Right to Education Project, particularly Akanksha Marphatia and David Archer, for their continuous support and encouragement. I also gained a huge amount of inspiration and developed my critical conception of education and other social institutions during my wonderful research experience at the faculty of Education at UC Berkeley and was inspired by the fantastic people I met there. I also owe a lot of my development to the stimulating doctorate studies in Fundamental Rights at my home university Carlos III de Madrid and the MSc in Human Rights at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences.

The support that the friends and family who are not mentioned in this already long list is not forgotten, but appreciated in my constant love and gratitude that goes beyond words. The participants, experts and gatekeepers that made possible this research cannot be mentioned because of ethical reasons, but I will forever be grateful for their invaluable help.

Euripides' Medea (431B.C.E.)

sometimes she lifts up her pallid face
and mourns for her dear father,
her country, and the home she betrayed
to come here with this man who now holds her in contempt.
The poor woman knows from bitter loss
what it means to have once had a homeland.
29-34 Nurse

There is no justice in people's perception:
there are some who, before they know a person inside out,
hate him on sight, even if they have never been wronged by him.
An outsider in particular must conform to the city.
218-221 Medea

But the same story does not apply to you and me.
You have this city and your father's home,
enjoyment of life, and the companionship of friends,
but, alone and without a city, I am abused
by my husband, carried off as plunder from a foreign land,
I have no mother, no brother, no relative
to offer me a safe haven from this disaster.
251-257 Medea

You there, with the scowl on your face, raging against your husband,
Medea, I command you to leave this land,
taking your two children with you.
Do not delay. Of this sentence of banishment I am both judge and jury
and I will not go back home again
until I have cast you outside the borders of my country.
270-275 Creon

oh, the pity of it
if I must go into exile, cast out of this country
without friends, a lonely mother with two lonely children,
510-513 Medea

Children, children, you have a city
and a home in which, when you have left me in my misery,
you will dwell forever deprived of a mother.
And I will go to another country, a refugee,
where I cannot delight in you or see you happy.
1020-1024 Medea

But those who have in their houses the
sweet bloom of children — I see them
worn down by care all the time,
first how they will bring up their children right
and how they will leave them a livelihood.
1097-1103 Chorus

Los emigrantes, ahora

Eduardo Galeano

Desde siempre, las mariposas y las golondrinas y los flamencos vuelan huyendo del frío, año tras año, y nadan las ballenas en busca de otra mar y los salmones y las truchas en busca de su río.

Ellos viajan miles de leguas, por los libres caminos del aire y del agua.

No son libres, en cambio, los caminos del éxodo humano.

En inmensas caravanas, marchan los fugitivos de la vida imposible.

Viajan desde el sur hacia el norte y desde el sol naciente hacia el poniente.

Les han robado su lugar en el mundo. Han sido despojados de sus trabajos y sus tierras. Muchos huyen de las guerras, pero muchos más huyen de los salarios exterminados y de los suelos arrasados.

Los náufragos de la globalización peregrinan inventando caminos, queriendo casa, golpeando puertas: las puertas que se abren, mágicamente, al paso del dinero, se cierran en sus narices.

Algunos consiguen colarse. Otros son cadáveres que la mar entrega a las orillas prohibidas, o cuerpos sin nombre que yacen bajo la tierra en el otro mundo adonde querían llegar.

Immigrants Today, in "Voices of Time, a Life in Stories"

Eduardo Galeano (2007)

Butterflies and swallows and flamingos have forever spread their wings to flee the cold, the way whales swim in search of seas, and salmon and trout seek out their rivers. Year after year, they all travel thousands of miles on the open roads of air and water.

The roads of human flight are not free.

In immense caravans they march, fugitives fleeing their unbearable lives.

They travel from south to north and from rising sun to setting sun.

Their place in the world has been stolen. They've been stripped of their work and their land. Many flee wars, but many more ruinous wages and exhausted plots of land.

These pilgrims, shipwrecked by globalization, wander about, unearthing roads, seeking homes, knocking on doors that swing open when money calls but slam shut in their faces. Some manage to sneak in. Others arrive as corpses that the sea delivers to the forbidden shore, or as nameless bodies buried in the world they hoped to reach.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"If our goal is to slow migration, then the best way to do so is to work for a more equitable global system. But slowing migration is an odd goal, if the real problem is global inequality."

― Aviva Chomsky, (2007: 189)

The integration of migrants is a common concern for most European countries. Despite the enormous wealth they bring in terms of knowledge, perspectives, cultural manifestations, youth and economic resources, immigration policies tend to portray migrants, especially those arriving from poor countries, as a problem. These policies aim to tackle migration by restricting the entry of newcomers which reinforces geographical barriers and builds a European fortress. These restrictions limit the possibilities of family reunification and many family members are often left behind. But despite these hurdles, European stability and relative economic prosperity prove to have a stronger pulling effect than the dissuading migration policies. In 2012 the foreign population in Europe reached 20.1 million, representing 4.1% of the total European population and the figure for the foreign born population was 33 million in the 27 countries forming the European Union (EUROSTAT). In 2011, when this research fieldwork started, Spain was the country with the highest number of immigrants 507 742, ahead of the United Kingdom 350 703, Germany 249 045 and France 213 367 (EUROSTAT).

The challenge of integrating this increasing number of newcomers is even more critical in the case of the children of migrants, since the relative material deprivation typical of migrants arriving from poorer countries, tends to accumulate during childhood and triggers vicious cycles of disadvantage that go beyond economic poverty (Peruzzi, 2014). The evidence from historically receiving countries such as the USA shows that this second generation faces different barriers to the ones experienced by their parents, since children of migrants tend to be more familiar with the host country's language and culture. The concern of this research stems from the evidence that although being born or at least socialised in the host country, their migrant background often leads to lower access to opportunities and resources than those offered to the native population (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Gans, 1992; IOE 2007 and 2012). Yet, migrants are extremely diverse and factors such as their country of origin, religion, language ability, ethnic group and family economic status play a crucial role in determining the successful integration of migrants and their children (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou 1997). However, the impact of the individual factors is increased or mitigated by the availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability (Tomasevski, 2001) of social institutions.

Growing international academic literature concludes that migrants and their descendants arriving from poorer countries encounter greater barriers than the native population in areas such as education, the labour market, politics and the justice system (Barth and Noel, 1972; Crul, 2007; IOE 2007 and 2012) as a result of institutional discrimination (Gomolla, 2006; Gomolla and Radtke, 2002; Macpherson of Cluny, 1999). These barriers are related to the availability, i.e. the existence of institutions that can expand the opportunity structure of individuals; accessibility, i.e. the lack of economic, social, informational, geographic or structural barriers to enjoy the services provided by these institutions without discrimination; acceptability, i.e. the quality and relevance of the service provided to increase the substantive opportunities of the affected individuals to carry out their plans of life; and adaptability, i.e. the flexibility to adjust to the diverse needs of the individuals in order to overcome the shortcomings that affect the conversion of goods and opportunities into valuable beings and doings (see Tomasevski, 2001 for the case of education).

This research is very timely not only because of the recent position of Spain as a major destination for migration, but also because of the personal effects of the financial crisis on some groups. In many European countries, particularly Spain, the recent economic crisis has resulted in a soaring youth unemployment rate, higher levels of poverty, youth discontentment and disconnection with social and political institutions. Migrants, being a historically vulnerable group, have seen their situation worsen far more than natives. The growing social inequalities, the deterioration of working conditions, the weakening of social protection mechanisms and the increasing anti-immigration attitudes are shifting the political discussions of integration towards alienating young people with a migration background.

Regarding the role of social institutions in smoothing these inequalities, schooling has been portrayed as the great equaliser (Johnson, 2006), since it was supposed to provide opportunities for personal development and upward mobility to all, irrespective of their ethnicity, class or gender. That is the reason why schooling has been seen as the most promising institution for the socio cultural and economic integration of young migrants. Yet, early school leaving is prevalent among young people with certain migration backgrounds, especially those from poorer countries (Fernández Enguita, 2010). School success or failure, plus all the grey shades in between, are crucial determining factors for present and future access to opportunities and resources. Thus, it seems necessary to study the factors that lead young people of migration background to drop out of school by analysing what types of heterogeneities become social inequalities; so social

policies can target the drivers of disadvantage at an early stage before they accumulate and trigger cycles of poverty and social exclusion.

The specific relevance for this research lies on the increasing presence of immigrants in Spanish schools, in the 2011/12 academic year immigrants represented 10.15 % of the total student population in Spain, compared to 6.64% in 2004/5 and only 2.06% in 2000/2001 (MEC, Spanish Ministry of Education statistics). Latin American countries represent the main source of migration to Spain, with Ecuadorian immigrants being the most numerous group. Non-nationals' presence in juvenile detention centres in Madrid in 2009, was 53.03%, of which 28.79% were from Latin America (Agencia para la Reeducación y Reinserción del Menor Infractor, 2009: 83). Although the percentage of Ecuadorian students at all education levels in Spain in 2011/2012 was 1% of the total student population, there seems to be a concentration of Ecuadorian background students on remedial short vocational courses, representing 2.92% of the total student population in these courses; whereas they are under represented at university level, with just 0.14% (INE, Spanish National Institute of Statistics). Of greater concern is their gross overrepresentation in juvenile detention centres; in Madrid in 2009, 15% of young offenders had Ecuadorian nationality (ARRMI, 2009: 114).

Despite these worrying statistics, there is a scarcity of studies delving into the context of children of Latin American immigrants in Spain, particularly qualitative studies that take into account young people's perspectives on education, integration and well-being. This research fills a gap in our knowledge and understanding of the challenges faced by children of migrants. The late arrival of Latin American migrants to Spain and the fact that the number of adolescents born in Spain to a foreign mother or father, although rapidly increasing, is still relatively small seem to be behind the lack of data regarding this growing population (Portes, Aparicio, Haller, 2009: 2; IOE, 2007; Vicente Torrado, 2005). Due to the recent arrival, the findings will be of utmost importance to ensure that the barriers to successful integration can be addressed at an incipient stage, rather than a latter stage when the compounded disadvantages tend to evolve and accumulate intra and inter generationally (Peruzzi, 2014), as is happening with certain groups of immigrants in historically receiving countries. This research also adds a new dimension to the prolific Latino literature in the USA, by presenting a case of Latin American background youth in a context where language, among other cultural expressions, unlike in the case of USA, cannot be argued as a barrier to integration.

1. 1. Objectives

The objectives of this dissertation search:

- To gain an insight on how education is experienced by selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain.

This research looks at the barriers that young people with a migration background face in order to enjoy high levels of well-being and to pursue their plan of life. Because the school represents the most relevant public institution for young people, it is a particularly well-suited place to study how age, ethnicity, class and gender, as social constructs, interact and whether they enhance or hinder their well-being and real opportunities to carry out their plan of life. Because statistics fail to capture the nuanced processes and dynamics that encourage or discourage students to achieve in education, it is necessary to ask the affected individuals what they see as relevant in terms of expanding or decreasing their opportunities to participate in and profit from the education provided in schools.

- To explore, from the participants' perspective, how the interaction of ethnicity, class and gender expands or constrains their capabilities in education.

In order to get a nuanced understanding of the personal impact of the interactions of age, ethnicity, class, and gender, biographical interviews were chosen as the method to inquire about the participants' experiences and perceptions. Thus, this research makes use of biographical narratives in order to shed light on the complex phenomena that lead many young people of migration background to lower levels of well-being. This methodology aims at providing a platform for their voices and views, which are normally silenced or disregarded, in order to help them participate in the reform or creation of institutions that increase their genuine opportunities and overcome the barriers they have encountered during their education journeys.

- To inform integration policies on education for young people with a migration background which take into account multiple discriminations.

Social policies need to focus on endowing individuals with adequate resources and opportunities, that is, with effective means to develop. To achieve this goal it is necessary to take into account human diversity, especially the personal impact of the intersections of ethnicity, class and gender, together with other social identities such as age, sexuality, disability. Therefore, social policies can benefit from the findings of this research because they improve our understanding of the intersectional subordinations which lead to lower levels of objective well-being, which might turn into social exclusion. These findings can provide clues on how to enlarge capabilities and

how to create effective institutions to fight against structural inequalities and intersectional discrimination and to mitigate the effect of these systems of oppression, discrimination and exclusion on the lives of individuals.

1. 2. Research questions:

The research questions sought to steer the investigation towards meeting the aforementioned aims of this dissertation. These research questions guided not only the sampling and data collection methods, but also the process of analysis.

- How do some selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain experience age, ethnicity, class and gender in their social interactions?

Sexism and racism, together with other forms of discrimination based on age, class, origin, disability and other statuses, shape social and economic disadvantage. However, individuals experience these axes of oppression in different ways in different circumstances. Statistics do not account for the diversity of individuals and the complexity of their social interactions; that is the reason why in-depth interviews are necessary to allow the participants to recount their impressions and interpretations.

- What is the role of social conversion factors in enhancing the capabilities of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?

The impact of migration on well-being seems to be mediated not only by personal conversion factors such as gender, social class and age but also by social conversion factors such as migration and education policies, cultural norms and power relations. Public institutions such as schools, vocational and training centres, police and juvenile centres can also facilitate or hinder the transformation of resources into valuable beings and doings.

- What mechanism do some selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain develop to increase their well-being?

Mechanisms such as culture, beliefs, religion, group cohesion, and a numerous presence often act as protection against social exclusion and are determinant in identity formation processes. Social support, formal and informal networks, created as a consequence of migration, can expand these individuals' capability set. Some mechanisms, such as ethnic based gangs, can be seen as subversive because of challenging the law and middle class norms. These gangs played a crucial role in the lives of some of the participants.

- What factors contribute to upward and downward integration of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?

Migrants and their descendants may experience social mobility within their lives or after generations. Upward mobility can be taken as a sign of successful integration, whereas its opposite, downward mobility, represented by school failure, participation in violent street gangs and youth crime, would be considered a failure of integration policies. When children of migrants do not feel part of the majority group in the host society, the alternative affiliation and resistance mechanisms may result in higher levels of deprivation, even social exclusion.

This research provides an innovative theoretical framework in the field of migration by combining the capability approach together with the analytical concept of intersectionality to shed light on the situation of selected young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain. The capability approach, by highlighting the plurality of well-being and human diversity, presents an invaluable normative framework from which to study the personal and structural situation of selected youth of Latin American background in the Spanish society. This research analyses the participants' narratives studying the intersectionality of age, ethnicity, class and gender and the effect of these dynamics of oppression on the participants' educational journeys and career aspirations.

The findings of this investigation can be seen as a contribution to the structural perspective on second generation' integration which points out the structural advantages and disadvantages in which different groups have unequal access to opportunities and resources (Barth and Noel, 1972) resulting in dynamic racial – although also gender and class – economic, educational and in general, well-being inequalities (Portes and Borocz, 1989). In order to analyse the narratives of participants who are serving sentences in young offenders institutions, this research pays particular attention to the concept of "downward assimilation" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Crul, 2007), which describes resistance mechanisms to integration into the mainstream culture, usually associated with school failure, street gangs and youth crime (Zhou, 1997: 980) and often results in marginalisation and social exclusion. Yet rather than putting the emphasis on individual characteristics, it focuses on the institutional discrimination that creates and reinforces unequal distribution of valuable opportunities and assets on the basis of social identities. Nevertheless, while highlighting the role of formal education in reproducing social inequalities, the structuralist account leaves little room for individual experiences, values and differences within groups (Vaughan, Unterhalter and Walker, 2007). Henceforth attention will be paid to the intertwining of age, ethnicity, class and gender using the capability approach to grasp the complexities of inequalities in educational settings and other institutions through the evaluation

of whether these social arrangements expand or constraint individuals' freedom to achieve valuable doings and beings.

This thesis intends to fill a research gap in a threefold manner; 1) in terms of providing research on an unstudied minority: young people of migration background in Spain; 2) combining biographical narratives, the Capability Approach and intersectionality, aiming at advancing the applicability of the Capability Approach providing empirical research; 3) by adopting a qualitative methodology in order to get a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of age, ethnicity, class and gender allowing for detailed descriptions of everyday practices and providing a platform for unheard or disregarded voices.

Thus the added value of this research lies in the combination of the capability approach and the theoretical tool of intersectionality to analyse the biographical narratives of young people of migration background. By embracing the notion of capability deprivation whilst looking at the compounded effect of ethnicity, class, gender and age, this approach enables a broader but deeper conception of inequality and discrimination which captures the diversity between and within groups, and improves our understanding of the processes in which these differences are transformed into drivers of inequality of capabilities. By focusing on the relationship between individual and structural conversion factors, it provides a more informed account, unveiling dynamics of discrimination that affect different groups of migrants in different ways but also the same groups in different situations. In this fashion, this combined approach moves from focusing mainly on individual characteristics to unearthing the processes and dynamics by which these characteristics lead to a lower access to valuable doings and beings.

Chapter 2: Migration, Gender and Second Generation

> "Once again she would arrive at a foreign place. Once again be the newcomer, an outsider, the one who did not belong. She knew from experience that she would quickly have to ingratiate herself with her new masters to avoid being rejected or, in more dire cases, punished. Then there would be the phase where she would have to sharpen her senses in order to see and hear as acutely as possible so that she could assimilate quickly all the new customs and the words most frequently used by the group she was to become a part of--so that finally, she would be judged on her own merits."

― Laura Esquivel, (2006:18)

Migration has been widely researched by development studies that emphasise the socio economic aspect of migration as an unlimited supply of labour (Lewis, 1954, Ranis and Fei, 1961). Critical of this neoclassical school, other authors have studied the consequences of capitalism for migration (Amin, 1997), creating centre-periphery inequalities (Prebisch Frank, 1967). From Latin America, Prebisch (1949) Cardoso and Faletto (1979) introduced the theory of dependency to explain underdevelopment as a result of the structural conditions imposed by capitalism. Wallerstein (1991) proposes a world system theory to explain the unequal global division of labour. In this line, Sassen (1991) looks at migration and development through the idea of a global city as a production site where capitalist transactions dominate economic globalisation.

However, migrants have often been understood to be men, whilst women have been ascribed a passive role following their husbands or parents in this migration (Boyd, 1989, Chant and Radcliffe, 1992, Carling, 2005), as can be observed in Everett Lee's Theory of Migration (1966)[1]. The increasing feminisation of migration (Morokvasic, 1984, Castles and Miller, 2003, Chammartin, 2004, Pessar, 2005) requires the application of a gender lens (Carling, 2005). The need for a gender lens lies on the asymmetries that are produced and reproduced on the basis of sex through social processes such as socialization and institutionalisation (Carling, 2005, Tienda and Booth 1991).

Examples of the application of a gender lens can be found in Chant's study of interrelatedness of gender and household organisation in rural-urban settings (1998), in Andall's book (2000) on the experiences of Black women in Italy from the 1970s to the 1990s working in domestic service and Mahler and Pessar's study (2006) of the influence of the social construction of masculinities and femininities in the decision to migrate and the way migration is experienced. A similar

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[1] He writes: "Indeed, not all persons who migrate reach that decision themselves. Children are carried along by their parents, willynilly, and wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from environments they love". (Lee, 1966: 51).

argument is given by Lawson (1998) in her study of intrahousehold power relations and dynamics in relation to the motivation and perceptions of migration; she considers it necessary to look at how "particular gender roles, ideologies and identities (eg, of mother, daughter, etc) and household divisions of labour are historically and contextually produced and transformed" (Lawson, 1998: 50).

Although there is a considerable number of research studies that focus on the situation of immigrant women in Spain (IOE, 1998, 1997), most of the literature has focused on women who originate from North Africa, particularly Morocco, such as Aparicio (1998), who studies how gender and identity influence the decision to migrate through the narratives of selected women from North Africa; Ramírez, Rojo (1997) focusing on racism in the host country. The reason for this focus lies on the fact that immigration from North Africa started in the 1970s and increased in the 1980s (Pumares Fernández, 1993) in comparison to other migration origins such as Latin America, whose peak was registered during the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century growing from 19% of the total foreign population in Spain in 1998 to 39% in 2005 with an exponential increase between 2000 and 2005 of 663% (Torrado, 2005: 2). Other studies consider the situation of Philippine women in Spain, particularly their niche in the labour market due to bilateral agreement between the two countries (Berges: 1994, Molina: 1994). Focusing on the situation of Latin American immigrants we find several studies whose focal point is Dominican women: AMDE (1993), consisting of biographical narratives of three immigrant women in Madrid; Cerón (1999) paying specific attention to their work in the domestic service and family reunification. Some studies have researched the situation of Peruvian women, such as Escrivá (1999) who also focuses on domestic service through biographical narratives, adding a gender lens to the research. The case of Colombian women has also paid attention to domestic workers and remittances (INSTRAW and OIM: 2007) and domestic service and sex workers under a human rights perspective (Fuentes Lopez, 2009). In general terms, these studies conclude their desperate situations force these women to accept unskilled and stigmatised jobs in the host country, where they are denied their workers' rights because of the law lacunae characteristic of domestic, care and sex industries.

Most of the studies of Latin American immigrants use quantitative methods, although, as mentioned, there are some exceptions such as the study of biographical narratives of three Dominican women in Madrid, published by the Dominican Women Association in Spain (AMDE, 1993). Likewise, the study led by Carlota Solé Puig (2009) makes use of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, including in depth interviews, to investigate immigrant women's career mobility in Spain.

In the case of Ecuador, Gloria Camacho's book (2010) adopts a biographical narrative methodology to research the labour trajectories under a gender lens and human development approach. Following a 100 question survey applied to 97 participants older than 18, who had come to Spain after 1990, some in depth interviews were conducted. The study concludes that the economic crisis in Ecuador, with the subsequent unemployment and worsening of living conditions, fostered many women to leave their country in search of opportunities to improve their family well-being, often sacrificing their own well-being[2]; however, economic household strategies alone do not account for many women deciding to escape abusive family situations, seeking autonomy and personal development (Camacho, 2010). Nevertheless, these women's human capital is wasted in Spain where they work in unskilled positions, particularly, domestic service (81% at first arrival in Spain and 61% afterwards) (Camacho, 2010: 244).

As one can see, much of the research has focused on the division of labour and, specifically, on domestic service, particularly for Ecuadorian women (Camacho, 2010, Herrera, 2004) and is often analysed through the concept of "global care chains" (Hochschild, Hutton and Giddens, 2000) where professional women in rich countries look for immigrant women to fulfil the roles that they can no longer fulfil regarding housework and childminding. The feminisation of migration requires the use of a gender lens to analyse any research that takes seriously the new changes in the immigration landscape in Spain. Because this research shifts the attention to a later stage, family reunification, it seems necessary to consider the labour conditions of second generation immigrants' parents, and in many cases mothers, since they may affect their children's integration and education outcomes.

Regarding the study of young people of Ecuadorian background, this research fills a gap which seems to be due to the late arrival of Latin American migrants to Spain and the fact that the number of adolescents born in Spain to a foreign mother or father is still relatively small (Portes, Aparicio, Haller, 2009: 2; IOE, 2007; Vicente Torrado, 2005). The terminology used to refer to this research participants is highly contested. The term "second generation immigrant" is commonly used in the field of migration, however, it is a contradiction, since if these individuals were born in Spain, how can they be immigrants? (Rumbaut, 2004: 1165). An Ecuadorian immigrant expert interviewed for this research strongly opposed the term "second generation immigrant" considering it a "mistake, since it stigmatises" this group as being always immigrant, second class Spaniards. He preferred the term "Spaniards whose parents are from another country" or "Spaniard children of migrated parents".

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[2] Oishi, (2002) and Carling, (2005) have researched the sacrifice made by Philippine migrant women as part of household strategies.

Scholars use the term second generation more leniently to refer to those persons whose parents where migrants but they might have been born in the host country or born abroad but migrated to the host country at an early age. However, whether they were born in the host country or arrived at an early age has a significant impact on the adaptation process (Oropesa and Landale, 1997; Rumbaut, 2004).

The use of decimal generations (Oropesa and Landale, 1997) distinguishes between three different groups concerning the age of arrival (Rumbaut, 2004: 1167):

- 1.75 Generation comprises of those persons who arrived in their early childhood, with arrival ages between 0 and 5 years old. The experience of this cohort tends to be closer to those born in the host country, since they retain virtually no memory of their country of birth.

- 1.5 Generation comprises of persons who arrived in middle childhood, with ages between 6 and 12 years old. They were pre-adolescent, who learn to read and write in their country of origin but, whose education is largely completed in Spain.

- 1.25 Generation, who arrived in their adolescent years (ages 13-17) who may or may not have arrived with their families and who may attend secondary school or go directly into the workforce. Scholars presume that their experiences are closer to the first generation than to the second generation.

These cohorts are supposed to present different patterns of adaptation, "from socioeconomic attainment and mobility to language and acculturation" (Rumbaut, 2004: 1185). However, variations other than the age of arrival, such as parents' nationality, ethnicity, social class, language or existent migrant networks in the host country may play a crucial role in determining assimilation, education attainment and career opportunities. The term employed in this research is young people with a migration background, however they could also be referred to as second generation since the members of the focus group were either born in Spain to a foreign mother or father or were born abroad but settled in Spain before they reached 14 years old. This last group is sometimes referred to as the "generation 1.5" (Portes, Aparicio, Haller, 2009: 2; Feixa, 2008) which is especially pertinent for this research since previous studies have confirmed that the number of adolescent individuals born in Spain to a foreign mother or father is still relatively small (Checa, Arjona, 2008).

Together with the age of arrival, it seems pertinent to look at the circumstances of migration, particularly, whether the young migrants were separated from their parents at some point before their journey. Historically, the traditional family migration involved the father travelling to the host country, finding a job and settling in before he would bring his wife and children. This

pattern of migration has received the name of "stepwise" fashion (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). Notwithstanding, the aforementioned increasing feminisation of migration is transforming this pattern and posing new challenges. For instance, some evidence points at a more traumatic experience of migration when it is the mother the first one to migrate leaving the children behind (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002: 625). Albeit substantial work outside clinical reports on the effect of separation and reunification on immigrant families is scarce, the repercussion of separation and reunification is of utmost importance to study the well-being and integration chances of young migrants. Although this separation is always experienced with sadness, the different contexts and circumstances surrounding this separation lead to a variety of outcomes (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002: 625).

The way both the children left behind and the migrating parents make sense of this separation depends on factors such as the age of the child, who assumes the role of primary caretaker in the absence of one or both parents, how this caretaker perceives and portrays the separation, the length of separation, the contact during the separation, the changes in routines experienced by the child after the parents' migration, whether the mother is the one migrating, among others. The reunification also comports other stressors, compounded with the previous factors, such as whether the family has changed its composition – whether parents have separated, new children have been born, step-parents or siblings have joined the family, and so on – the amount of time and energy parents can dedicate to smooth the transition, the age of the child, the strength of the attachment formed with the primary caretaker during the separation, among others (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002).

Thus, although parents tend to justify this separation as a sacrifice for the medium and long term good of their children (Sciarra, 1999), the children's attitudes tend to be more ambivalent. They may feel abandoned and struggle to develop a defence mechanism to cope with this rejection that possibly follow the steps of protest, despair and detachment explained by Bowlby (1973) in his theory of attachment. This detachment can add extra stress to family relations during the reunification. The need to find other sources of belonging and affiliation are found in the primary caretakers; but this attachment is broken again during the process of reunification, and children tend to miss these important figures together with other relatives and friends in their homeland once they are reunited with their progenitors (Sciarra, 1999; Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002).

Parental authority also suffers the consequences of separation, in terms of the socialisation process undergone by the children in their absence, together with the new developments

experienced by the parents in the host countries. Trying to re-establish authority may be further complicated by the scarce family time consequent of the migrants' long working hours, and by the feeling of parental guilt, that often lead to inconsistencies and overprotection (Arnold, 1991, Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie, 2002). The weakened parental authority can be associated with a lack of references and tends to have negative consequences in children behaviours in other sites of socialisation such as schools and of their chances to integrate successfully in the host society.

Parent-child conflict is often linked to role reversal and a rebellious attitude towards parental guidance. In the context of migrant integration some authors argue that generational dissonance, i.e. different levels of parental and children acculturation "severs ties between children and their adult social world, deprives children of family or community resources, and leads them farther and farther away from parental expectations. In inner cities, immigrant children who rebel against parental values and mobility expectations are likely to identify with the levelling downward norms of their immediate social environment and acculturate into an adversarial outlook in response to discrimination and blocked mobility" (Zhou, 1997: 995). The social networks involve obligations, support and social control; demarking the rules and providing an important source of social capital. They can be cultural navigators which "provide assistance on how to navigate mainstream expectations and demonstrate for youth how to discern different cultural rules and expectations within myriad environments and how to negotiate these rules strategically" (Carter, 2005).

Portes and Zhou (1993) hold that there are multidirectional patterns leading to upward mobility, acculturation and economic integration into middle-class norms; downward-mobility pattern, acculturation and parallel integration into the underclass[3]; economic integration into middle-class, with lagged acculturation and deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and solidarity (Zhou, 1997: 984). These patterns are determined by individual factors, such as education, aspiration, language abilities, place of birth, age upon arrival, length of residence; and structural factors, such as racial status, family socioeconomic background and place of residence (Zhou, 1997: 984). Thus, the way in which the host society is segregated on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender shape both acculturation and economic adaptation processes leading to upward or downward mobility.

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[3] The underclass can be defined as a group trapped in poverty, considering poverty in a dynamic perspective that can last an important part of an individual's life, the whole life and that can even be transmitted from one generation to the next. They have been referred to as the „truly disadvantaged" forming inner city ghettos (Wilson, 1987).

The context of reception (Zhou, 1997) plays a crucial role in the integration of children of migrants. The type of economy, with the seemingly ubiquitous hourglass shape in the Western world and the place for immigrants in this market; the legal framework in terms of residence and work permits, health and education services, citizenship and other rights; the existence, quality and requirements for the application of safety nets typical of welfare states; the existence of legal or de facto racial or ethnic segregation, particularly pockets of poverty within inner cities; the attitude towards immigrant represented in the media, in political discourses and displayed by general citizens; the legal and substantial access to valuable opportunities and resources determine the different patterns of assimilation and the chances of successful integration.

For many decades, academics and politicians, amongst others, have been discussing the best ways to incorporate migrants and their children into society. With confronting arguments, assimilation and multiculturalism are the two main perspectives guiding migration and cultural policies in host countries.

Assimilation is a type of acculturation which involves migrants changing their previous cultural patterns as a result of the contact they have with the native population in order to fit into the host society. This adjustment entails "subtle and culturally-defined rules and regulations that govern social encounters. These include verbal and non-verbal forms of communication as well as etiquette, the use of time, and strategies for resolving conflict" (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). Alba and Nee define assimilation as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural differences that express it" (1997: 863). Purposely their definition is ambiguous "about whether changes wrought by assimilation are one-sided or more mutual" (Alba and Nee, 1997:864); i.e. whether they are experienced only by the migrant minority and their descendents or also by the mainstream society, since both scenarios can take place, even simultaneously depending on the context. This simultaneity can be exemplified by the one-sided typical language acculturation expected from immigrants who do not speak the mainstream language, but the common acculturation in some other areas such as music, food, etc.

In the first half of the twentieth century, classical assimilationism considered that immigrants should gradually lose their original culture. Following this argument, old cultural traits, native language and forming ethnic enclaves were considered sources of disadvantage. In many countries migrants' culture, language and customs were perceived as inferior and needed to be forgotten or unlearned (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937; Warner and Srole, 1945: 285; Gordon, 1964); fortunately this xenophobic perspective is beginning to change. In the academic world,

this ethnocentric normative version of assimilation as a state policy aimed at eradicating the language and cultural idiosyncrasies of immigrants has been repudiated (Glazer, 1993; Alba and Nee, 1997).

More recently, some thinkers suggested a new concept of assimilation that describes the adaptations that migrants make when they interact with the native population in their host country. Unlike classical assimilationism, it focuses on what actually happens rather than trying to prescribe what ought to happen for migrants to fit in. They claim that assimilation is a useful concept when explaining the changes and adaptations that immigrants consciously and unconsciously make in order to take advantage of the opportunities and resources offered in the host country (Alba and Nee, 1997). However, these adaptations do not take place steadily, uniformly or universally; equally, the host society also undergoes some transformations to adapt to the new context. These thinkers (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Gans, 1992) do not believe that the children of migrants and their descendents will eventually lose their culture, language and customs and eventually become indistinguishable from the native population. The second, third and fourth generations of migrants may well have lost their heritage and only speak the host country's language and even form part of the middle-class becoming almost indistinguishable from the native population. However, these descendents do not always experience upward mobility through education and social class improvement. In fact, many suffer a decline, or experience downward social mobility becoming more excluded than their parents and grandparents were. This decline could be due to dropping out of school before completing compulsory education, getting unstable or low-skilled jobs or even becoming unemployed.

To explain these different patterns of adaptation and social mobility for migrant descendants, Portes and Zhou (1993) propose the notion of "segmented assimilation". They describe how some groups with a migration background succeed in becoming economically and culturally integrated into middle-class norms having lost their original customs. Some manage to retain their language and customs, but are still accepted and integrated into the host society's middle-class. Some others keep their language and customs but are not accepted by the native population, eventually forming separate ethnic communities. And finally, others lose their parents' and grandparent's culture and are socially marginalised, becoming disconnected from both the native culture and the migrant culture. These individuals sometimes become homeless and many are involved in groups with criminal activities. The reasons behind these four patterns of adaptation and social mobility have to do with individual factors, such as education, aspirations, language abilities, place of birth, age upon arrival and length of residence, together

with structural factors, such as racial status, family socioeconomic status and place of residence (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou 1997).

In this way, integration does not imply that people with a migration background should lose their ancestors' culture, instead it considers that individuals always make some adaptations in order to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the host country. These changes are often unconscious and may happen by simply watching TV, following the new fashions, using the new language in school, work and other social interactions, etc. Nevertheless, the host society also needs to transform in order to incorporate the diversity which accompanies migration. In fact, integration refers to the equality between migrants and nationals in access to opportunities and resources without the need for migrants to leave their culture behind (Alba, 2005).

At the other end of the integration spectrum we find multiculturalism. Their proponents criticise policies that aim to fade minorities' ethnic and cultural traits in favour of the host's culture. Multiculturalism rejects the idea of culture being stable and homogenous. It argues that culture reshapes all the time to dispose of what does not work and include new changes such as migration. Taylor (1994) argues for a type of multiculturalism that recognises diversity and group identities, protecting the rights and well-being of citizens that do not conform to the majority's culture. In the same sense Kymlicka (1995) argues for "group-differentiated rights", which implies that some group minorities are exempt from obeying laws that are contrary to their cultural or religious beliefs.

In one way or another, multiculturalism defends the rights of minorities and migrants to practice their culture, such as religion, language, food and customs. The critics of multiculturalism often point out that respecting migrants traditions could lead to violation of individuals' rights, such as in the case of female genital mutilation for young girls, or arranged marriages without the consent of the couple.

Barry (1997) proposes four strategies of acculturation, classified according to whether maintaining one's identity and characteristics is considered valuable and whether maintaining the relationships with the mainstream society is paramount. Thus he differentiates between integration, when the answer to both of these questions is yes; marginalisation, when the answer to both is no; assimilation when it is not considered valuable to keep the identity and cultural and social idiosyncrasies of the country of origin but it is considered paramount to narrow social distance with the host society; and separation or segregation when it is the other way around (Barry, 1997: 10). Interestingly, for Barry integration is only possible when there is "a *mutual accommodation* […] involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as

culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society" (1997: 11). He argues that consequently, integration can only take place in multicultural societies.

Nevertheless, different European countries have adopted diverse ways of integrating migrants. For instance, the French model is closer to assimilation, since it intends to unify the cultures of the natives with the ethnic minorities. However, the British and Dutch models follow a more multicultural approach to the integration of migrants (Szalai, 2011). Although proposing different solutions, both assimilation and multiculturalism are concerned with the disadvantages migrants face in comparison to the native population. Failures in integration policies may lead to downward integration or social exclusion.

Studying the risks related to the consequences of integration failure, the relevance for this research lies in the increasing presence of immigrants in Spanish schools, in 2011/12 academic year foreigners represented 10.15 % of the total student population in Spain, compared to 6.64% in 2004/5 and only 2.06% in 2000/2001 (MEC, Spanish Ministry of Education statistics). Yet, Spanish statistics do not offer disaggregated data on second generation immigrants (Checa, Arjona, 2008: 711). However, the interest in this type of research is increasing. For instance, Feixa (2008) conducted biographical interviews of young Latin American immigrants in Catalonia who had migrated to Spain in their adolescence, where he describes the changes that these young people have to face and how, in many cases, they lead to membership of violent gangs. Likewise, a longitudinal study, involving a questionnaire with more than one hundred questions, studied the situation of 3,375 second generation migrants from all nationalities, aged between 12 and 17 in 125 Madridian public and private schools (Portes, Aparicio and Haller, 2009). Delpino Goicochea's study (2007) uses both quantitative and qualitative methods – surveys, focus groups and narratives – to shed light into Latin American adolescents' experiences in the Spanish society, including their attraction to street gangs, in three different Spanish cities: Madrid, Murcia and Valladolid. Checa and Arjona (2008) also conducted a survey to investigate the integration of second generation immigrants in the Southern province of Almería, with a sample of 390 participants, mainly Eastern European, African and Latin American immigrants ranging between 14 and 25 years old. They conclude that fragmented pluralism describes the diverse adaptation strategies developed by the second generation; where origin, amount of time in the host country, education, profession and habitat are the key variables to predict adaptation patterns (Checa and Arjona, 2008).

Equally, this research aims to contribute to close the research gap concerning the use of the capability approach to study issues of migration. Des Gasper (2007) has used capability lens to study human security, development and climate change. Similar issues of transnational migration, development and the capability approach have been considered by Boni (2011). It has also been used by Risse (2009) who used the capability approach to study how restrictive immigration laws hamper the development of human capabilities. Yet, the capability approach has not traditionally looked at issues of migration, and has rarely been used in this field before.

This research adopts a qualitative approach in order to get a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of ethnicity, class and gender, allowing for detailed descriptions of everyday practices (Silverman, 2010). The methodology has been selected on the basis of its adequacy for giving voice to those who are often unheard (Asher, 2002, Gray, 2007). Young people are seldom given the opportunity to input policies that affect them directly; their lack of political voice impacts their well-being, therefore young people need to be seen as decision-making-agents (Jimenez, 2006). "If, [...] the standard of living lies indeed in the living, then there is a need to render an account of that living beyond statistics, through how people make sense of living and being [...] narratives are the only way through which human beings construct and give meaning to the lives and events which surround them" (Hodgett and Deneulin, 2009: 69). Seeking to explore the participant's perceptions of well-being, biographical narratives provide a useful tool to understand the participants' subjective tensions and contradictions regarding their experiences and the meaning they give to their reality. In the words of Bourdieu: "narrative about the most "personal" difficulties, the apparently most strictly subjective tensions and contradictions, frequently articulates the deepest structures of the social world and their contradictions" (Bourdieu, 1999; 511). Thus, the aim of this research is to study how ethnicity, class and gender, as structures of the social world, appear articulated in the narratives of young second generation Latin American immigrants in Spain.

Thus, the novelty of this research lies in the combination of the capability approach together with the theoretical concept of intersectionality to shed light on the situation of people of Ecuadorian background in Spain. The capability approach, by highlighting the plurality of well-being and human diversity, presents an invaluable normative framework from which to study the personal and structural situation of young people of migration background in the Spanish society. This research analyses the biographical narratives of the participants paying particular attention to the intersectionalities of gender, ethnicity and class and their role in expanding or constraining valuable opportunities for the participants.

Chapter 3: Ecuadorian Migration in Spain

"Butterflies have always had wings; people have always had legs. While history is marked by the hybridity of human societies & the desire for movement, the reality of most of migration today reveals the unequal relations between rich & poor, between North and South, between whiteness and its others."

— Harsha Walia, (2013)

The Spanish population landscape has transformed during the last two decades. Migration only appeared at the centre of academic debates after the 1985 Migration Law was passed. This restrictive law responded to the pressures from other European countries that feared Spain would become the main entry point to Europe from Africa and Latin America after the relaxation of national borders enabled by the Schengen agreements in 1985. (Tornos and Aparicio 2002). Although at that time migration inflows to Spain were minimal, the imported negative image of migrants as a burden on social services and as the cause of higher unemployment were common on the political and media discourses (Tornos and Aparicio 2002). This immigration Organic Law 7/1985 linked the working status of migrants in Spain to entry permits as well as residence authorisation and renewal. These restrictions created the construction of illegal immigrants which resulted in discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation. (Tornos and Aparicio, 2002; Calavita, 1998).

Since then, the Spanish immigration laws O.L. 4/2000 and O.L. 2/2009 have emphasised immigrant integration being a transversal issue in all the immigration policies, through education, employment, social inclusion and active citizenship. (OBERAXE, 2011:117-119). In theory this integration should be a dynamic multicultural two-way process, where the host society also needs to adapt to include new cultures and identities. In reality, however, the burden of integration falls on the immigrants who are expected to assimilate into the mainstream Spanish culture (Solanes, 2009: 315).

Since the 1990s migration has transformed the population landscape in Spain, which has transformed from being a country of origin to a recipient of migrants. It is estimated between eight to ten million Spaniards migrated to Latin American during the colonial period; after the second world war around two million Spaniards migrated, mainly as 'guest workers', to European countries such as France, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain and the Netherlands; however half a million emigrants were estimated to return between 1975 and 1990. (Aja, Carbonell *et al*, 2000:14). Nowadays Spain is "becoming one of the main host countries in the European Union" (Muñoz de Bustillo and Antón, 2010: 14). The foreign born population in

Spain represents 14.1% of the total population in 2008, compared to only 4.9% in 2000. (OECD, 2010: 240). Latin American countries represent the main source of migration and among them, the Ecuadorian immigrants are the most numerous in Spain. (see table 1 below).

Table 1. Number of registered foreigners in Spain by nationality (30/06/2010)			
Non- EU countries		**EU countries**	
Morocco	758,900	Romania	793,205
Ecuador	382,129	Great Britain	225,391
Colombia	264,075	Italy	163,763
China	152,853	Bulgaria	154,353
Peru	138,478	Portugal	129,756
Bolivia	116,178	Germany	113,570
Argentina	89,201	France	89,410
Dominican Republic	85,831		

Source : Statistics from the Observatorio permanente de la migración

http://extranjeros.mtin.es/es/InformacionEstadistica/index.html

The reasons behind the exceptional Ecuadorian migration from 2000 (Table 2, page 36), where the number of Ecuadorian registered increased from around 4,000 (in 1997) to almost 140,000 (in 2000), are associated to the 1998/1999 economic crisis, with the subsequent fall of GNP, the dollarization, privatisation and decrease of public spending following the Washington Consensus doctrine[4]. These changes resulted in lower levels of quality of life, increased inequality and high levels of unemployment. (Herrera, Carrillo and Torres, 2005, Camacho, 2010).

The number of illegal migrants is always a contested issue. In this table it was calculated deducting the number of non-nationals in the census to the number of non-nationals with a resident permit (IOE, 2007: 8). Some of the problems associated to this calculation are related to the problem of counting people in the census, especially migrant population that tend to have more difficulties accessing bureaucratic procedures and more likely to return to their own country or migrate to a third country. Table 2 show an increasing presence of illegal immigrants

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[4] The Washington Consensus advocated for capital market liberalisation, free trade, macroeconomic stability, i.e., reduction of deficit and inflation.; resulting in the destruction of jobs, privatisation of social services before "adequate competition and regulatory frameworks" (Stiglitz, 2002: 73) were put in place. The excessive austerity was justified by the idea of 'trickle-down economics', by which the benefits of a stronger economy would trickledown, eventually reaching the poor. (Stiglitz, 2002).

up to 2004. The decrease between 2004 and 2005 is due to governmental legalisation efforts, including the exceptional legalisation process that took place between the 7th February and the 7th March 2005, where 573,270 individuals where legalised, that is, 83,3% of the 688.419 applications (Ospina, 2007: 230). The requirements to be legalised included having been living in Spain for at least 6 months, having a working contract for a minimum of 6 months and not having criminal records (Ospina, 2007: 230).

Table 2 Number of people from Ecuadorian origin living in Spain				
Year	Census register	Spaniards	Residents	Illegal
1996	--	--	2,913	--
1997	3,972	--	4,112	--
1998	7,155	--	7,046	109
1999	20,481	--	12,933	7,548
2000	139,022	3,446	30,878	108,144
2001	259,522	4,429	84,699	174,823
2002	390,297	5,396	115,301	274,996
2003	475,698	6,353	174,289	301,409
2004	497,799	7,261	221,549	276,250
2005	461,310	10,530	357,065	104,245

Source: IOE (2007) La Inmigración Ecuatoriana en España. Una visión a través de las Fuentes estadísticas. P. 9.

The Ecuadorian migration in Spain is characterised by a strong female presence, particularly in the early years: 65% in 1998-1999; 55% in 2000 and 52.2% in 2005 (IOE, 2007: 11). According to the statistics (see table 3), Ecuadorian migration has a distinct young component, indeed, the highest percentage of immigrants corresponds to the 25-24 year-old group, which also holds the highest percentage of unemployment (39.6%) in 2001 Ecuador's census (Camacho, 2010: 72). The number of migrant minors increased, especially in 2002 and 2003, when the Ecuadorian migrant population resident in the European Union speeds the family reunification process, before the requirement of a visa to enter those countries enters into force (Camacho, 2010:73). The number of children under 14 who left the Ecuador and did not come back in 2002 is estimated to be 37'585; 74% of them went to Spain. This figure would suggest that many

migrants have given up their goal to return to Ecuador and have decided to stay in the destiny country at least in the medium term. (Camacho, 2010: 73).

Table 3. Ecuadorians in Spain by age group						
Age	**Jan 2001**	**Jan 2002**	**Jan 2003**	**Jan 2004**	**Jan 2005**	**Jan 2006**
0-15 y.o.	14,135	36,384	69,121	93,732	96,931	87,559
15-24 y.o.	32,191	58,073	84,062	99,136	93,097	78,794
25-34 y.o.	53,525	93,759	131,359	152,858	162,238	151,644
35-44 y.o.	29,006	51,488	73,439	87,453	96,261	94,367
45-54 y.o.	8,398	15,987	24,730	31,384	36,411	36,885
> 54 y.o.	1,767	3,830	7,586	11,135	12,861	12,061

Source: IOE (2007) La Inmigración Ecuatoriana en España. Una vision a través de las Fuentes estadísticas. P. 14.

Children of Ecuadorian parents born in Spain (see table 4 on the following page) cannot get the Ecuadorian nationality automatically, unless the parents are civil servants working for Ecuador abroad. They can subsequently apply for the Ecuadorian nationality when they reside in Ecuador. Spanish law has traditionally attributed Spanish nationality by applying the principle of *ius sanguinis*, i.e. Spanish nationality is transmitted to descendants wherever they are born (Álvarez Rodríguez, 2006). However, the *ius solis*, the birthright for individuals born in the territory of the related State, is only given in special circumstances. Because Ecuador gives preference to *ius solis*, the resulting statelessness situation of babies born to Ecuadorian parents in Spanish territory can be considered an exception in which the attribution of Spain nationality *jure soli* should prevail. It should not matter that the baby can later acquire Ecuadorian nationality *jure sanguinis*. Nevertheless, babies born to Ecuadorian parents who are illegal immigrants in Spain tend to not get the Spanish nationality (Álvarez Rodríguez, 2006: 64-67, IOE, 2007: 14).

From the data presented in table 4, we can observe the significant increase of births after 2000, coinciding with the arrival of immigrants in Spain; but also how in 1998, one third of the Ecuadorian mothers where married to Spaniards, whereas this number has been decreasing following the arrival of more Ecuadorian male immigrants to Spain. The second generation of Ecuadorian background youth, individuals born in Spain to an Ecuadorian mother or father, exceeds 53,000 (see table 4). Only 15,000 out of them have acquired Ecuadorian nationality, all the rest have Spanish nationality. (IOE, 2007:15).

Table 4. Children born to an Ecuadorian mother or father in Spain						
	Ecuadorian mother's children				Ecuadorian Father and non-Ecuadorian mother	Total
		Father's nationality (%)				
Year	Total	Ecuador	Spain	Other		
1998	462	59.5	32.3	8.2	42	504
1999	924	63.3	26.4	10.3	81	1,005
2000	2,595	73.8	17.6	8.6	158	2,753
2001	5,661	77.2	13.6	9.2	289	5,950
2002	8,399	77.0	13.0	10.1	517	8,916
2003	10,529	77.9	13.3	8.8	790	11,319
2004	11,100	78.3	13.1	8.6	1,063	12.163
2005	9,950	75.2	14.7	10.1	1,371	11,321
Total	49,620	76.6	14.1	9.3	4,311	53,931

Source: IOE (2007: 15).

Table 5. Educational level of Ecuadorian emigrants by sex						
	Male		Female		Total	
Education Level	Figure	%	Figure	%	Figure	%
None / Literacy	2,843	1.8	1,707	1.3	4,550	1.6
Primary	54,349	34,2	33,770	25.7	88,119	30.4
Secondary	72,129	46.0	71,706	54.7	144,835	49.9
Non-university Higher Education	4,023	2.5	2,848	2.2	67,871	2.4
University	23,978	15.1	21,145	16.1	45,123	15.6
Graduate	526	0.3	--	--	526	0.2
Total	158,848	100.0	131,176	100.0	290,024	100.0

Source: Ecuadorian Statistic and Census Institute (INEC) and Survey of Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment (ENEMDU) in Camacho, (2010: 74).

Regarding the education level of Ecuadorian migrants (see table 5), they seem to arrive with higher levels of education than the average population in the host country (IOE, 2007 and Camacho, 2010). However, their human capital is not absorbed in the Spanish labour market, where 43% of the Ecuadorian workers are placed in unskilled positions, compared to the 36% for Latin American migrants in general (IOE, 2007:43). The main occupation for Ecuadorian male migrants is construction (34.8%) (Camacho, 2010: 170) and for Ecuadorian female migrants is domestic service (27%), both of them instable and unskilled occupations (IOE, 2007: 40).

Migration in the Spanish education system

The Spanish academic debate is concerned about the impact of the increasing number of students with migration background in the Spanish education system. According to García Castaño, Rubio Gómez and Buachra (2008), the Spanish scientific literature in the last decade regarding this issue has focused on: 1) quantifying the phenomenon in statistical terms and studying the effect of the concentration of immigrant students in some schools; 2) analysing specific programmes and special school measures for these new students; 3) studying the way in which the mainstream language is taught in school and whether and in which way mother tongue instruction is promoted or taught; 4) researching the relationship between family and school; 5) analysing the factors that contribute to the education success or failure of these immigrant students in the school system. The present research would be situated in the last of these dimensions; however, due to the open character of the biographical interviews and the expert interviews, it deals with some of the other dimensions, particularly the relation between family and school.

The studies that try to measure the presence of students with a migration background in the Spanish education system emphasise the concentration of these students in the State public schools. In Spain, public-private partnership schools, where catholic denomination dominates the landscape, are widely spread and have historically permeated the Spanish education provision. Parents usually have to pay a reduce education fee for these *colegios concertados*. These *colegios concertados* differ from private school in the fact that the State also contributes to the education costs. The Spanish literature (Aja and Oriol, 2000; García Castaño, 2008; Alegre, 2008; Fenández Enguita, 2003, among others) reflects a growing concern regarding the "flee" of the Spanish native student population from public schools with a large presence of students of migration background to these type of public-private partnership institutions, reinforcing the over representation of immigrants in certain inner city public schools, which is at risk of

becoming a *de facto* segregation and "ghettoisation" of the latter educational institutions (Ron-Balsera, 2012; Tomassini y Lecina, 2004).

Avilés Martínez (2003) holds that there is a segregation of students in two different set of institutions. On the one hand, State public schools are characterised by offering free, democratic education aiming at offering equality of opportunity by smoothing social inequalities. State public schools are open to all kinds of students, where teachers are selected on the basis of merit through a State exam. On the other hand, the public-private partnership *colegios concertados*, where accessibility is curtailed by the economic and religious requirements to enrol and progress in these schools; in these schools the selection criteria to employ teachers depends on the school board, rather than on a public competition of merits. Instead of trying to level the playing field, *colegios concertados* are aimed at educating the elites (Avilés Martínez, 2003, 197). However, the wide spread of these public partnerships seems to make this last point regarding the education of elites an overstatement. Although there is strong evidence that they filter out low socio-economic background families, and children with special education needs, including immigrant students who do not have a proficient level of the instruction language (Ron-Balsera, 2012), the much smaller network of private schools, particularly those offering bilingual education and international baccalaureate, tend to be the ones serving the elite.

Fenández Enguita (2003: 249) suggests that there is a growing perception that State public schools are becoming schools for the poor. This image is produced and reproduced by the media portrayals of student of migration background, and echoed by native families concerned about the inferior quality of education, rise of conflict and violence stereotypically associated to those schools with strong presence of immigrants (Aramburu, 2005). The different strategies that the different Autonomous Communities[5] have designed to avoid this increasing *de facto* segregation, such as reserving 2, 3 or 4 places per school for students with special education needs – not being proficient in the language of instruction is included in this measure- have proven utterly insufficient in terms of redistribution, but highly unpopular among native parents who compete for places in the most sought-after schools (Alegre, 2008: 74). In the Spanish literature, although scant, there are some studies delving into immigrant reception and inclusion processes in

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[5] After Franco's death , Spanish dictator from 1939 to 1975, Spain endured a successful transition to democracy encouraged and supported by the king Juan Carlos I. This transition aimed to restore the right to express, promote and celebrate the historical idiosyncrasies of the different regions of Spain. In the 1978 Constitution, the major political parties collaborated in crafting the decentralization reform of government and supported it as being in the best interest of the nation. They opened the process for the different regions to apply to be Autonomous Communities, being able to decide on certain competencies in education and other sectors, in their area of administration. Since 1983, there are 17 Autonomous Communities in Spain: Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, Balearic Islands, Basque Country, Canary Islands, Cantabria, Castile-La Mancha, Castile and Leon, Catalonia, Extremadura, Galicia, La Rioja, Madrid, Murcia, Navarre and Valencian Community.

schools. Essomba (2006) highlights the importance of variables such as late incorporation in the school system, proficiency in the language of instruction, tension between school cultures, tension between family values and school culture, economic factor, school-social environment relation, and degree of welcoming attitude of education community, i.e., school staff , students and families. Alegre (2008) proposes a list of very similar variables, adding the legal status of the student and his or her parents or guardian, and institutional characteristics such as comprehensive structures of the system (whether it differentiates by tracking students), teacher's pedagogy, diversity management, immigrant student enrolment process, social composition of the school, and school climate (Alegre, 2008: 64).

Some other authors (Garreta and Llevot, 2004) draw attention to the importance of communication between the school and the family. Notwithstanding, the concern about the lack of communication between teachers and parents is not ultimately linked to the immigrant background variable, but rather to the socio-economic status of the family and other variables such as stable, caring and loving environment; positive attitude towards school, teachers and learning; realistic but high expectations; open attitude towards the host society which favours dialogue and interchange (Besalú, 2002). Certain studies (Pàmies, 2006; Regil, 2001) criticise teachers' perceptions of immigrant families as not interested in their children's academic success, implicitly or explicitly blaming them for the high rate of repetition and school drop out. Some authors propose to have some specific points of reference in schools: such as welcoming tutors with inclusion and intercultural training, student / peer mentors, and cultural mediators (Miró, 2003; García Fernández, 2002).

The education measure of separating students of migration background who struggle to speak the language of instruction into special classrooms dedicated to the learning of this language[6] is highly controversial. The defenders of this measure emphasise its temporary character and the need to give priority to mastering the language of instruction in order to understand, learn and communicate in class. It is also supposed to maintain the education quality standards offered in the mainstream class tailored for students whose mother tongue is the same as the language of instruction. Whereas the opponents of this measure warn about the segregation and discrimination effects (Feria 2002, Quintana, 2003; Carbonell et al, 2002; Bonal, 2004), and argue for the inclusion of these students in the mainstream classroom from the beginning because of its benefits attached to the socialisation with native peers and the learning of the official language in a natural manner from them (Jiménet Gámez, 2004).

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[6] Spanish in most of the cases, although equally Catalan, Basque and Galician in those Autonomous Communities where they have two official languages.

A substantial proportion of the Spanish academic literature focusing on the incorporation of migration background student to the Spanish education system is devoted to the importance of the language of instruction, the learning of it when different to the mother tongue, and multilingualism (see García Castaño, 2008 for a list of references). However, this research purposely selected the participants so they would be native Spanish speakers; therefore the difference between language of instruction and mother tongue is only a difference of dialect or particular country or region linguistic expressions.

More relevant for the present research is the literature concerned with the relation between family and school. For Madruga Torremocha (2002), the most important variables in terms of the successful integration of migrant background students are related to language, nationality or region of origin, sending country habits, family, and students' relation with native peers and teachers. Whereas Aparicio and Veredas (2003) draw attention to whether the students were born in the host country or had emigrated, the time lapsed between parents' migration and family reunification, parents' educational level, parents' working conditions and salary, *de facto* single parenthood, and the characteristics of parents' social networks. The analysis of the present study participants' narratives evidences the relevance of the time lapsed between parents' migration and family reunification, parents' working conditions and salary, *de facto* single parenthood, and students' relation with native peers and teachers in the education trajectories of the selected participants, but also gender, type of school, concentration of migrant student background, and peer pressure.

There seems to be a research gap regarding the study of educational trajectories of students of migration background in Spain that can shed light on the factors that contribute to education success or failure (García Castaño, Rubio Gómez, Bouachra, 2008: 42). Some studies, such as IOE (2003) conclude that the most relevant factors associated to school failure are: late incorporation in the school system, curricular gap between sending country and host country, lack of fluency in the language of instruction, lack of skills and motivation. Other investigations point at the relevance of peer group effect (Terrén, 2004) and gender (Goenechea, 2005). A common thread in most of these studies is the imperative to understand the complexity of the link between immigration and school failure, and the need to situate the school within the broader family, community and socio-economic and political context (García Castaño, 2008). The present study aims to provide new data regarding a specific group, young Ecuadorian background students who migrated to Spain before the age to 14 and are currently in high school, remedial education or detention. Thus, it intends to shed light on the stressors that lead to

education failure, from the perspective of the participants, taking into account the wider family, socio-economic and political context.

The analytical tool of intersectionality captures the growing argument in the international academic literature (Fenández Enguita, 2003; Gans, 1992 or Portes and Zhou 1993) which considers that the risks typically associated to the education of students with a migration background find their root in their socioeconomic status rather than on ethnic differences. Therefore it seems necessary to study the compounded effect of the different social identities such as ethnicity, but also social class, gender and age. This way, this research intends to identify whether there are factors specifically associated to young people of Ecuadorian background that makes them more vulnerable than the native youth, and which risk factors they share with other social class groups, in which situations gender is the most salient stressor, and how the compounded effect of ethnicity, class, gender and age leads to situations of higher and lower opportunity sets.

Although this intersectional approach combined with a biographical narrative method avoid the risk of essentialising migrant background students or even Ecuadorian students as homogenous groups; the official statistics from the ministry of education signal that students of Ecuadorian background achieve lower education levels than native Spanish student. The number of Ecuadorian students enrolled in 2011/2012 decreased considerably from middle school 31002 to high school 7231 and then to university 2019; similarly they are overrepresented 2.92% of the total population in the short vocational courses created as an alternative remedial programme for those students who had not finished compulsory education

Conclusion

Thus, Ecuadorian immigrants can be considered a vulnerable population since they face greater risks than nationals, such as higher risk of poverty, low paid and insecure jobs and discrimination (IOE, 2007). Female immigrant not only face a segmented labour market unequally structured on the basis of gender, discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, different nationality and the social status of economic migrants become key explanatory elements for the trajectories of individual mobility experienced by these women and their future itineraries. Being female, working class and migrant background result in multiple forms of inequality and discrimination, acting simultaneously, making them especially vulnerable. (Solé Puig, Parella Rubio, 2009: 12. Also Crenshaw, 1991, Makkonen, 2002, Carling, 2005, Camacho 2010).

The interaction of ethnicity, class and gender inequalities has been the focus of the theoretical concept of intersectionality, which is one of the main theoretical approaches of this research. The

next section intends to provide the theoretical framework for the study of narratives of second generation youth regarding their educational journeys and career expectations.

Chapter 4: Capability Approach and Intersectionality

La libertad no se implora como un favor, se conquista como un atributo inmanente al bienestar de la comunidad
Freedom is not implored as a favour, it is conquered as an immanent attribute to the well-being of the community

― Eloy Alfaro

The theoretical framework of this research rests on two main pillars: the capability approach and intersectionality. On the one hand, it adopts the capability approach to provide a normative framework to study agency, structure and well-being. On the other hand, it makes use of the concept of intersectionality to understand the structural social and economic disadvantages that second generation Latin American youth in Spain have to face.

4.1. Capability Approach

The capability approach (henceforth CA) is a normative framework whose main focus is human diversity and substantive freedom. Because of its consideration of plurality of well-being, agency and freedom, it provides a useful theoretical framework to study the biographical narratives, in order to analyse the role of agency and structure in the participation and negotiations within the family, community and public institutions.

Capabilities

This paper uses the CA to shed light on issues of well-being, vulnerability and deprivation. The CA was first formulated by Amartya Sen in the 1980s as an alternative position to measures of poverty and inequality based on income. Rather than looking at commodities or primary goods *per se*, Sen focuses on "the relevant personal characteristics that govern the conversion of primary goods into the person's ability to promote her ends" (Sen, 1999: 74). Thus, Sen defines functionings as "the various things a person may value doing or being" (1999: 75); whereas capabilities would then refer "to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve" (1999:75), or as Robeyns suggests: "what people are effectively able to do and to be" (2005: 94).

Sen argued that economic measurements failed to take into account the differences between income and well-being that might result from variations such as personal heterogeneities, environmental diversities, variations in social climate, differences in relational perspectives and distribution within the family (Sen, 1999:70-71). Thus, the concept of capabilities refers both to social and personal conditions, including family life (Lewis, 2004:241), together with the

individual's characteristics and goals. The CA allows for the study of women who despite earning a reasonable salary send most of this income in remittances to their country of origin, lowering their quality of life. It also looks at the frustration that may arise from being qualified in their home country, but being offered unskilled jobs in the country of destination.

Although there seem to be a consensus on the definition of capabilities and functionings, the operationalisation of capabilities varies depending on the author. According to Martha Nussbaum, Sen's use of the CA focuses on "comparative measurement of quality of life" (2007: 70). She sees the CA as "an account of core human entitlements that should be respected and implemented by the governments of all nations, as a bare minimum of what respect for human dignity requires" (2007: 70). These core human entitlements are sketched in her list of central human capabilities: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2007: 76-77); whereas Sen does not endorse any specific list of capabilities (2004, 2009; Robeyns, 2005).

The CA, as a normative framework, considers that there is a plurality of well-being dimensions related to the concept of capabilities and functionings. Well-being is therefore related to both the capability set – "alternative functioning vectors that [a person] can choose from" (Sen, 1999:75) and to functionings, which vary from elementary matters (such as being well-nourished and healthy) to more complex doings or beings (such as self-respect, preserving human dignity, participating in decision making processes and taking an active part in the community) (Nussbaum and Sen, 2009: 3). Because of human heterogeneity, individuals might attach different value to each of these functionings (Sen, 2009: 31). Thus, well-being is related to a capability which in its turn is related to freedom; substantial freedom to carry out one's plan of life.

Because of its focus on human diversity, the CA "is a promising evaluative framework for gender inequalities" (Robeyns, 2001:1) as well as ethnic, class and age inequalities, since it takes into account personal and structural conversion factors that modify the translation of resources into functionings. The CA is especially useful for studying the well-being of young people of migrant background looking at the dynamics within the family, their social interactions and their participation (or lack of it) in public institutions. This approach facilitates the analysis of whether their condition as young people, having a migrant background and their gender pose barriers to carrying out their plan of life. Robeyns holds that there are three types of conversion factors: personal, social and environmental (2005: 99). Social structures affect men's and women's well-

being differently (Robeyns, 2001:2); together with class and racial differences in real freedoms and opportunities.

Thus the CA allows us to articulate ideas of well-being, good life and participation whilst taking into account social circumstances and human diversity. The CA also studies the role of agency by focusing on the individual selection of beings and doings that a person performs according to their values (Barrientos, 2007: 14). The CA can enlighten public policies to take into account migrant situations such as the deprivation of capabilities consequence of strict immigration laws that render a great number of migrants illegal in the host country, forcing them to live in the margins of society. It can, for instance, be used to criticise welfare policies that give priority to male-breadwinner models and encourage unpaid household and childminding work for women, advocating instead flexible working conditions and public child care facilities.

The CA is appropriate for the study of young people of Ecuadorian background because of its focus on substantive or real freedom to pursue the goals that the individual has reason to value. It does not presume what goals these would or should be, allowing for a plurality of personal goals. For instance, it does not judge whether the supposed Latin American family and community oriented goals are better or worse than European individualistic goals. However, it does look at human advantage and inequality of capabilities that might be the result of the personal and social conditions as young persons, men or women, immigrants, belonging to a determined socio-economic status; inequalities with family income and the distribution of household chores, which might foster boys to study and work whilst imposing a greater share of the household chores on girls, etc. Thus, the CA is especially suited to study plural forms of well-being that reflect human diversity.

Well-being

This research uses the informants' perspective on well-being, in line with the CA, which understands that there is a plurality of well-being due to human heterogeneity. According to Sen, well-being achievement is "an evaluation of the 'wellness' of the person's state of being […] seen from the perspective of her own personal welfare" (Sen, 2009: 36). Thus, well-being is multidimensional and "there are relevant dimensions of well-being that the economic resources are not able to capture" (Martinetti, 2000: 3).

The CA shifts from the utilitarian idea of well-being based on utility and econometric measures, and focuses on people's capabilities. Because of its holistic scope, well-being is difficult to measure under the CA. One needs to pay attention to income, but also life expectancy, health care, education, labour conditions, family relations, environment, social mobility, freedom of

speech, time and space for creativity, leisure, and so forth (Nussbaum and Sen, 2009). This holistic scope may result in non commensurability, since it seems difficult to "reduce all the things we have reason to value into one homogenous magnitude" (Sen, 2009: 239) as the utilitarian calculus would intend. But, as Sen argues, in our daily lives we are forced to choose between options that cannot be measured against each other, such as deciding what to cook for dinner, what school we should send our children to, whether to leave a violent partner and so on.

When these choices are not trivial, but have public consequences, the CA as a normative framework seems to advise public discussion and deliberation (Sen, 2009: 242). The goal of these decisions should be enhancing capabilities to further human advantage. Regarding this human advantage Sen makes a fourfold distinction: "(1) 'well-being achievement', (2) 'agency achievement', (3) 'well-being freedom', and (4) 'agency freedom'". (Sen, 2009: 35). Thus, Sen distinguishes between the achievement or the state of attainment of goals and the freedom to pursue and achieve those goals, i.e. between the process and the result. "Well-being achievement […] can be seen as the evaluation of the 'well-ness' of the person's state of being" (Sen, 2009: 36). Following this argument, wellness is connected to the person's functionings. "Agency achievement" is related to the individual's success in pursuing his or her goals. "Well-being freedom [refers to] a person's actual freedom to live well and be well" (Sen, 2009:39). Sen considers that the good life is a life of genuine choice of real freedoms (Sen, 1985:69-70), thus, freedom has intrinsic rather than only procedural value for well-being. As a result, education policies exclusively concerned with the number of people of migration background enrolled in formal schooling and their results would disregard the process freedom of whether these individuals had substantial opportunities to choose the type of school, curriculum or pedagogy that they deemed valuable.

If well-being represents the achievement of goals and functionings; the freedom to pursue these goals, is also a dimension of well-being, what Sen calls "agency freedom". Thus, agency can be understood as the ability to make decisions and formulate plans of life, whereas well-being is the dynamic attainment of goals. "Agency goals" are the aims that a person has reason to value, which in some cases could be considered adaptive preferences. Although, as we have seen, the ability to pursuit one's plan of life is intimately related to the concept of well-being, some plans of life may lead to further vulnerability and capability deprivation. Adaptive preferences are desires and expectations that lead to low levels of objective well-being (Robeyns, 2001:15). "The deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation because of the sheer necessity of survival, and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change, and may even

adjust their desires and expectations to what they unambitiously see as feasible" (Sen, 1999: 63, and Sen, 2009: 283).

Agency is intrinsically linked to the circumstances surrounding the individual and the capability set available. "Agency is formed by a specific range of cultural schemas or resources available in a person's particular social milieu […] What kinds of desires people can have, what intentions they can form, and what sorts of creative transpositions they can carry out vary dramatically from one social world to another depending on the nature of the particular structures that inform those social worlds. Occupancy of different social positions — as defined, for example, by gender, wealth, social prestige, class, ethnicity, occupation, generation, sexual preference, or education — gives people knowledge of different schemas and access to different kinds and amounts of resources and hence different possibilities for transformative action" (Sewel, 1992: 20-21). Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' explain the dialectical relationship between the individual's agency and the contextual environment, where the 'field' or contextual circumstances, such as structuring positions of age, ethnicity, class and gender, shape but do not completely determine the individual's capabilities and functionings.

Thus, well-being is intimately linked to the concept of functioning but also freedom. "Well-being, in this view, is a matter of attained states and activities, and freedom to achieve well-being is a matter of the combinations of states and activities within a person's reach" (Risse, 2009:14). In the context of second generation immigrants, we should then study the personal and social conversion factors that expand or constrain the individual's capabilities, paying particular attention to Sen's distinction between well-being and agency, achievement and freedom. The aim of this research is to identify those factors that decrease their well-being. Since a low set of capabilities tends to result in a decrease in well-being, the aspects of substantive freedom versus forced-choice are crucial. The next section will discuss capability deprivation or "unfreedom" (Sen, 2009:83).

Capability Deprivation

Unfortunately, in every society there are structural inequalities that systematically deprive groups from pursuing their plans of life. Sexism and racism are just two of these forms of oppression that lower the well-being of large numbers of individuals worldwide. This section analyses different efforts to identify and address these inequalities.

Poverty

Most efforts to measure well-being have been linked to the idea of poverty. The quest to find a universal definition of poverty has encountered different historical attempts. From economic or scientific: based mainly on income – such as the World Bank $1 a day from 1985; to the focus on subsistence, based on the minimal resources for survival, i.e. the minimum required for maintenance of physical efficiency – calorific requirement. More holistic attempts were based on the idea of basic needs: requirements for physical integrity, and personal autonomy (Doyal and Gough 1991); and the multiple deprivation index that accounted for the minimum resources necessary to participate in society (Townsend 1993:36). The source of the controversy stems from the implications of the definition, i.e., who is embraced and who is left out, what measures follow from it, what resources should be provided, and by whom, what needs should be prioritize, and so forth.

Poverty can be understood as capability deprivation (Sen: 1999), as a lack of multiple freedoms to promote functioning one has reason to value (Alkire, 2007). "What the capability perspective does in poverty analysis is to enhance the understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and deprivation by shifting primary attention away from *means* […] to *ends* that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly, to the *freedoms* to be able to satisfy these ends" (Sen 1999:90). Thus, the CA offers a holistic perspective on poverty that takes into account personal and structural conversion factors that the analysis of income distribution neglects. It also shifts the focus from instrumental to intrinsically important functionings.

This holistic perspective can unveil social and interfamilial inequalities such as female dependency on husbands in traditionally male-breadwinner societies, where despite having a reasonable family income, women might be deprived and forced into unpaid housework and family care (Nussbaum, 2000). Looking at poverty as capability deprivation also sheds light on the situation of immigrants who are often discriminated against and usually have to accept inferior working conditions even when being legal residents in the host country (Crenshaw, 1991, Solé Puig and Parella, 2009). The CA allows for what Nancy Fraser (1989) calls a "politics of needs interpretation", giving voice to the needs of the oppressed; thus, making public, and addressing the needs of, vulnerable people that would prompt for a politics of recognition, redistribution and representation leading to "egalitarian, gender-sensitive social-welfare protections at the transnational level" (Fraser, 2009:114). But who are these vulnerable people?

Vulnerability and Disadvantage

Following the CA one can define vulnerability as "the probability of falling into a lower state of well-being" (Dubois and Rousseau, 2008: 426). Thus vulnerability is a dynamic concept intimately connected to the concept of risk; a vulnerable person is a person at risk of seeing her standard of living worsened. According to Dubois and Rousseau, vulnerability is directly proportional to risk (as one increases so does the other) and it is inversely proportional to capabilities (as capability increases, vulnerability decreases). In a nutshell, vulnerability is the possibility for an individual to experience a decline in well-being, which in turn lowers their capability to cope with additional shocks and risks.

Vulnerability can also be considered an anthropological characteristic of human nature (Fineman, 2008; Turner, 1993; Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Vulnerability is a common characteristic of every human, linked to the frailty of the body and our dependency on others to survive and flourish, particularly in some stages of our lives such as childhood and old age, among others. Despite being universal, at least in potentiality since it affects every human at some point in their lives, vulnerability is manifested in different degrees, partly depending on individual characteristics but mostly on the availability and quality of the social institutions created to mitigate or decrease its different repercussions. In fact, the creation of social institutions seems to respond to our social condition, our dependency on others (Nussbaum, 2003 and 2006), our moral sympathy, rooted in our ability to empathise, to feel other people's pain, together with the social precariousness, that is, the changes and instabilities that we endure during our lives (Turner, 1993).

Consequently, vulnerability should not be used as a disempowering term that victimises some individuals, undermining their agency and autonomy. If we accept the universal potential of vulnerability and our dependency on others, autonomy is always relational, as some feminist thinkers defend (Mackenzie and Stoljar, 2000). Both vulnerability and agency are compatible, they do not preclude each other, however they are mutually affected. They are both dynamic and transitional concepts that evolve in interaction with others and are shaped by the existence and quality of social institutions. Thus, the negative repercussions of high levels of vulnerability should not be ascribed to specific individual characteristics, but to the failure of social institutions to mitigate these potential shortcomings, whilst enhancing the opportunity structure or capability set of the individual that would enable him or her to increase his or her agency and autonomy.

Increases and decreases in vulnerability are the result of a complex interaction of individual, social and environmental factors. Increases in vulnerability can create vicious cycles; vulnerable people tend to be disadvantaged in more than one dimension related to their capabilities. Likewise vulnerabilities are interconnected; "vulnerabilities may combine and compound their effects on well-being" (Barrientos, 2007: 15). Both capabilities and vulnerabilities of individuals "are deeply influenced by factors ranging from the prospects of earning a living, to the social and psychological effects of deprivation and exclusion. These include people's basic needs, employment at reasonable wages and health and education facilities" (Moser, 1998: 3). One can think of a girl with a migration background whose unfair share of household responsibilities such as looking after elders or siblings may hinder her education and leisure capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000). This might be the result of structural racism that makes her immigrant parents vulnerable to an abusive labour market, in which they need to work unpredictable long hours for a low salary. The girl's low school marks, consequence of the lack of time she should have dedicated to study instead of household chores, might be attributed to racial stereotypes that would lower teachers' expectations of her. Her frustration at school might lead her to drop-out, which would hinder her future opportunities to get a reasonably well paid and secure job and result in a lower quality of life. In this example we can observe compounded disadvantages of age, gender, class and ethnicity resulting in capability deprivation, connecting social factors to individual biographies.

Rather than talking about vulnerability, which might be seen as a disempowering term with paternalistic connotations (Brown, 2014); one can follow Wolff and De-Shalit's terminology and discuss "disadvantage". According to them, "advantage has to be understood in a *pluralist* form" (2007:8). Their definition of disadvantage adds to the CA the notion of security, stability; since it is not only important to have a genuine freedom in a moment, but to be able to dispose of it in the future. Thus they define "disadvantage as a lack of genuine opportunity for secure functioning" (2007:9). Therefore risk and vulnerability are in themselves disadvantages.

Wolff and De Shalit's analysis of disadvantage provides us with two useful concepts for our research. First, the term 'corrosive disadvantages', refers to those disadvantages which yield further disadvantages. Corrosive disadvantage can often be dynamic and inter-generational (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007:121). Secondly, the contrary is the concept of 'fertile functionings' "i.e. those functionings the securing of which is likely to secure further functionings". (2007:10). Thus, the concept of disadvantage is plural and is linked to the idea of functionings. If we were to find the worst off, i.e. the most disadvantaged members of society, then we should look at clusters of disadvantage, which would entail corrosive disadvantage.

Taken from Martha Nussbaum's list of capabilities, Wolff and De-Shalit consider that "categories of functioning are life, bodily health, bodily integrity, affiliation, control over the environment, and sense, imagination, and thought". (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007:119). The low functioning of any of these capabilities would be considered a disadvantage. These disadvantages tend to accumulate leading to lower levels of well-being, which may lead to social exclusion.

The proposed solution to tackle these clusters of disadvantages would be through fertile functionings (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007:14). Education can be considered a fertile functioning, in the case of young immigrants, education can provide them with tools for empowerment and critical thinking, it can expand other capabilities such as participation in their communities and wider society or provide a better standing in the labour market (Nussbaum, 2006 and Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). However, not all educational experiences enhance capabilities; unfortunately schools can also be unsafe and discriminatory places (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007).

Education and Capabilities

The CA advocates for education policies that take into account individuals' aspirations, respecting what they deem valuable. However, individuals' preferences and aspirations are heavily influenced by social pressure and expectations (Unterhalter, 2007: 99). These expectations reproduce social inequalities on the basis of class, gender, ethnicity and other social constructs. These adapted preferences (Sen, 1999, 2009) have been dealt with by the CA, suggesting that in order to value those preferences one needs to also look at whether they expand or constraint further capabilities.

Different authors (Table 6 on the following page) have used the CA to formulate what kind of education would enhance capabilities. Terzi (2007) proposes a list of basic or fundamental conditions for the capability to be educated. According to this author the lack of any of these capabilities would harm or disadvantage the individual and constraint his or her capability set; therefore, she argues these capabilities should be characterised as entitlements. Nevertheless, some of the capabilities in this list could be considered functionings or results of being educated rather than real opportunities. Unterhalter and Brighouse (2007) distinguish between the instrumental, intrinsic and positional value of education in order to describe how education can be considered a functioning, being educated, as well as a capability to achieve other valuable functionings such as a good job or participation in society. But the instrumental value of education has also a relational nature; other individuals' educational achievements play a role

when comparing them, especially in situations of competition for scarce resources such as a good job in countries like Spain with rampant unemployment.

Table 6. Education in the CA			
Terzi's (2007:37) List of basic capabilities for educational functionings	**Unterhalter and Brighouse (2007: 78-83) Education as a complex good entailing instrumental and intrinsic values.**	**Vaughan (2007: 116-117) Capabilities to participate in education and gained through education**	**Walker (2007: 180-190) Capabilities for gender equality in schooling**
- Literacy: being able to read and to write, to use language and discursive reasoning functionings. - Numeracy: being able to count, to measure, to solve mathematical questions and to use logical reasoning functionings. - Sociality and participation: being able to establish positive relationships with others and to participate without shame. - Learning dispositions: being able to concentrate, to pursue interests, to accomplish tasks, to enquire. - Physical activities: being able to exercise and to engage in sports activities. - Science and technology: being able to understand natural phenomena, being knowledgeable on technology and being able to use technological tools. - Practical reason: being able to relate means and ends and being able to critically reflect on one's own and others' actions.	- *Instrumental value* of education: means to other valuable goods, like better life prospects, career opportunities and civic participation. It improves one's opportunities in life. Schooling promotes the achievement of important levels of knowledge and skills acquisition, which play a vital role in agency and well-being. - *Intrinsic value* of education: being educated enhances the possibility to appreciate and engage in a wide range of activities which are fulfilling for their own sake. - *Positional value* of education. The benefits of an educated person are relative to the education qualifications of others in situations of competition. Reputation and cultural capital.	- Capability *to participate in* education: freedom to fully participate in the school-learning process, being able to attend school, being able to participate and understand, and engage in learning confidently and successfully. - Capabilities *gained through* education: employment, understanding health issues, or engaging with civil society and political processes. Skills, subjects and content of education that bring greater choice, both through having a broader range of skills available to choose from, and by enabling an individual to reason and think autonomously about the options that are available to them.	Capabilities from education policy: 1. Independent and critical thought, critical thinking, reasoning, reflection, learner agency and responsibility for their own learning (a thin personal autonomy) 2. Knowledge for values, citizenship, contribution to economic development 3. Bodily integrity and health, safety at school, no corporal punishment, freedom from sexual harassment and violence, choice in sexual relationships, protection against HIV 4. Respect for self, for others, for other cultures, being treated with dignity (a form of social relations). Capabilities for gender equality in schooling: 1. Autonomy 2. Knowledge 3. Social relations 4. Respect and recognition 5. Aspiration 6. Voice 7. Bodily integrity and bodily health 8. Emotional integrity and emotions

Vaughan (2007) considers the capability to participate in education not only as attending, but as fully participating in the learning process as well as engaging in the discussion and student life in a safe and confident manner. Thus, young people of migration background who are attending

formal schooling but who are not integrated in the class either because they do not understand the language or idiomatic expressions or because of a curricular gap due to differences in curriculum with their country of origin or simply because of being discriminated against by teachers or other students would have their capability of participating in education curtailed. Vaughan (2007) also refers to the capabilities gained through education; education is a multiplier of other capabilities that go beyond the period of formal schooling; education opens options by endowing individuals with skills to make better choices and to reflect about how to achieve their aspirations. In this sense, an early drop out would constrain further opportunities to have a flourishing life.

Walker (2007) has produced two lists of capabilities for gender equality in schooling. The first one highlights the conditions that education policies should contain in order to promote the basic capability to be educated. The second one is a multidimensional list at a theoretical level referring to the various capabilities to achieve gender equality in schooling (Walker, 2007: 189). Although this latter list focuses on gender, it captures other forms of discrimination and is very promising to evaluate the educational journeys of young people with a migration background. The following paragraphs will study these capabilities in more detail.

Walker's capability of *autonomy* is defined as "being able to have choices, having information on which choices to make, planning a life after school, independence, empowerment" (2007: 189). Often, young migrants are placed in compensatory or catch up programs in order to help them adapt to the new culture. However, they are seldom asked whether they want to go to these classes. They lack voice and are often disempowered in special programs where the academic level is much lower and they are disregarded as being a place for "students with problems". Track placement usually has negative consequences for those who are situated in the less academic tracks, probably because of the peer effect (since students also learn from other students), influence of teachers', parents' and own students' expectations and aspirations, and consequently self-esteem is also harmed. But tracking or sorting students is an ingrained practice which is difficult to eradicate since it is the result of a "complicated mixture of self-selection, curricular and pedagogical practices, and teacher demands" (Grubb, 2008:134). Being placed in the low performance tracks often has a self-fulfilling prophecy effect fostered by drill-based and repetitive teaching techniques together with management of behaviour issues that usually demotivate students and make them even more disengaged with education; the negative effects are even more powerful in the case of remedial programs (Grubb, 2008, Claus, 1990, Oakes, Selvin, Karoly and Guiton,1992).

The capability of *knowledge* refers to "subjects that are intrinsically interesting or instrumentally useful" (Walker, 2007). It also pays attention to the fair assessment of the knowledge gained through schooling. The capability of *social relations* represents the real opportunities to "participate in a group for friendship and for learning" (Walker, 2007: 189) satisfying the need for affiliation and belonging. Ethnic minority students may suffer a lack of belonging when being perceived as outsiders by the native majority in the class. This lack of affiliation reduces their capabilities not only in the sense of being deprived of friendships but also of peer learning, support and general well-being. As was mentioned before, tracking or sorting students limits their ability to participate in different academic, vocational or ethnically diverse groups.

The capability of *respect and recognition* is particularly important for young people of migration background. It is defined as "self-confidence and self-esteem; respect for and from others; being treated with dignity; not being diminished or devalued because of one's gender, social class, religion, or race; valuing other languages, other religions, and spiritual practice and human diversity; showing imaginative empathy, compassion, fairness, and generosity; listening to and considering other persons' point of view in dialogue and debate in and out of class in school; being able to act inclusively" (Walker, 2007: 190). Although migration policies tend to describe social integration as being a bidirectional process and relish the benefits of diversity, in reality, there is little room in the curriculum for students with a migration background to learn about or express their ancestors' language (if different from the native population), cultural practices and knowledge. They are expected to assimilate and succeed in educational practices that have a curriculum and pedagogy implicitly, although often also explicitly, values middle class, ethnocentric and patriarchal knowledge and practices.

The capability of *aspiration* is defined as the "motivation to learn and succeed, to have a better life, to hope". The capacity to aspire has also been studied by Appadurai (2004) as a future oriented cultural capability. Poverty is usually accompanied by lack of voice, oppressive social structures, lack of access to valuable resources, and often by adapted preferences represented by low aspirations. Appadurai (2004) suggests that capacity building should increase the understanding of the link between aspirations and achievements, empowering individuals by recognising, enabling and cultivating their voice. Young people of migration background's education aspirations are often lower than their native counterparts and often translate into a withdrawal from school life externalised by a lack of concentration when in the classroom, not doing their homework or irregular attendance (Macleod, 1987). Some authors have described this situation as "adaptive withdrawal" in which students with an ethnic minority background consciously or unconsciously predict that "the system of segregation within which they live will

not allow them to attain the fruits of education even if they exert themselves" (Varenne and McDermott, 1998: 152). Seeing their parents working in low skilled position despite holding university degrees can only reinforce this perception.

Voice also has a place in Walker's list of capabilities. It refers to the voice "for participation in learning, for speaking out, not being silenced through pedagogy or power relations or harassment, or excluded from curriculum, being active in the acquisition of knowledge" (Walker, 2007:190). Young people's voices are seldom taken into account by education policies. Ethnic minorities have even more difficulties influencing the Spanish national curriculum. Their particular needs are not taken into account and young people of a migration background hardly ever organise themselves to voice these demands.

The capability for *bodily integrity and bodily health* refers to safe schools where there is no harassment of any type either by school staff, peers or other individuals either inside or on the way to and from the education facilities. Whereas the capability of *emotional integrity and emotions* describes absence of fear "from physical punishment or verbal attacks; developing emotions and imagination for understanding, empathy, awareness, and discernment" (Walker, 2007: 190). Although it exists, fortunately physical harassment is not common against young people of migration background in Spain (Defensor del Pueblo[7], 2007). However, the more prevalent verbal harassment and other subtle automatic or unconscious insults also called "microaggressions" (Solorzano, 2000) diminish not only the emotional integrity of the individual but seriously curtail their sense of belonging, lower their self-esteem and have a negative impact on their education results and participation in the learning environment.

In summary, in order to offer real opportunities to achieve valuable doings and being for the diversity of the student population education policies, curriculum and pedagogy need to include the aforementioned capabilities. By not doing so, formal schooling is doomed to alienate an important part of the student population and to reproduce social inequalities depriving some individuals of the possibility to live a flourishing life.

Social Exclusion

The multiple disadvantages that result from the cumulative experience of poverty and social isolation are the focus of the theory of social exclusion. The idea of social exclusion belongs to the Continental tradition and links poverty to "inadequate social participation, lack of social protection, lack of social integration, and lack of power" (Room, 1995:105) as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon tradition mainly concerned with the distribution of material resources. Thus the

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[7] Spanish Ombudsman.

concept of social exclusion is intimately related to social disintegration, lack of participation in public institutions, vulnerability, long-term disadvantage and inadequate realisation of social rights (Cousins, 1999: 128).

According to Silver there are three paradigms of social exclusion. First, the solidarity paradigm – linked to the Republican tradition – which understands social exclusion as a break in the social bonds that keep society together. This paradigm sees the State as responsible for including the excluded. Secondly, the specialisation paradigm – closely associated to the Anglo-Saxon liberalism – where exclusion is associated to social differentiation, division of labour and discrimination. This paradigm shifts the responsibility from the State to the individual, whose exclusion is seen as a failure of personal characteristics, such as being unemployable. Thirdly, the monopoly paradigm – based on the idea of social democracy – which considers that exclusion is the result of the interplay of class and power relations. The tools to eradicate exclusion are citizenship rights, equality and social participation (Silver, 1994).

Social exclusion can then be understood as individual capability deprivation rooted in a dynamic failure of personal conversion factors, social relations and public institutions. "The disadvantages faced by the excluded tend to be interrelated. People belonging to minorities or school drop-outs may have a greater risk of being unemployed or being employed in precarious jobs and hence being low-paid, less educated, recipients of social assistance, posses little political power, and fewer social contacts" (De Haan 2001: 26). Therefore, dropping out of school can be considered a corrosive disadvantage (Wolff and De Shalit, 2007).

In migration studies, marginalisation has often been linked to cultural differences, such as in the case of Muslim migrants in Europe, however, "marginalisation and social and economic exclusion are not only – or even primarily – cultural issues but are systematically produced by law and the structural and economic imperatives it secures" (Calavita, 1998: 532). Portes and Rumbault distinguish between three main governmental political responses to immigration in the country of destiny: "receptive policy is defined as legal entry with resettlement assistance, indifferent as legal entry without resettlement assistance, [and] hostile as active opposition to a group's entry or permanence in the country" (1990: 91). The societal response would be, in some way, shaped by this government's choice.

For instance, Sen argues that anti-immigrant right wing extremism in Europe decreases in those countries where immigrants have voting rights (Sen: 2000). Likewise, social exclusion can arise from the high levels of unemployment experienced by young people and immigrants which lowers their self-esteem, produces a loss of motivation, hinders their social integration and

human relations, resulting not only in poverty in terms of income, but in poor quality of life (Sen: 2000).

In the case of young people with a migration background, this structural perspective points out the structural advantages and disadvantages in which different groups have unequal access to opportunities and resources (Barth and Noel, 1972) resulting in dynamic racial – although also gender and class – economic, educational and in general, well-being inequalities. (Portes and Borocz, 1989). Gans (1992) considers that despite the formal acculturation, mainly through compulsory schooling, and informal acculturation, through friends, media, etc. second generations will assimilate themselves into the majority group in the host society, although this integration process may encounter structural barriers that would constraint their opportunities. Thus, immigrant children "will either not be asked, or will be reluctant, to work at immigrant wages and hours as their parents did but will lack job opportunities, skills and connections to do better" (Gans, 1992: 173-174). Indeed, Zhou considers that there is a "segmented assimilation" but still many second generation immigrants "are extremely vulnerable to multiple high-risk behaviours, school failure, street gangs, and youth crime" (1997: 980). This integration failure has often been referred to as "second generation decline" (Gans, 1992) or "downward assimilation" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Crul, 2007), which may result in marginalisation and social exclusion.

Social exclusion can also be connected to an 'oppositional culture' (Zhou, 1997: 986) and to other resistance mechanisms to confront marginalisation, social isolation, alienation and deprivation. The 'oppositional culture' or 'reactive identities' have been widely studied in the context of migration in the US as early as the 1930s with the case of Southern Italian migrants that, similar to the present research participants, presented "high rates of dropout, truancy, al delinquency […], all signs that they were rejecting the conventions and values of a system that they perceived as rejecting them" (Alba and Nee, 1997: 848). These resistance mechanisms, also referred to as 'downward assimilation', where young immigrants rebel against middle-class values, drop-out of school and are met with the 'forced-choice dilemma' of choosing between their parents' aspirations for upward mobility conforming to white middle-class values that discriminate against them, thus, being ostracised by their immigrant peers; or confronting these values, opposing authority and giving in to peer pressure that leads to integration into the 'underclass' and being marginalised by the larger society as well as by their own community (Zhou, 1997: 989-990). This "ghettoization, in turn, produces a political atmosphere and a mentality that preserves class division along racial lines, leading to the greater alienation of

minority children" (Zhou, 1997: 988) further diminishing their capabilities and falling into a poverty trap of capability deprivation.

Moving on to illegal immigrants, because of being deprived of citizenship rights they are excluded from most State safety net mechanisms and tend to rely on informal support in the immigrant community (Jordan, 1996: 175). Nevertheless, the lack of opportunities that illegal immigrants face in the host country, often translates to social exclusion as the cause and consequence of being involved in illegal activities, being in detention centres, homeless, undernourished, sick and living with the fear of being deported to a reality that they risked their lives to escape. Thus, social exclusion epitomises the experience of poverty and capability deprivation (Sen, 2000: 6).

In conclusion, the CA provides a multidimensional normative framework for the study of inequalities that takes into account human diversity. The CA pays particular attention to functionings, capabilities and agency, in relation to the promotion of freedom and well-being, looking both at outcomes and also processes. Thus policies should promote the expansion of capabilities and aim to eliminate capability deprivation. However, the CA does not seem to provide enough guidance regarding interlocking system of oppression, which shape both internal and external factors leading to capability deprivation. For instance, it can be argued that although the CA provides an egalitarian evaluative framework in which the best social policies are those than enlarge the individuals' capability sets; it does not provide a theoretical basis to judge the fairness or equity of the distribution mechanisms (Sen, 2010: 296-298). When resources are scarce, some priorities must be made in order to reduce the inequality of capabilities, especially to address certain groups who are in a situation of capability deprivation or at risk of social exclusion. Sufficiency theories focus on ensuring that all individuals reach a certain threshold of resources, in this case, capabilities. But even to ensure that this threshold is met, we need to study the different social barriers that constrain certain groups' capabilities. In most societies capabilities become exclusive privileges structurally allocated on the basis of age, gender, class and ethnicity as well as disability, religion, nationality, sexuality and so on. The theoretical concept of intersectionality offers an analytical tool to study these interwoven dynamics of inequality.

4.2. Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality was popularised by Kimberle Crenshaw in the 1990s to highlight the experiences of inequality and discrimination suffered by Black women in America. She argued that these experiences are different from the discrimination that white women or Black

men suffer. Neither feminism nor racial theory represented Black women's interests, since feminism overlooked the differences within womanhood and racial theory underestimated the sexist subordination and power struggle within the black community and other ethnic minorities (Crenshaw, 1991).

Unlike the CA, the concept of intersectionality is not a normative framework in itself[8], but an analytical tool to study the interlocking of complex power inequalities, and experiences of exclusion and subordination. Despite being a contested concept, ambiguous and confusing at times, it has proven very popular in feminist theory (Davis, 2008). Because of its flexibility, the critical concept of intersectionality allows us to look at the interplay of power relations experienced by young people of migration background in Spain: as men and women subject to gender inequalities, sexual violence and issues of masculinity; as immigrants, discriminated on the basis of their country of origin, of their ethnicity; being deprived from participating in decisions that affec them on the basis of their age; being disadvantaged on the basis of their socio-economic status; being judged by their sexuality; experiencing lack of accessibility when they have physical or psychological disabilities; and so forth. The concept of intersectionality looks at the interaction between these compounded disadvantages that tend to interact simultaneously, producing situations in which individuals are deprived of their capabilities (George, 2001, Hancock, 2008).

Thus intersectionality offers a critical tool to study well-being, vulnerability and deprivation analysing the dynamic interactions between individuals and institutions (Hancock, 2008: 74), between agency and structure. Sexism, racism together with other discriminations on the basis of age, class, origin, disability and other status shape social and economic distribution of advantages and disadvantages. Looking at the intersectionality between gender, class, ethnicity and age enhances our understanding; capturing the multiple dynamics of discrimination that young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain might encounter in their daily lives.

Discrimination refers to any distinction, exclusion or restriction of rights, freedoms or access to opportunities or resources on the basis of grounds such as ethnicity, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, or other status. One can distinguish between direct discrimination, when there is a direct distinction on the basis of any of a prohibited ground, and indirect discrimination, when an apparently neutral law, policy or practice produces discrimination. Institutional discrimination refers to private or

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[8] Hancock holds that intersectionality can be regarded as a normative framework that "emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference" (2007: 63) allowing for intra-category distinctions *and* inter-category similarities in hegemonic, structural, disciplinary and interpersonal contexts.

public institutional provisions or practices that create structural conditions of discrimination (Makkonen, 2002). Institutional discrimination can be related to availability, i.e. the existence of institutions that can expand the opportunity structure of individuals; accessibility, i.e. the lack of economic, social, informational, geographic or structural barriers to enjoy the services provided by these institutions without discrimination; acceptability, i.e. the quality and relevance of the service provided to increase the substantive opportunities of the affected individuals to carry out their plans of life; adaptability, the flexibility to adjust to the diverse needs of the individuals, in order to overcome the shortcomings that affect the conversion of goods and opportunities into valuable beings and doings (see Tomasevski, 2001 for the case of education).

According to Makkonen (2002), one can distinguish between two forms of multiple discrimination: a) simultaneous discrimination – different forms of inequality taking place at the same time, and b) sequential discrimination – each type of discrimination is compounded by another in a different circumstance, with a cumulative impact on the condition of vulnerability. For instance, a Latin American woman living in Spain applying for a managerial job in a high status and widely male dominated sector such as wine-making (Gherardi and Poggio, 2007) might be discriminated against because of her gender and migrant background, which is generally associated with a lower socioeconomic status. This would constitute a multiple discrimination, since she is discriminated against because she is a woman, even if she was not an immigrant in the host country; or if she is discriminated against because of being an immigrant from a poorer country, since she would have been discriminated even if she had been a man. But if after being refused that post, she is then offered a position as a cleaner at the same wine-making company, we could identify an intersectional discrimination, since the stereotype labour niche for Latin American women in Spain, particularly Ecuadorian women, has ascribed them to domestic service jobs, despite their qualifications (Camacho, 2010).

An example of sequential or compounded discrimination could be a Latin American female prostitute who, after being sexually abused, goes to the police station to denounce the case, but she is then harassed by a sexist policeman who asks for her residence permit and immediately doubts her accusation. This example can be seen as a sequential or compounded discrimination because of the added burden of the prejudices regarding her migrant status and work as a prostitute. It is not always easy to differentiate in reality between simultaneous or sequential discrimination, but the concept of intersectionality provides a new lens to look at the interaction of different types of discrimination.

Therefore, this research uses the lens of intersectionality to articulate the interaction and compounded effect of racism, patriarchy, classism and ageism on young people of migration background. Age, ethnicity, class, and gender, which have traditionally been studied separately, shape agency, capabilities and well-being. The next section offers a brief introduction to traditional gender, class and ethnicity studies, justifying the need for an intersectional approach.

Gender

Women, at first, and gender as a relational term, have been the main concern of feminism. However, feminist studies exhibit a great variety of perspectives and schools of thought: liberal feminism, whose main aim is to help women achieve the same opportunities as men in society; Marxist feminism, which links feminism with class oppression, thus challenging both capitalism and patriarchy; radical feminism, which celebrates differences between men and women with a focus on motherhood and care; psychoanalytic feminism, inspired by Freud and Lacan, with a special concern for linguistic symbolism in social and cultural construction; corporeal feminism, focusing on the body and sexual difference; queer theory; which considers sexuality as fluid and performative, and rejects the binaries of male/female; race, ethnicity and multicultural feminism, which criticises the idea of women as an homogenous group, unveiling the bias towards the experiences of white, middle-class feminism; and postcolonial feminism, which draws on postmodern thoughts and critical engagement with power relations, differences and discourses around race and ethnicity (Raddon, 2004: Appendix 1). Fraser considers that feminism has followed a trajectory from claiming equality between men and women, to politics of recognition and to identity politics "dominated by white, middle class, heterosexual women, to a broader more inclusive movement that better allows for the concerns of color, and/or poor and working-class women" (Fraser, 2009: 101).

Following the postmodern intersectional analysis, this research considers that gender is not only about women subordination or power struggles, but about multilayered and routinised forms of domination and subordination affecting gender but also related to race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, disability and other social status. Thus, vulnerability is not only the result of gender inequality but also the consequence of gender and class oppression compounded by racial discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991). "Intersectional subordination […] is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment" (Creshaw, 1991: 1249). Gender socially ascribed roles and structural discrimination, shape and limit men's and, particularly, women's capabilities.

Regarding the combined effect of migration and gender one can say that globalisation processes have brought a feminisation of migration but also of poverty (Morokvasic, 1984, Castles and Miller, 2003, Chammartin, 2004, Pessar, 2005). Neoliberal policies have curtailed the welfare state by reducing the social budget and fostering privatisation, which has added more pressure to families (Mateo Pérez and La Parra, 2005, Fraser, 2009). Likewise, migration has contributed to split households and increased the number of single mothers who live far away from their extended family, resulting in higher rates of poverty in these households (Camacho, 2010). International migration is fostered by the demand of cheap, non-unionised labour (Mateo Pérez, La Parra, 2005) where illegal immigrants are trapped in abusive and exploitative situations, such as excessively long working hours, low pay, poor health and safety conditions, low status and lack of accountability in the employer-employee relationship (Vicente Torrado, 2005) which leads to vulnerability and social exclusion.

The polarisation of labour linked to the massive incorporation of women in the labour market has produced new social divisions. Transnational migration is faced with a highly segmented labour market on the basis of gender and migration (Solé Puig and Parella, 2009). The professionalization of educated native women in industrialised countries has produced "global care chains" (Hochschild, Hutton and Giddens, 2000), a demand for child care and domestic chores which is usually filled by immigrant women who are more likely to accept unregulated jobs, which are usually located on the lower rungs of the career ladder (Camacho, 2010: 47). Native women, who can afford it, delegate some of the housework to other women. One can observe a transfer of responsibilities based on the advantages or disadvantages from their class and ethnicity. The persistence of the patriarchal structure within households and society has overburdened women with professional and domestic work. Despite being paid jobs, domestic work, care of the elderly and childminding are still regarded as low level work. Intersections between gender constructions and other variables such as nationality, ethnicity and social class explain the increasing demand for immigrant women as domestic workers (Camacho, 2010: 47-48).

Ethnicity

Although intersectionality literature uses the categories of gender, class and race, this paper considers the term 'ethnicity' to more accurately describe young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain. Ethnicity refers to a group with "a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (Weber, 1978: 389). Or as Conzen understands it: "a process of

construction or invention which incorporates, adapts and amplifies pre-existing communal solidarities, cultural attributes and historical memories" (1992: 4-5) always influenced by the social context. Either way, both race and ethnicity are socially constructed and represent complex, fluid and changeable (Omi, 2001) social identities that are ascribed, challenged and internalised.

Whereas the term 'race' has been predominately used in the American context to refer to visible or phenotype distinctions such as skin colour (Waldiger and Bozorgmehr, 1996; Alba and Nee, 1997), the term 'ethnicity' is more widely used in Europe and even in the American context when studying people originating in Latin America. The term 'ethnicity' is used to subsume skin colour and national origin as well as religion and linguistic differences, whilst encompassing the fluidity of ethnicity as a result of dialectical processes of social construction (Nagel, 2003). Ethnicity is a dialectical social construct that is constantly negotiated between individuals claiming a certain identity and other individuals ascribing a particular identity to them. Whereas the individual would choose a particular social identity with more or less salient characteristics associated to an ideal ethnic identity; power relations would impose certain ethnic categories on these individuals in order to sort them into different structured positions of access to opportunities and resources. Thus, ethnicity – similar to gender, class, and age – is here considered a social construct both shaping the dialectics between identity and representation. It is linked to power and oppression that produce and sustain discourses and practices of material inequalities leading to social exclusion and capability deprivation.

In the words of Shibutani and Kwan following Mead's symbolic interactionism: the way person is treated in society does not depend on what he or she is, but "on the manner he [or she] is defined" (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Alba and Nee, 1997). These definitions are rooted in the human instinct of classifying and categorising individual members or items, and placing them into groups with ascribed characteristics. These ascribed characteristics, in the context of migration give rise to stereotypes and social distances that "are created and sustained symbolically through the practice of classifying and ranking" (Alba and Nee, 1997: 838). The unwelcome experience of migration is closely associated to the idea of "otherness" or social distance where some individuals are perceived as belonging to a different category and treated with reservations, suspicion, fear or even hatred. Being 'white' is consider natural and neutral (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007), whereas Latin-American immigrants are 'non-whites', constructed as having 'racialised identities' (Dabydeen, Gilmore and Jones, 2007) and are cast as 'others'.

The concept of 'race', which was formerly used for the racist ideology that ascribed different genetic characteristics associated to physical features, has developed to encompass the political and social claims for recognition and representation of the oppression of "non-whites", whilst the concept of ethnicity shifts the focus to cultural identity (Arbouin, 2009). Either way, belonging to a "non-white" group has consequences which are often linked to inequality and oppression (McIntosh, 1995). According to Fischer, the lower access to opportunities and resources for ethnic minorities happens through a threefold process: first, socio economic deprivation; second, racial or ethnic segregation which concentrates disadvantages and accentuates them; third, stigmatisation as inferior by the wider society's perception of them (Fischer et al. 1996: 174). However, the three elements of this process often take place simultaneously.

Although there seems to be a scarcity of studies dealing with racist discrimination of immigrants in Spain regarding access and promotion in the labour market (Aja, Carbonell, 2000: 59); the persistent restrictions on the freedom of people's movement, especially to those coming from poorer countries, have transformed not only the channels of migration but also the image of immigrants. This shift has fostered irregular migration, illegal networks, and a market of human trafficking, creating a "nether world of illegality and exploitation that severely limits and distorts the freedoms and capacities of many migrants" (Des Gaspers and Thanh-Dam, 2010: 341). These people are particularly vulnerable, subject to abusive situations, both from the illegal networks who facilitate their entrance into the country of destination and from the host societies, particularly those employers who exploit immigrants depriving them of their workers' rights (Vicente Torrado, 2005).

Since the 70s-80s there has been an exponential increase in migration fluxes. The multidimensional transformations usually referred to as globalisation have produced a global economy where "capital markets are interconnected worldwide" (Castells, 1999: 4). Globalisation has produced a social and economic restructuration that has fostered migration movements (Mateo Pérez and La Parra, 2005). Migrants' integration into the labour market seems to follow a 'bimodal pattern' (Alba and Nee, 1997: 864) in which those migrants arriving with high levels of human capital where the demand for highly skilled labour is high usually achieve socioeconomic integration and upward mobility, whereas migrants arriving with low levels of human capital occupy the lower rungs of the labour market and are less likely to achieve economic, social or spatial mobility. This social and economic restructuration is characterised by a polarised labour market, on the one extreme it is necessary to acquire high levels of knowledge and skills to compete in the knowledge economy and on the other extreme, there is a need for unskilled cheap labour to work in informal and precarious conditions

(Stromquist, 2002). Thus, there are authors who suggest that informal and even illegal economy is not a deviation or anomaly of the new economic system, but a structural element (Mateo Pérez, La Parra, 2005; Camacho, 2010: 44; Sassen, 1988).

The impact of migration on well-being seems to be mediated by other factors such as socioeconomic status, social support and psychological distress (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 697). Pantzer argues that the reason why the well being of migrants' and natives' differs is related to the experience of racism and discrimination associated with the migratory experience (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 694). "Racism plays a part both in structuring social and economic disadvantage in the population and in institutional and individual discrimination against ethnic minority groups. Racism affects individual health from both a psychological perspective and in terms of limiting access to those material resources" (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 694). Thus structural racism influences social acceptance but also self perception which is then translated into a lower set of capabilities and deficient personal and structural conversion factors.

Racism plays a central role in determining immigrants' well-being, both, because of the discriminatory attitudes either from natives or other migrants and because of the restrictions of opportunities and access to public services. Whereas social support understood as "the number of people who can provide a sense of security […] and instrumental and emotional support" (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 695) enhances well-being. If racism has a negative impact on the migration experience, social support has a positive effect on physical and mental well-being. The experience of migration is often related to the loss of social networks and the impact of cultural differences. However, new social networks are created as a consequence of migration. Culture, "beliefs, religion, group cohesion, and a numerous presence act as protection against mental health disturbances" (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 694). Factors that would lead to capability deprivation, poor well-being and social exclusion related to the migratory experience could be "lack of social support, poor economic conditions, cultural differences, or discrimination perception" (Pantzer, et al., 2006: 695).

The capability deprivation is clear when one considers the structural exclusion of some immigrants, who are not in a context of choice but a context of necessity (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). Having a legal status together with minimal socio-economic aspects such as having a paid job and housing, are the minimum conditions for adult immigrants to avoid social exclusion (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). Unfortunately, in 2005 45% of Latin American immigrants living in Spain were illegal immigrants (Vicente Torrado, 2005: 4). Thus, immigrants can be considered a vulnerable population since they face greater risks than nationals, such as a higher likelihood of

experiencing poverty, low paid and insecure jobs, discrimination, and so forth (Mateo Pérez, La Parra, 2005). According to Muñoz de Bustillo and Antón "the possible explanation of this pattern might lie on the difficulties faced by recent immigrants, in terms of access to social benefits, labour market assimilation and the limited transferability of skills acquired abroad" (2010: 3). They studied the pay gap between immigrants and nationals which amounts to around twenty per cent when controlling for "human capital endowments and occupational characteristics […]. Such an outcome is very likely to be associated to the joint effect of the lack of language proficiency, occupational segregation, the limited transferability of skills acquired abroad or even differential treatment from employers" (Muñoz de Bustillo and Antón, 2010: 14). However, structural racism[9] stands out as a main determinant for immigrants' vulnerability, since in the case of Latin American immigrants in Spain, neither linguistic problems, nor their equal levels of education (Camacho, 2010; Vicente Torrado, 2005) can account for their low occupational status (Ajá, Carbonell, 2000). Yet, Latin American immigrants seem to be better integrated in the Spanish society than Asian or African immigrant groups (Aja, Carbonell, 2000). Either way, those immigrants who work in high status professions hardly ever suffer the racist attitudes or social exclusion endured by poorer immigrants (Ajá, Carbonell, 2000: 69). Thus, it seems difficult to disentangle ethnicity from class when looking at capability deprivation.

Class

This research uses a concept of class linked with access to income generating resources and opportunities in order to analyse social inequalities and vulnerability. Class can be defined as "the social stratification that permeates society, dividing the population economically and socially according to their access to power" (Arbouin, 2009: 17) and, consequently, larger capability sets. As pointed out previously, class, together with gender, ethnicity and other status, determine individuals' capabilities and well-being.

The Marxist tradition associates class to hierarchical positions in the production process, oppression and exploitation. Bourdieu moves beyond economic inequalities to include other social inequalities such as education. He distinguishes three different types of capital: "as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational

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[9] Racism is a historical and endemic problem in Spain, from the numerous works of art depicting Christians killing Moors, to the common language expressions using Jews and Black with negative connotations. The ethnic group which has suffered most racist discrimination in Spain has been the Roma community (Ajá and Carbonell, 2000: 182). However, Morrocan immigrants have also been victims of racist attacks such as the extreme case of "El Ejido" in February 2000 (Zapata-Barrero, 2003).

qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu, 1986: 242). Bourdieu also highlights the importance of education in the "reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986: 243).

Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems" (Bourdieu, 1968: xx). This concept of *habitus* blurs the agency-structure divide and explains the reproduction of social class through individual choices. What individuals value and have reason to value is closely connected to these transposable dispositions, to these "structured structures". The CA should take into account socialisation and the concept of *habitus* to analyse capabilities, well-being and adaptive preferences; because if these predispositions determine individual choices and actions, the role of agency seems somehow limited.

In the context of migration, each generation transmits social and cultural patterns to the next (Zhou, 1997). However these patterns are transformed by the need to adapt to the host society, leaving second generation children hovering between two different worlds without entirely belonging to either. This tension forges the new identity of the second generation and may lead to 'generational consonance' when these children show greater similarity to their parents than to the host culture; unacculturated or 'generational dissonance' "when children neither correspond to levels of parental acculturation nor conform to parental guidance, leading to role reversal and intensified parent-child conflicts" (Zhou, 1997: 995). Structural factors, such as "racial discrimination, urban subcultures, and labor market prospects […] affect the adaptational outcomes of children" (Zhou, 1997: 995; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

Immigrant family ties and social networks can become valuable social capital in the form of group solidarity, which is the reason why 'generational dissonance' would further deprive them from opportunities to enlarge their capabilities. The alternative affiliation and resistance mechanisms may result in 'downward assimilation', which as was mentioned before, may result in higher levels of deprivation, even social exclusion (Zhou, 1997). Nevertheless, 'generational consonance', in the form of non-acculturation, is not always supportive of upward social mobility, since only those ethnic groups that display characteristics that resemble the ideas of the

majority group in the host society would be encouraged; stigmatising other socio cultural patterns or *habitus* (Zhou, 1997: 994).

Age

Age has mainly been studied as a social identity leading to discrimination and disadvantage under the concept of 'ageism' for elderly population (Palmore, 1999). One can cite Butler's (1975) book entitled *Why survive* as an example of the effect of the social construction of age for old people in terms of poverty and isolation. However, there is less research on the effect of age as a system of subordination and exclusion at early stages such as childhood or adolescence. In terms of age stratifications, as system of distribution of power, respect, and access to opportunities and resources, Western societies have moved from a gerontocratic society (where the eldest were given the highest status) to a middle-agecratic society where middle-age adults have the highest levels of power, respect and access to opportunities and resources (Palmore, 1999:16). Yet, in both of these age stratified societies, children have been historically deprived of power, and their access to opportunities and resources has always been mediated by their parents or guardians.

When not exploited in terms of labour and sexual abuse, children have been traditionally considered as potential adults, but deficient in terms of competences, autonomy and rationality, and thus subjects of parental responsibility, rather than agents, unable to make their own decisions. Because of an ascribed dependency, vulnerability and lack of agency, they were supposed to be protected by their parents or guardians in order to ensure their successful development into complete adults. Even using the capability approach, Nussbaum (2006, 2012) considers that although the concern for adults is at the level of capabilities, the concern for children should be at the level of functionings. Biggeri holds that child capabilities are affected by five particular issues: 1) the relation between child capabilities and the capability set and functionings of their parents' or guardians; 2) children's dependency on their parents' or guardians' and teachers' decisions to convert their capabilities into actual beings or doings, i.e. a second level of constraint in terms of conversion factors in comparison to adults; 3) the intrinsic and instrumental value of education as a basic capability and fertile functioning; 4) the life-cycle, developmental stages, and maturity of children at different ages in terms of the adequateness of capabilities and well-being interventions; 5) the future perspective of children as forthcoming adults and their potential to provide capabilities and functionings for the following generations and potentiality to change the world into a better place (Biggeri, 2007: 199).

These considerations are extremely important when understanding why the traditional paternalistic protection has not prevented the increasing levels of child poverty, worldwide, including within European countries. The ascribed dependency on their parents or guardians in emotional, but also economic, social and political dimensions, waives the responsibility of other social institutions to empower them with an equal position in terms of access to valuable opportunities and resources above the threshold of extreme poverty. By prescribing the interdependency with their parents of guardians, public responsibility and their participation in political processes is precluded (Clark, forthcoming).

The construction of the minor or child under the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Spanish law refers to those individuals under the age of 18 years old. Migrant minors are treated with special consideration in the Spanish law (Real Decreto 557/2011, Ley Orgánica 4/2000 and Ley Orgánica 2/2009)[10] referred to under title XI of the law. Among these special considerations two can be highlighted. First, they can be reunited with their parents or guardians, once the latter obtain a residence permit and show they can provide economically for them. Secondly, when being unaccompanied the authorities ought to contact the family before deportation, in case the family cannot be reached or they refuse to take care of the minor, in which case they must not be deported. Yet, many civil society organisations, such as Amnesty International,[11] have denounced the violation of this law and the constant deportation of minors.

The Law for the penal responsibility of minors was first drafted in 1992 (Ley Orgánica, 4/1992) to target children adolescents between 12 and 16 years old who have transgressed the law; it had a sanctioning-educational nature and is respectful of the rights of the child enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The new law (Organic Law Ley Orgánica 5/2000, 12th January[12]) postponed the range of age of the law transgressors to include those adolescents between 14 and 18 years old. This law lies on the principles of re-education of young offenders, taking into account personal, family and social circumstances. Therefore, as opposed to the primary sanctioning nature of the penal law for adults, the young offenders' law has education as paramount; rather than repressive, the measures aim to be preventive, rehabilitating, based on the best interest of the child. For offenders younger than 14 years old, social workers are supposed to take the responsibility of working with the family, rather than the judiciary. For offenders older than 16, depending on the gravity of the crime, more sanctioning measures can be taken. Parents or guardians bear responsibility with the offenses committed by their children or legal tutees.

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[10] http://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2011-7703 as on 23.05.2014

[11] https://www.es.amnesty.org/noticias/noticias/articulo/amnistia-internacional-denuncia-expulsiones-encubiertas-de-menores-no-acompanados/

[12] http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Penal/lo5-2000.t7.html#a55 as on 26.05.2014

In terms of the measures young offenders may serve, some of them have a symbolic and psychological character, such as asking for forgiveness to the victim once they have repented. Another measure can be community service, preferably linked to the transgression of the law. For graver crimes, they need to serve the sentence in a juvenile detention centre, in a close, semi-open or open regime, depending on the gravity of the transgression and the availability of resources for rehabilitation within the family and community. When the law transgression was not deemed to be subject of detention, they may have to attend a day centre, where educational activities are aimed at fostering the young offender's social competences, in a structured manner, whilst still residing at home. Another possible measure is to be placed on probation, or supervised release, with a person in charge of the young offender, usually a social worker, with the aim of providing them with the necessary skills, capacities and attitudes for personal and social development by fulfilling responsibilities and respecting certain prohibitions of the sentence. A last measure worth mentioning is the weekend curfew at the young offender's homes.

The Organic Law 8/2006[13], partially reformed the Organic Law 5/2000, tries to satisfy the demand of an important part of the public opinion which considers that the Organic Law 5/2000 was too soft and led to impunity. With the publicity given to certain crimes committed by youngsters, particularly the media attention on Latin gangs, the new law places an emphasis on the legal transgressions committed as a group, as in the case of gangs. It also declares a suspension to apply the law to young offenders older than 18 years old. Besides, it adds further protection to victims by banning offenders from approaching them, when the judge considers it relevant. Finally, it considerably extends the duration of the sentences that can be imposed.

Spanish law follows the perspective that situates children under the responsibility of their parents, so much so, that when minors transgress the law, parents are partly responsible. Much of the criminology literature situates the root of the criminal behaviour in the family environment, pathologising families in some cases, whilst neglecting the role of social institutions as oppressive and disempowering agents. Among the factors highlighted by these criminology studies regarding young offenders are the parents' disciplinary practices and their attitude towards their children; these parents or guardians tend to impose hard sanctions and be inconsistent, paying attention only when their children show deviant behaviour and ignoring pro-social behaviour. These parents or guardians are portrayed as being colder, less loving and emotionally supporting towards their children (Graña Gómez et al, 2008:34). Another factor is related to parental separation or divorce, particularly when this entails economic and

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[13] http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2006/12/05/pdfs/A42700-42712.pdf as on 26.05.2014

psychological misery; although these studies point out that the absence of one of the parents due to separation or divorce is less relevant than the lack of affective bonds, hostility, conflicts, negative role models, and aggressions within the family unit (Graña Gómez et al, 2008:34).

The present research does not try to argue against the effect of these family factors decreasing children's well-being and lowering their capability set, making them more vulnerable. There is an established dependency of children towards their parents that gradually decreases with age and the maturity of the individual. What this research criticises is the fact that these studies fail to mention the impact of broader social institutions such as the labour market, the banking system with loans and debts, the ethnic, gender and class stereotypes that infiltrate dominant discourses legitimising social, economic and political disadvantages, among other stressors that share the responsibility with the family in terms of providing a nourishing and empowering environment with an adequate opportunity structure for the personal and social development of these children or young persons. Therefore, the children's capabilities are conditioned by those of their parents, which, in turn, are subject to the empowering or constraining effect of social institutions. In order to mitigate the disempowering effect of the social construction of age it seems necessary to intervene directly, securing the children's functionings and expanding their capabilities, particularly in and through education, by improving the availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability of social institutions (Tomasevski, 2001); and indirectly, by expanding the capability set of the parents or guardians, and creating structures and social institutions to mitigate vulnerability by securing valuable functionings.

Thus, in order to analyse young people of migrant background' narratives it is necessary to understand the interlocking of age, ethnicity, gender and class as systems of oppression; since the picture would be incomplete if we consider any of these elements separately. Therefore, the intersectional analysis is highly pertinent to study young people of Ecuadorian background's capabilities and personal and structural conversion factors that influence their aspirations, expectations and well-being.

Conclusion

The CA understands that the enlargement of capabilities, or genuine opportunities to achieve valuable functionings and choice, is a matter of social justice. Thus, social policies need to focus on endowing individuals with adequate resources and opportunities, that is, with effective means to develop. However, social policies need to take into account human diversity, especially the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender, together with other status (age, sexuality, disability,

etc), to shape these endowments. Only then can individuals develop their capabilities, real freedoms to carry out their plan of life. This research considers that this real freedom is necessary for optimal levels of well-being. Nevertheless, social policies need to pay particular attention to intersectional subordinations which may lead to lower levels of objective well-being, which might turn into social exclusion. In order to enlarge capabilities, social policy needs to minimise the effect of structural inequalities and intersectional discrimination.

Therefore, this research intends to study the barriers that young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain face in order to accomplish successful integration in terms of equality, to enjoy high levels of well-being and to pursue their plan of life. Because the school represents the most relevant public institution for young people, it seems to be the best place to study how ethnicity, class and gender interact and how they enhance or hinder well-being and plans of life. The best way to gain an understanding of the personal impact of these interactions is by asking individuals about their experiences and perception. Qualitative methods, specifically biographical interviews, offer an appropriate method not only to explore subjective tensions and contradictions arising from daily school experiences, but also to give voice to those usually unheard, those at risk of being socially excluded, amongst which, immigrants hold a prominent place. The capability approach, as a normative framework, together with intersectionality, as an analytical tool, present an inclusive theoretical framework to explore perceptions of well-being, aspirations and expectations, shaped both by personal agency and structural factors, related to real opportunities and structural inequalities consequence of the interaction of ethnicity, class and gender in the particular case of young second generation Latin American migrants.

Chapter 5: Methodology

"The narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity, in constructing that of the story told. It is the identity of the story that makes the identity of the character"

— Paul Ricoeur (1999:147–48)

The methodology adopted by this research is life story and narrative approach. Epistemologically, narrative interviews understand that the reality is actively constructed by the interpretation of the social world (Casey, 1965). As well as biographical interviews, primary data is also collected through a series of semi structured interviews with research participants and experts interviews. The data is also supported by some quantitative data analysis and an extensive review of the literature on migration, intersectionality and capabilities. The triangulation of qualitative primary data collection with quantitative and secondary data analysis and literature review aims to make the research valid and reliable for the academic world (Brannen, 1992; Bell, 1993; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

The biographical data is intended to reconstruct the participants' educational journeys and career aspirations. The biographical interviews seek to explore the particpants' interpretations of their educational experiences and the socio cultural life conditions which they identified as influencing those experiences. The unit of analysis in this study is the life course as represented in their biographical narratives. The analytical concern in the analysis and reporting of the findings is to build on and extend the informants' own interpretations of their life experiences communicated during interviews.

Biographical interviews were deemed the best method for a number of reasons. This research aims to gain more understanding about a new phenomenon in Spain. Since the literature review evidenced the paucity regarding young people of migration background in Spain, an exploratory study seems to be necessary, aiming at discovering rather than verifying previous hypothesis (Cronbach, 1975). Likewise, biographical interviews provide detailed accounts or narrations of the events and long term processes that the participant judges most relevant in their lives. Consequently, it allows for a longitudinal and retrospective in-depth study of the individual life (Howe, 1982; Josselson and Lieblich, 1993). Furthermore, biographical interviews enable us to gain access to the subjective perspective, to the inner beliefs and assumptions that guide people's behaviour (Sarasson, 1977); which tend to echo, and sometimes challenge, dominant narratives or discourses.

This research adopts the capability approach together with the theoretical concept of intersectionality to shed light on the situation of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain. The capability approach, by highlighting the plurality of well-being and human diversity, presents an invaluable normative framework from which to study the personal and structural situation of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spanish society. This research analyses the participants' narratives studying the intersectionality of ethnicity, class gender and age, in order to investigate the compounded effect of these characteristics on the participants' experiences, rather than exclusively focusing on ethnicity.

This research follows a qualitative methodology in order to get a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of age, ethnicity, class and gender, allowing for detailed descriptions of everyday practices. Seeking to explore participant's perceptions of well-being, biographical narratives give voice to those who are often unheard, providing a useful tool to understand the participants' subjective tensions and contradictions regarding their experiences. Likewise, the capability approach allows for a particular focus on real opportunities, as well as, personal, social and environmental conversion factors and their relation with well-being. Thus, the analysis of narratives drawing on the variety of interlockings of ethnicity, class and gender, generates data regarding how these characteristics are experienced in their daily lives.

5. 1. Epistemology

Epistemologically, this research understands that the reality is actively constructed by the interpretation of the social world (Casey, 1965, Denzin, 1989). Thus, this research is framed within a postmodern epistemology that escapes from the positivist tradition, challenging the existence of an objective and intelligible reality (Jameson, 1988). Following the 'cultural and linguistic turn', it highlights the importance of the subjective experience rather than the objective facts and events, it argues that the 'reality' is socially constructed and individually reshaped and does not exist independently of how it is lived, recounted and coded from socio cultural loci that make sense of it through language (Steinmetz, 1999; Bonnel and Hunt, 1999; Andrews et al 2000).

The research adopts a qualitative approach in order to get a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of ethnicity, class and gender, allowing for detailed descriptions of everyday practices (Silverman, 2010). The methodology has been selected on the basis of enabling participants to recount their experiences, due to its adequacy for giving voice to those who are often unheard (Asher, 2002, Gray, 2007). This methodology seems to fit the Capability

Approach in terms of enabling the interviewees to be active participants of the research by steering the conversation and choosing what stories they consider important. Young people are seldom given the opportunity to input policies that affect them directly; their lack of political voice impacts their well-being, therefore young people need to be seen as decision-making-agents (Jimenez, 2006). "If, [...] the standard of living lies indeed in the living, then there is a need to render an account of that living beyond statistics, through how people make sense of living and being [...] narratives are the only way through which human beings construct and give meaning to the lives and events which surround them" (Hodgett and Deneulin, 2009: 69). Biographical interviews also seem adequate for studying the effects of the intersectionality of age, ethnicity, class and gender, since these might appear as empowering or constraining social identities, or appearing explicitly, implicitly and even not appearing at all. But far from being artificial quantitative variables, they come up in a natural way within their stories of educational journeys and career aspirations.

Seeking to explore participants' perceptions of well-being, biographical narratives provide a useful tool to understand the participants' subjective tensions and contradictions regarding their experiences, the meaning that they give to their reality. In the words of Bourdieu: "narrative about the most "personal" difficulties, the apparently most strictly subjective tensions and contradictions, frequently articulates the deepest structures of the social world and their contradictions" (Bourdieu, 1999: 511). Thus, the main goal of the research is to analyse the narratives of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain to study how ethnicity, class and gender, as structures of the social world, shape their aspirations, expectations and perspectives of well-being.

5. 2. Narratives

Narratives are widely used to describe a wide range of issues, from literature to social sciences, including research in natural sciences, politics, economics, and so forth. In social sciences, some authors have attempted to formulate definitions of what constitute a narrative. For instance, narratives can be seen "as discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (Hinchman and Hinchman, 1997:xvi).

Although narratives derive from and feed into specific socio-cultural situations, subjective narratives challenge cultural narratives and metanarratives (Lyotard, 1979), by revealing the weakness and contradictions of the hegemonic discourses. "Narrative identity is coherent but fluid and changeable, historically grounded but "fictively" reinterpreted, constructed by an individual but constructed in interaction and dialogue with other people" (Ezzy, 2005: 246).

Thus narratives provide a middle ground between a humanist free-will conception of individual agency and structural over deterministic impact of social structures (Elliot, 2005) in which individuals consciously and unconsciously develop strategies to cope with and challenge socio cultural and economic conditions and discourses.

Narratives are intimately linked to the construction of the self. Ricoeur's concept of 'narrative identity' considers that is through narratives that human beings construct their identity by interpreting themselves (Ricoeur, 1991). In the words of Ezzy "narrative identity provides a subjective sense of self-continuity as it symbolically integrates the events of lived experience in the plot of the story a person tells about his or her life" (2005: 239). Thus, past events are connected to the present and projected into the future through lineal sequences in order to give a coherent meaning to the experiences of the self as well as the circumstances surrounding them (White and Epston, 1990:10). One of the advantages of narratives is that they reflect on the individual's experience but also provide information about the surrounding social power relations.

Other authors have highlighted the importance of narratives for human beings describing them as "homo narrans" (Fisher, 1987; Bruner, 1990) or "self-narrating organism" (Maines 1993: 23) because of our innate inclination to tell and understand stories and make meaning of our experiences. The narrated story represents the construction of the individual's past experiences and anticipated life "linked up in a temporally and thematically consistent pattern" (Fischer, 1982). Under these circumstances, narratives provide a tool with which humans can make sense of their lives, by interpreting their past and imagining their future from their present, mirroring the plot of a story where the beginning, middle and end are coherent (Elliott, 2005, 125). However, Mead (1932/ 1959) reminds us that the past and the future and continually shaped and reshaped, being reinterpreted depending on the stand-point of the present. Therefore, the life story is not a coherent, integrated and linear recount of significant facts and experiences about one's life, but the result of a conversation with participants in which they narrate, reflect and interpret life events from that particular moment in time. This involves an interpretive process of self-making through which individuals highlight significant experiences from the past and infuse them with self-defining meaning in the present by interpreting them as having a causal impact on the construction of the self (Pals, 2006). Noteworthy is that narratives present evaluative frameworks (Gergen, 2005), since when past events are recounted a moral position is taken and the evaluation is supported by different arguments throughout the narratives.

The narration of the self is mediated by dominant discourses. These hegemonic narratives establish the cultural values of every society constituting the reference that subjective narratives

mirror and challenge conscious and unconsciously. Different authors have referred to these hegemonic discourses as "sedimented traditions" (Ricoeur 1985:18), "cultural repertoires" (Somers and Gibson 1994:73) and "historical narrative structures" (Evans and Maines 1995:303). These dominant discourses tend to legitimise structural advantages and disadvantages whilst prescribing roles and behaviours connected to social markers such as age, ethnicity, class and gender. The participants' narratives often reflect these hegemonic narratives – as a result of being embedded in structured social relations – occasionally internalising negative stereotypes linked to their condition as children of migrants, age, class and gender. Yet, these dominant discourses are also questioned and challenged, offering alternative narratives and resistance strategies for the identity construction and identification processes. Yet, the ideologies and social relations and cultural symbols take hold on the individual through a process of 'interpellation', as Althusser named it, where these discourses are internalised and appropriated although often challenged and re-appropriated.

Critical with essentialist approaches of collective identity, the social constructionists represent a postmodern perspective that reject essential categories or core features as a unified characteristic of any member of a group, advocating for an interactional construction of identity which is constantly negotiated and renegotiated through language and social performance (Cerulo, 1997). A representative of the constructionist approach, Goffman (1961/ 1976: 140) identifies two main types of self-story: the success or hero's story, in which the person shows that his or her personal qualities allow him or her to challenge and overcome adverse circumstances; and the sad or victim's story, in which the storyteller is hardly responsible for the bad luck that has shaped his or her destiny. Goffman's observations regarding mental hospitals may be useful for the analysis of participants who are in juvenile detention centres. Goffman argues that "The patient often responds to this situation by attempting to assert a sad tale proving that he is not 'sick,' that the 'little trouble' he did get into was really somebody else's fault" (1976: 141). However, in these institutions, a main aim of the therapy is to help them admit their responsibility, to regain agency and deal with its consequences, or as Goffman puts is: "encourage an interpretation suggesting that it is he himself who is to blame and who must change" (Goffman 1976: 149).

Narratives have been widely used for different purposes such as to explore experiences of events, to empower traditionally marginalised groups, to study the effect of time in people's lives and how their perceptions change, to analyse representations of the self, and to look introspectively into the researcher's changes during the research journey (Elliot, 2005:6). My aim is to explore

the participants' perspectives through an empowering interview in which they co-construct the agenda.

5. 3. The Interviewer's Role

Some researchers consider that the interviewer has a rather passive role when collecting and analysing biographical narratives in order to voice the participants' narratives as reliably as possible. However, following many other authors (Hollway and Jefferson, 200; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Maynard, 1994; Stanley and Wise, 1983; 1993) and taking an interactionist approach, I understand that the role of the interviewer goes beyond collecting interview material, and it is impossible not to condition the circumstances; thus, the interviewer has an active role co-constructing the narratives from the biographical information provided by the participants (Woolgar, 1988).

The interview circumstances, such as being in a juvenile detention centre, in a short remedial vocational education centre class or in a high school waiting room, whether the participants are tired, hungry, cold, bored before or during the interview, have a remarkable impact on their participation and narration of their lives. At the same time, the different degrees of empathy that occur between the interviewer and the participant also affect the length, depth and repertoire of stories. Both macro level factors, such as social status and location, and micro level factors, such as features of talk, my facial and verbal expressions when the participant touches certain topics, shape the interview and the power relations. Therefore, although I tried to give them freedom to recount their life as they wish to, in order to enable their voice, my persona and the circumstances surrounding the interview influence the participants' narratives, their selection of events and the way these experiences are recounted (Presser, 2005).

The distance between the participants and me seems clear regarding ethnicity and in many cases age, gender and social class. However, the distance is much shorter in some cases, not only because of socio-cultural characteristics, but because of my condition of being a migrant, of having gone through some similar experiences and my interest in Ecuadorian customs, food and diasporas. Thus, I aim for empathy at least in the hermeneutic sense (Elliot 2005:200) in which I try to understand the reasons and feelings behind the participants' stories and behaviours, seeking to gather more data to imagine their world and walk in their shoes.

5. 4. Method

The main method of data collection is biographical interviews. As a first step, this research made use of Wengraf's (2001) Biographic-Narrative-Interpretative Method (BNIM). This method follows Schütze's open narrative, combining it with Oevermann's interpretative method based

on objective hermeneutic micro analysis. It also takes into account Fischer's theory of temporality interpreted by Rosenthal and other authors associated to the Berlin Quatext group (Wengraf, 2001).

However, I made a flexible use of some of his methods, since this BNIM were originally designed to interview survivors of the Holocaust and would not lend itself easily to narratives of adolescents. Likewise, the historical context of the research participants was not considered an essential point that would mark their biographies, unlike for the Holocaust survivors. Nevertheless, the research follows the aim to clarify evolving situations, perceptions and self representations by exploring situated subjectivities (Wengraf, 2001), that is, by analysing the participants' interpretations and constructions of the social world. These interpretations reflect both the participant's individual concerns, but also cultural and social presuppositions, processes and discourses.

All the interviews consisted of face to face individual interviews, except for one in which during the second round I interviewed one of the participants together with his girlfriend. Starting the first round of interviews by introducing myself, the project, and following the procedures for the informed consent, so I could record the interviews and use the data following the ethical concerns explained in another section. Once they consented I asked the question: "Could you tell me all your experiences related to school from the first moment you remember to this day?" This question was intended to elicit the participant's life story as he or she decided to tell it. Once they had finished answering that question, follow up questions were asked for clarification and to further elicit narratives.

As well as biographical interviews, some socio-cultural background questions were asked such as:

- Name (real name does not appear in research)
- Age
- Sex
- Nationality
- Education level
- Country of birth
- When did you arrive to Spain?
- Mother's country of birth, Nationality, Work permit
- Father's country of birth, Nationality, Work permit
- Who lives in your house?

- Do you share your bedroom? If yes, with how many people?
- Does your father work? What does he do?
- Does your mother work? What does she do?
- What is your mother's education level?
- What is your father's education level?
- Who helps you with your homework?
- How often do you talk to friends or family in Ecuador?
- What do you usually do at the weekend?

Selected information provided by these questions was classified in the table 7. Also, primary data was also collected through a series of semi structured interviews with research participants in order to identify specific issues of comparison related to aspirations, expectations and perspective of well-being. These semi-structure questions followed the guideline below:

- How would you describe yourself?
- How would you describe your friends?
- How would you describe your family?
- What is for you quality of life?
- What kind of life would you like to live in the future?
- What kind of barriers do you think exist to live that kind of life?
- What role do you think education has to help you get that type of life?
- What other things may help you get that type of life?

The first instance of the interview process following the BNIM focuses on the elicitation of what has been called whole stories of the life or part of the life. The second instance or sub-section consists on the elicitation of detailed particular incident narratives (known as PINs) arising from or lurking behind events, generalisations and feelings mentioned in the in the whole story (Wengraf, 2001). The second instance, focusing on particular incident narratives, provides accounts which often encapsulate attitudes and ways of seeing the world and orientations which go beyond those referred in the first instance during the whole story.

Yet, during the interviews not only narratives of past experiences were elicited, as it is mainly the case for BNIM, but also reflections about the present and aspirations and expectations about the future. The focus on the present and the future was particularly important to make a comparison between the two rounds of interviews since most of the participants were experiencing a significant stage of their lives, be it finishing a sentence in a juvenile detention

institution with the prospect of a probation or a change into an adult prison, be it completing a short vocational remedy course with an internship at the end, be it finishing the last year of compulsory education aiming at progressing to high school or finishing the last year of high school before applying to university.

5. 5. Data Collection Methods and Sampling

The sampling followed an *a priori* taxonomy especially created for this research, aiming to represent young people of Ecuadorian background in different situations of vulnerability and social exclusion: being enrolled at high school, having drop-out compulsory education but being enrolled in a short vocational remedial program, or serving sentences in young offenders' institutions. The access to informants was purposive, through key informants or gatekeepers. The first stage entailed a round of expert interviews that sought to situate the context of the research. The second stage consisted of biographical interviews with young people of Ecuadorian background. These interviews had an exploratory character, with a general open question to allow individuals interpretation of the events, subjectivity and reflectivity. They consisted of guided conversations, open ended questions, with probes and follow-up questions which are flexible to meanings that emerge from the interview process.

All the participants resided in Madrid. This city was chosen because of being the Spanish region with strongest Ecuadorian migrant concentration: 68.6% of the total Ecuadorian migrant population in Spain in 1998 and 33% in 2006; compared to Barcelona, the second preferred region, representing 12% in 1998 and 16.9% in 2006. (IOE, 2007: 19). The ten experts comprise both Ecuadorian and Spanish teachers, civil association activists, cultural mediators, young offenders' institution' staff and migration researchers. The participants are Ecuadorian boys and girls from 14 to 20 years old, either enrolled at secondary education level in public secondary schools, vocational training and further education centres or are serving sentences in young offenders' institutions (see table 7).

Pseudonym (date of interview) Institution	Age	Year of arrival	Sex	Education	Mother's education	Mother's job	Father's education	Father's job	Family type	Migration
Table 7. Young people interviewed for the research										
Bartolo (25/2/11) (24/11/11) Detention	20	2002 (11 y.o.)	M	1st Bachillerato (Sixth form)	2nd ESO	Care (old people's home)	Doesn't know	Doesn't know	Dead father Family separated before New partner	Mother migrate before He stayed with father's family
Manuel (25/2/11) Detention	18	2002 (9 y.o.)	M	1st Adult Education (ESO) (Middle school)	ESO	Cook	Doesn't know	Doesn't know	Doesn't know father	Mother migrated before
Alvaro (28/2/11) (16/1/12) High school	15	2002 (6 y.o.)	M	4th ESO (Middle school)	University (?)	-	University (?)	-	Parents together	
Jennifer (28/2/11) (16/1/12) High school	17	2008 (14 y.o.)	F	4th ESO (Middle school)	VET	Seamstress	VET	Driver	Parents together	
Alberto (1/3/11) (16/1/12) High school	17	2001 (7 y.o.)	M	1st Bachillerato (Sixth form)	Bachillerato	In a Firm	University	Builder	Parents together Father unemployed	
Alicia (1/3/11) (16/1/12) High school	16	2006 (12 y.o.)	F	1st Bachillerato (Sixth form)	Basic	Cleaner	Basic	Builder	Parents together	Separation for 2 years She and her brother stayed with grandmother and then godmother
Felipe (1/3/11) (16/1/12) High school	18	2002 (9 y.o)	M	1st Bachillerato (Sixth form)	University	Cleaner	Doesn't know	Doesn't know		
Roberto (29/4/11) (25/11/11) Detention	18	1999 (6 y.o.)	M	ESO (Middle school)	Basic	Cleaner	Basic	Taxi driver (Ecuador)	Separated Restructured family with Spanish partner Father bad	Stayed with grandparents in Loja His brothers went to Quito

									treatments	Child labour
Gerardo (3/5/11) VET centre	17	1997 (3 y.o.) [20052007]	M	4th ESO (Middle school) PCPI (Short VET)	Bachillerato	Waitress	University	Ambulance driver (Ecuador)		
Juan (3/5/11) (16/2/12) VET centre	18	2000 /2001 (7 y.o.)	M	3rd ESO (Middle school) PCPI (Short VET)	ESO	Cleaner	ESO	Plater	Parents together Last son of a restructured family, six siblings (2 half-siblings)	Parents migrated he stayed with older brothers
Jose (3/5/11) (16/2/12) VET centre	16	2001 (6 y.o.)	M	3rd ESO (Middle school) PCPI (Short VET)	ESO	Care (old people's homes)	Bachillerato	Waiter	Parents separated Very young mother Never lived with her Younger half-brothers and sisters from both parents	He stayed with his grandmother, migrated with her and uncle and still lives with them
Charlie (3/5/11) (28/11/11) VET centre	17	2001/2002 (7 y.o.)	M	4th ESO (Middle school) PCPI (Short VET)	Bachillerato	Waitress	Doesn't know	Owner of a swimming pool firm and restaurant (Ecuador)	Separated mother in Spain, father in Ecuador	Mother migrated in 1999/ 2000 then sister and then him in 2002 He stayed with father
Carlos (3/5/11) (28/11/11) VET centre	17	2003 (9 y.o.)	M	1st ESO (Middle school) PCPI (Short VET)	Basic	No	Basic	Ice-cream seller (Ecuador)	Mother in Spain, father in Ecuador with brother	The whole family migrated together, father, mother, brother and him Father and brother returned
Javier (3/5/11) (12/1/12) Detention	19	2003 (12 y.o.)	M	3rd ESO (Middle school)	ESO	Cleaner	ESO	Marble mason (Ecuador)	Separated mother in Spain, father in Ecuador	Parents migrated first Then he and his sister Father returned (after 1 year)
Melanie (3/5/11) (24/11/11) Detention	16	2001 (6 y.o.)	F	1st ESO (Middle school) 4th CREI (Remedial course)	Basic	Head waitress	Basic	Unemployed, before in a pizza bar	Separated	Parents migrated first She came with younger sister She stayed with her aunt and also her grandmother for one year

This research used a combination of purposive and convenience sampling. The first stage involved the theoretical consideration of young vulnerable people in relation to migration. The researcher's knowledge and skills in Spanish language twined with the lack of these abilities in the German context led to settle the field work in Madrid, the researcher's hometown. The increasing migration flows from Latin America, particularly from Ecuador, worked very well with the research gap in the literature and the researcher's personal interest about the topic.

A preliminary theoretical typology of vulnerability resolved that the data collection would take place in three main institutions: juvenile detention centres, vocational education centres and high schools. The selection of these three institutions intended to represent different degrees of vulnerability concerning success in education, social integration and access to opportunities. Then, this selection allows studying the effect of the intersections of ethnicity, class and gender in shaping the participants' educational journeys and career expectations.

Writing to the coordinators, directors, principals, Ecuadorian civil society organisations as well as Ecuadorian friends and acquaintances was the first step to gain access to the research participants. Expert interviews were conducted to set the context and get a closer relationship with gatekeepers. After getting the permission, juvenile detention centres and vocational education and trainning centres directors and high school principals acted as gatekeepers facilitating access to the young participants.

At the end February, beginning of March 2011 I conducted pilot interviews with experts, or front line professionals, to situate the context of my research. The experts comprised both Ecuadorian and Spanish teachers, civil association activists, cultural mediators, young offenders' institutions' staff and migration researchers. I also interviewed 7 young people of Ecuadorian background, 2 females and 5 males. At the end of April beginning of March 2011, I interviewed another 8 young participants. After the initial stage of evaluation of the transcripts, the last week of November 2011 I re-interviewed 5 of the 15 young participants, one of the young offenders institution centre director and a probation officer assigned to one of the young participants. In January 2012 I re-interviewed another 6 young people involved in the first round of interviews and 2 more in February 2012. (See table 7 for dates). The time between the two rounds of interviews had to be shortened due to the imminent completion of the judicial sentence of some of the participants as well as the intention of some others to return to Ecuador and the consequent fear of losing track of them. Unfortunately, that was the case with two of the participants: Manuel, who had finished his sentence and probation period before I could interview him a second time and Gerardo who drop out school.

Earlier drafts of the research project aimed at studying selected young people, second generation of Ecuadorian background in Madrid. However, the scoping exercise, backed by the literature review, confirms that the second generation, understood as Ecuadorian immigrant's children born in Spain, is only starting and most of them are below the age of 15 which was the cutting point of the sampling. Thus, the terminology changed and the participants were referred to as young people of Ecuadorian background.[14] All the 15 young participants were born in Ecuador, aged between 15 and 21 years old at the beginning of the research. There are 3 female and 13 male participants. In terms of institutions, 5 were studying in high school, 5 were pursuing a vocational course and 5 were detained at the beginning of the research. Although gender characteristics were relevant for the research, having parity of sex was not the point, since the literature shows that young males of immigrant background are more likely than their female counterparts to drop-out school, belong to gangs and get involved in criminal activities. Thus, the research did not aim to compare the boys and girls in the sample, but the different types of masculinities and femininities described and displayed.

5. 6. Data Analysis

The verbatim transcripts and field notes accumulated during the biographical interviews are the raw data to be analysed. The participants' particular terms or words were essential to preserve their conceptualisation of the world and to understand their perspectives. The participants are viewed as mean makers; the analysis seeks to derive their interpretations of the social world, studying the perspectives, practices, narratives and counter-narratives explicit and implicit in the data collected during the interviews. Both the grand narrative of their life and the little narratives that arise from particular experiences reflect the situated subjectivity of the participant embedded in a cultural and social mesh constructed by hegemonic discourses often contradicting each other.

 Specialised software such as Atlas TI and NVIVO have been used to analyse the qualitative data collected during the interviews. The analysis of the data is partly based on Glaser and Strauss grounded theory, intending to generate theory through 'joint collection, coding, and analysis of data' (1965: 43). Thus, the data obtained through biographical interviews is coded through an inductive, comparative, and interactive approach inquiring about multiple definitions of well-being and experiences of ethnicity, class and gender in order to find latent patterns.

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[14] Some authors (Oropesa and Landale, 1997; Rumbaut, 2006; Portes, Aparicio, Haller, 2009) would consider the research participants as second generation.

At the first stage, the interpretation and coding of the transcripts followed discussion groups with other Ph.D. students which provided different perspectives and understanding of the data generating diverse hypothesis for interpretation, following Rosenthal's (1993) and Wengraf's (2001) methodology. At a second stage, the interpretation and coding of the transcripts were mainly done individually generating memos that summarise the situation, codes that allow for comparisons and analysis to afterwards contrasting them with the theoretical framework aiming at generating theory.

During the first stage, a line-by-line open coding describing ideas and understanding from the data. This open coding intended to develop categories of information, anchors that would allow the key points of the data to be gathered. It was then followed by an axial coding that interconnected categories, i.e., group concepts that seem to relate to the same phenomena; after polishing the codes used in the first instance so that they could apply to different participants allowing for comparison, i.e., converting them into concepts that allowed the data to be grouped. The third step was the selective coding, in order to build a story that connects categories providing a discursive set of theoretical propositions and explanations (Strauss and Corbin, 2008). During all this process memos were written following a process of constant comparison developing possible hypothesis, explanations and theories. "Memos are the theorizing write-up of ideas about substantive codes and their theoretically coded relationships as they emerge during coding, collecting and analyzing data, and during memoing" (Glaser 1998: 67). The figure 2 is an illustration of the codes used for the analysis generated by NVIVO, in which the number in brackets represents the amount of times that that code was used, the size of the code helps visualise the rate of appearance.

Secondly, the research questions also guided the analysis, by selecting the data that directly referred to them:

- How do young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain experience ethnicity, class and gender in their social interactions?

- What is the role of social conversion factors in enhancing the capabilities of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?

- What mechanism do young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain develop to increase their well-being?

- What factors contribute to upward and downward integration of young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain?

These two stages of analysis follow the grounded theory approach and to some extent BNIM, however, they do not overshadow the constant process of analysis that takes place from the first interview, writing some field notes afterwards and trying to address any shortcomings for the following interview, to the main stage of analysis in front of the computer designing the second round of interview, the final analysis, coding and categorising all interviews in order to produce hypothesis and theories that are finally crystallised in the process of writing articles and the Ph.D thesis and that will probably not end there, but hopefully in further research.

The data is supported by some quantitative data analysis and an extensive review of the literature on migration, intersectionality and capabilities. The triangulation of qualitative primary data collection with quantitative and secondary data analysis and literature review is intended to make the research valid and reliable for the academic world. (Brannen, 1992; Bell, 1993; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

The biographical data is intended to construct the participants' educational journeys and career aspirations. The biographical interviews seek to study their interpretations of their educational experiences and the socio cultural life conditions which they identified as influencing those experiences.

The unit of analysis in this study is the life course as represented in their biographical narratives. The analytical concern in the analysis and reporting of the findings is to build on and extend the informants' own interpretations of their life experiences communicated during interviews.

Figure 1 Cloud view of codes

Young people of Ecuadorian background expectations, aspirations and perspectives of wellbeing]

Codes Edit Miscellaneous Output View

Search (Name)

same high school {1-0}   role models {1-0}   rigid {1-0}   risk behaviour {1-0}   school first link in the integration chain {1-0}   sciences vs arts {1-0}   school {1-0}   same language {1-0}
same school not changing {1-0}   Quiet life {1-0}   rape {1-0}   qualifications {1-0}   publicity {1-0}   punctuality {1-0}   reputation {1-0}   rights {1-0}   renting sport grounds {1-0}
reflexivity {1-0}   relatives in prison {1-0}   Ecuador crisis {1-0}   bad behaviour {1-0}   betting {1-0}   abstraction {1-0}   condemnation {1-0}   adaptive preferences {1-0}
babysitting {1-0}   culture wealth {1-0}   climate {1-0}   absent parents {1-0}   Bad teacher {1-0}   Bad reputation {1-0}   Bad education model {1-0}   Bad experience {1-0}
Ambition {1-0}   average {1-0}   can't dance in prison {1-0}   conversion factors {1-0}   convalidation of degree {1-0}   Crisis in Latin America {1-0}   criminality {1-0}   distractions {1-0}
Better education {1-0}   blame on parents {1-0}   diversity in Ecuador {1-0}   boredom {1-0}   diversity facilitator {1-0}   Can't play football {1-0}   crowded houses {1-0}
CSO president {1-0}   Abortion {1-0}   Being happy {1-0}   1.5 generation end {1-0}   child centred pedagogy {1-0}   early start in school {1-0}   1.75 generation {1-0}
bad use of punishments and rewards {1-0}   celebration {1-0}   Changing houses {1-0}   desperate situation {1-0}   depressing {1-0}   deconstruction and reconstruction {1-0}
appearance {1-0}   animals {1-0}   Boys doing worse {1-0}   Choice {1-0}   difference between Latin Kings in Ecuador and Spain {1-0}   catch up programs (Maths and Spanish) {1-0}
differences among Ecuadorians, Colombian, Dominicans in terms of integration {1-0}   2001 {1-0}   better living conditions {1-0}   better than Morrocans {1-0}
different career than parents' {1-0}   housing segregation by ethnicity {2-0}   split family {2-0}   death {2-0}   insecurity {2-0}   procrastination {2-0}   social services in Ecuador {2-0}
army {2-0}   image {2-0}   instability {2-0}   Spanish nationality {2-0}   integration failure {2-0}   special needs {2-0}   cultural capital {2-0}   curriculum {2-0}
Interviewer's challenge {2-0}   Optimist {2-0}   interview {2-0}   Not thinking {2-0}   being lost {2-0}   Migrant associations {2-0}   root of the problem {2-0}
Migration misconception {2-0}   manipulation {2-0}   Same race {2-0}   microagressions {2-0}   marginality {2-0}   child abusing parents {2-0}
changes in parents after reunification {2-0}   rejection {2-0}   changes in Ecuador {2-0}   Moving houses {2-0}   repression {2-0}   more ecuadorians getting to bachillerato {2-0}
Mother cleaning {2-0}   Beginning is difficult {2-0}   lack of social competences {2-0}   assimilation {2-0}   language {2-0}   contradiction {2-0}   lack of integration {2-0}
social pressure {2-0}   lack of qualifications {2-0}   social mobility {2-0}   No Spanish friends {2-0}   self concept {2-0}   conflict resolution {2-0}   Living with mother {2-0}
public space {2-0}   sharing room {2-0}   Late incorporation to high school {2-0}   sensitivity towards immigrant cultures {2-0}   sexism {2-0}   play {2-0}   Ecuadorian girlfriend {2-0}
disabilities {2-0}   terminology {2-0}   young people {2-0}   overrepresentation in prison {2-0}   dignity {2-0}   ages {2-0}   values {2-0}   Young offenders institution coordinator {2-0}
working without compulsory education {2-0}   1.25 generation {2-0}   Ecuadorian vs Spanish teachers {2-0}   teacher training {2-0}   symptoms not root of the problem {2-0}
future {2-0}   alternative {2-0}   hard to migrate {2-0}   using people {2-0}   Didn't know his father {2-0}   anti social behaviour {2-0}   didn't like school {2-0}   helping people {2-0}
expensives goods {2-0}   Father's idea to migrate {2-0}   timetable {2-0}   personal factors {2-0}   etnocentrism {2-0}   Age of parent's migration {2-0}   physical punishment {2-0}
group belonging {2-0}   time bomb {2-0}   voice {2-0}   Whole family migrated together {2-0}   American dream {2-0}   physical appearance {3-0}   working class {3-0}
Missing parents {3-0}   Physical punishment {3-0}   short term {3-0}   adoption {3-0}   autonomy {3-0}   Latin American students {3-0}   Migrating with brother {3-0}   luck {3-0}
Patrialchal culture {3-0}   vocabulary {3-0}   extra help {3-0}   bad teacher {3-0}   public transport {3-0}   domestic violence {3-0}   masculity {3-0}   migration chain {3-0}
empowerment {3-0}   No problems {3-0}   baby as barrier to study {3-0}   family reunification {3-0}   Mismatch education and job {3-0}   escaping jail {3-0}
family's involvement in their children's education {3-0}   personal will {3-0}   Doing nothing {3-0}   no work habit {3-0}   suffering {3-0}   Number of Ecuadorians in Spain {3-0}
youth {3-0}   progressing courses by law {3-0}   Ecuadorian students {3-0}   bureaucracy {3-0}   Spaniards {3-0}   alienation {3-0}   Good explanations {3-0}
multicultural education {3-0}   hard to make friends {3-0}   home {3-0}   Ecuador is better {3-0}   stereotypes {3-0}   individuality {3-0}   hard to adapt {3-0}   brainwashing {3-0}
revenge {3-0}   Asked if she wanted to migrate {3-0}   lack of ideals {3-0}   Feeling lonely {3-0}   at risk {3-0}   small house {3-0}   feeling guilty {3-0}   Father wants to stay {3-0}
lack of future {3-0}   reflexion {3-0}   negative role models {3-0}   teachers {3-0}   social services {3-0}   Not living with parents {3-0}   music {4-0}   Changing schools {4-0}
work as barrier to study {4-0}   National anthem {4-0}   weapons {4-0}   My country, cutoms, etc {4-0}   nazis {4-0}   working for free {4-0}   equality {4-0}   being known {4-0}
Ecuador vs Spain poverty {4-0}   Relatives who have gone to university {4-0}   Ecuadorian {4-0}   aggressivity {4-0}   forced to work {4-0}   judging {4-0}   technology {4-0}
authority {4-0}   fashion {4-0}   lack of interest {4-0}   social exclusion {4-0}   apathy {4-0}   hybrid identity {4-0}   high school teacher {4-0}   house {4-0}   Spanish school is better {4-0}
pregnancy {4-0}   in school but not paying attention {4-0}   institutions {4-0}   failing PCPI {4-0}   composition of the class {4-0}   no friends {4-0}
Comfort with other Ecuadorian classmates {4-0}   media {4-0}   expectations {4-0}   Luck to get your plan of life {4-0}   second class citizen {4-0}   lazy {4-0}   confusion {4-0}
Parents' working hours {4-0}   capability deprivation {4-0}   University, curiosity {4-0}   University being difficult {4-0}   Bullying {5-0}   overprotection {5-0}   Being someone in life {5-0}
being successful {5-0}   Being Spanish {5-0}   car {5-0}   lack of discipline {5-0}   crime {5-0}   Distrust {5-0}   lack of concentration {5-0}   sibblings {5-0}   Travelling {5-0}   tools {5-0}
sleep {5-0}   Debts {5-0}   dancing {5-0}   stop and seach {5-0}   Human capital not being absorbed {5-0}   internet {5-0}   internship {5-0}   sports {5-0}   Spanish friends {5-0}
lawyer {5-0}   child labour {5-0}   barrier {5-0}   rules {5-0}   expenses {5-0}   Changing houses {5-0}   motivation {5-0}   migration {5-0}   rupture {5-0}   conflict {5-0}
doesn't like working {5-0}   abuse {5-0}   Accent {5-0}   streaming {6-0}   empathy {6-0}   generational dissonance {6-0}   trying to please interviewer {6-0}   experience {6-0}
failing subjects {6-0}   good behaviour {6-0}   migrants {6-0}   Living far away {6-0}   self esteem {6-0}   Migrating to other countries {6-0}   religion {6-0}   Remittances {6-0}
resistance mechanism {6-0}   jealousy {6-0}   high school {6-0}   Good friends vs bad friends {6-0}   Arriving in Spain {6-0}   lack of papers {6-0}   shame {6-0}   Street {7-0}
pessimistic {7-0}   respect {7-0}   false equality {7-0}   integration failure from the Spanish society {7-0}   consumerism {7-0}   missed opportunities {7-0}

659 Codes   [1] Violence   All   Grounded - Number of reference

Code Manager [HU: Young people of Ecuadorian background expectations, aspirations and perspectives of wellbeing]

Codes Edit Miscellaneous Output View

Search (Name)

pessimistic {7-0}   respect {7-0}   false equality {7-0}   integration failure from the Spanish society {7-0}   consumerism {7-0}   missed opportunities {7-0}
extremes {7-0}   language problems {7-0}   father's decision {7-0}   Ecuadorian friends {7-0}   NEET {7-0}   forming a family {7-0}   changes {7-0}   doing well {7-0}
Others {7-0}   Status {8-0}   Changing houses before migration {8-0}   Good teacher {8-0}   mother head of family {8-0}   gender violence {8-0}
Friends who drop out {8-0}   girls doing better {8-0}   Fast pace {8-0}   Mother and father disagreement on migration {8-0}   love {8-0}   same as Spanish students {8-0}
languages {8-0}   work in Ecuador {8-0}   education {8-0}   education failure {8-0}   Blame {8-0}   probation {8-0}   victim becomes victimiser {8-0}
Family description {8-0}   Being torn {8-0}   lack of knowledge about student's family situation {8-0}   teachers respect {9-0}   School unsafe place {9-0}
Lack of belonging {9-0}   Male {9-0}   half-brothers and sisters {9-0}   Being accepted {9-0}   Violence in Ecuador {9-0}   practical reason {9-0}   Victime narrative {9-0}
Being rude to teachers {9-0}   Family in Spain {9-0}   Education, intrinsic value {9-0}   economic problems {9-0}   we are your family {9-0}   Exploitation {9-0}
parents {9-0}   Doesn't remember Ecuador {9-0}   Career expectation {9-0}   Questioning the interview {9-0}   diversity {9-0}   question about research {9-0}
Being expelled {9-0}   feeling sad {9-0}   exams {10-0}   ghetto {10-0}   studying in prison {10-0}   double nationality {10-0}   Latin gangs colours, clothes {10-0}
Legal vs illegal {10-0}   Doesn't understand {10-0}   having fun {10-0}   family problems {10-0}   group mentality {10-0}   Trusting atmosphere {10-0}   control {10-0}
Contact with Ecuador {10-0}   lack of reflexivity {10-0}   addressing researcher's expectations {10-0}   lack of references {10-0}   Missing Ecuador {10-0}
bad treatments {10-0}   mother's decision to migrate {10-0}   retaking course {10-0}   Capability for work {11-0}   Education as the basis to get your plan of life {11-0}
Being jailed {11-0}   time {11-0}   neighbourhoods {11-0}   leisure {11-0}   Outsider {11-0}   Spain being better {11-0}   lies {11-0}   pcpi {11-0}   regret {12-0}
school failure {12-0}   cultural shock {12-0}   Political discourse {12-0}   Extended family {12-0}   question about researcher {12-0}   feeling lonely {12-0}
cultural differences {13-0}   Parents' education level {13-0}   nationalities {13-0}   alcohol {13-0}   Problems {13-0}   No problem {13-0}   Childhood {13-0}
Leaving a gang {13-0}   role model {13-0}   School changes {14-0}   Clothes {14-0}   parties {14-0}   Solidarity {14-0}   living with extended family {14-0}
poverty {14-0}   bad companies {14-0}   Dropping out {14-0}   1.5 generation {14-0}   Parents' expectations {15-0}   quality of life {15-0}
migration decision {15-0}   Personal description {15-0}   social class {15-0}   Protection {16-0}   opportunities {16-0}   Parents' new partners {16-0}
consequences {16-0}   lack of resources {16-0}   curricular gap {16-0}   Pride {16-0}   Being Ecuadorian {17-0}   teacher's implication {17-0}
restructured family {17-0}   work {18-0}   frustration {18-0}   parent's ocupations {18-0}   Maturity {18-0}   Latin friends {18-0}   Care {18-0}
lack of voice {18-0}   Hero narrative {18-0}   easy money {19-0}   menial jobs {19-0}   capabilities {20-0}   Effort {20-0}   basic needs {21-0}
Visiting Ecuador {21-0}   identity {21-0}   Lack of justice {21-0}   responsibility {21-0}   adolescence {21-0}   Anti immigration attitude {21-0}
Hierarchy {22-0}   second generation {22-0}   football {22-0}   Sidetracked {23-0}   university {24-0}   integration {24-0}
siblings {24-0}   Joining a Latin gang {24-0}   family separation {25-0}   Unemployment {25-0}
Parents' effort to give a better life {25-0}   Relation with parents {25-0}   Crisis {25-0}   Ecuador {25-0}   Long working hours {26-0}
studying {26-0}   doing well in school {26-0}   independence {26-0}   Drugs {26-0}   father {27-0}   Support {27-0}   girls {27-0}
Link school and career {28-0}   absenteeism {28-0}   job {28-0}   Lack of motivation {28-0}   Lack of affection {30-0}
Becoming a parent {31-0}   School is difficult {31-0}   peer pressure {32-0}   Discrimination {34-0}
Compensatory program {36-0}   Fear {37-0}   rehabilitation {37-0}   prison {38-0}   Adaptation {39-0}
Friends {43-0}   Police {43-0}   criminal career {44-0}   freedom {45-0}   Need to change {45-0}
age {47-0}   Money {48-0}   Returning to Ecuador {49-0}   Family {49-0}
boyfriend / girlfriend {65-0}   Aspirations {65-0}   mother {71-0}
Gender {101-0}   Latin gangs {102-0}   Violence {127-0}

659 Codes   [1] Violence   All   Grounded - Number of reference

5. 7. Transcription

The participants' interviews are transcribed in the language that they were produced, i.e., Spanish. The transcription tries to be as detailed as possible, in order to give a faithful account of the conversation. However, since the analysis is not based on linguistic, it does not follow rigorously the ethnomethodology transcription procedure developed by Gail Jefferson.

There are two main trends for transcription. Firstly, the naturalised form, that intends to reproduce in verbatim how the speech takes place, including verbal and non-verbal utterances, such as pauses, interruptions, simultaneous talk, stutters, repetitions, stress in certain words or syllables, etc. Secondly, the denaturalised form, in which these non-verbal utterances are removed from the transcription, in order to focus more on the content rather than the form in which was said (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason, 2005). Both trends have pros and cons, for instance, the naturalised transcription might described more faithfully the development of the interview, the role of the interviewer, as well as moments of reflection, of higher and lower intensity, external factors, etc. However, it may also add to confusion, distracting the reader from the content of the interview and leading to misunderstanding of certain non-verbal utterances difficult to transcribe (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason, 2005). Likewise, although a naturalised transcription may seem like a more realistic description, it is also biased, choosing to describe some utterances and behaviours, but not others such as accent (Ochs, 1979).

The choice of transcription method should be determined by the research aims and questions. Thus, the first interviews have been transcribed in a naturalised manner, including ethnographic notes. Nevertheless the purpose of this detailed transcription is to facilitate the understanding of the participant's perspective as well as reflect on possible mistakes and the impact of my performance as interviewer. Due to the fact that my academic work is based and produced mainly in and for an international context and audience; I have translated many of the interviews into English. Firstly, in order to understand and learn from my eventual mistakes, but mainly to discuss possible interpretations with my supervision panel as well as other colleagues. All the extracts chosen to exemplify analysis in the thesis, papers and conferences, have been translated into English (unless another language was more suitable). Yet it is a very complex procedure in which many meanings are lost in translation and my own interpretation bias may well influence certain translations as opposed to others. Likewise, in the interest of clarity, I do not differentiate between Ecuadorian, Castilian, Latino accents or idioms and permutations of these. However I try to reflect, wherever is significant for the analysis, these distinctions as well as slang versus more formal codes.

5. 8. Narrative Analysis

According to Elliot's (2005) typology one can differentiate three main methods for narrative analysis, depending on whether their main focus is on content, on the structure or the performance of the narrative. This typology is based on Mishler's (1995) differentiation of analysis approaches based on the different functions of language: meaning, structure, and interactional context. (Elliot, 2005: 38). Lieblich et al. (1998) offers a binary distinction based on the form and the content of the narrative.

In this research it seems sensible to first look at the content, at the description of the main stories elicited during individual interviews. Doing this, a holistic account of that life story can be gained, where social conditions have an impact on individual choices and trajectories. Following Shaw, who studied delinquents' stories, the individual own story reveals his or her point of view, the social and cultural situation to which the individual's behaviour is responsive, and the sequence of past experiences and situations in the life of the participant (Shaw, 1966: 3). Since the main aim of this research is to understand the participants' perspectives on well-being, it seems that the analysis should scrutinise the participant's own accounts in search for clues to their personal values and beliefs, their feelings and attitudes and their evaluation of their social settings as well as their behaviour.

Nevertheless, the form that the narratives take also provides a rich account of how the narrator chooses to interpret the told events (Elliot, 2005: 43). Thus, the way in which the story is told sheds light on the understanding or *Verstehen* that the hermeneutic approach pursues (Elliot, 2005; Labov and Waletzky, 1967, Riessman, 1993). Labov and Walettzky's (1967) structural model of narrative form based on: abstract or summary of the event, orientation about the time, place, etc. of setting, complicating action or what actually happened and what follows, evaluation or what the narrator thinks of it, resolution or how it ended and coda or return to the present or universal statement (Elliot, 2005: 42) may help systematise the analysis of individual narratives. However, this structural model might be too rigid and does not adapt well to this research participants' stories, which often omit many of these elements while offering others more difficult to define.

A preliminary reading of the transcripts points at victims and heroes stories, linked to cultural discourses of good and evil, desert and luck. Some of these hegemonic discourses are closely linked to institutional discourses of juvenile detention centres and formal education institutions (Gubrium and Holstein, 1998). Lieblich et al (1998) differentiate between progressive narratives, ie., those where the plot of the story develops towards progress, achievement, success; and regressive narratives, i.e., where the plot refers to a steady or dramatic deterioration, decline or

fall. The importance of the narrative in this sense is about its 'configurational' as well as its episodic or chronological dimension in its completeness (Ricoeur , 1981). Thus, although they are personal narratives, they are heavily influenced by cultural discourses, social narratives already available to make sense of one's experiences. (Bruner, 1987; Ezzy, 1997; Elliot, 2005).

5. 9. Ethics

Ethic considerations:

- No harm to participants,
    - Loss of self-esteem, stress, etc.
    - Confidentiality
- Informed consent: form
- No invasion of privacy
    - they can refuse to answer whatever question on whatever grounds
    - anonymity, confidentiality
    - no sharing of records, data
- No deception
- Validation, check accuracy of data
    - with participants
    - different data sources

Following ethics guidelines such as those provided by the British Sociological Association (BSA's) I first informed the gatekeepers about the research, who informed potential participants and recruited volunteers. I sent an informed consent form before my arrival and then before the start of the interview I went through each of the points with every participant explaining all the details in a simple language, encouraging them to ask questions and doubts.

During the biographical interviews, many sensitive topics are raised which need to be taken into consideration when preparing, conducting and handling data collected during the interviews. Eliciting sensitive issues may cause distress and result in unpleasant, disturbing and painful experiences mainly for the participant but also for the researcher. Narrative interviewing can be seen as a similar experience to "opening Pandora's box" (Lieblich, 1996) where one can hardly predict what would happen. One of the main ethical considerations that guided the research was

the need to establish a safe space in which to talk and reassure the participant about the confidentiality and anonymity (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Elliot, 2005). The safe space was reinforced by careful listening and empathetic support when upsetting experiences were recounted. Many authors have argued that biographical narratives have a therapy role for many participants that feel that they would tell as much as they feel the researcher is willing to listen (Lieblich, 1996; Elliot, 2005). I tried my best to be a good listener and to then steer the conversation to a more neutral or pleasant topic before ending the interview to avoid traumatic or disempowering experiences (Riddell, 189:90). Before each interview I made sure I had access to or the telephone number of professionals who could help in case of crisis and I offered to keep in touch after the interview had finished by giving them my telephone number or e-mail address (Oakley, 1981)

When working with vulnerable informants, one must take into account that they might be more open because of their social powerlessness, lack of social participation and may reveal more than they intended to (Riddell, 1989: 84 and Finch, 1986). In order to redress the power balance before (during the informed consent), during and after the interview I reminded them that they were entitled to ask me to delete parts of the conversation, for instance when they disclose more private or painful experiences or statements (Burgess, 1989). Because of the open question and the participant's control to steer the interview in terms of the story told and the length of it, biographical narrative let informants have more control than other quantitative and qualitative data collection methods (Ochberg, 1996). This approach was essential for a research which sees the participants as co-producers of knowledge rather than as object of study.

Chapter 6: The Different Shades of Vulnerability

The uncanny frailty of human bonds, the feeling of insecurity that frailty inspires, and the conflicting desires that feeling prompts to tighten the bonds yet keep them loose.

— Zygmunt Bauman (2003: viii)

6. 1. 1. Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a dynamic concept, intimately connected to the concept of risk; a vulnerable person is a person at risk of seeing her standard of living worsened. According to Dubois and Rousseau (2008), vulnerability is directly proportional to risk – as one increases so does the other – and it is inversely proportional to capabilities – as capability increases, vulnerability decreases. In this sense, vulnerability is the possibility for an individual to experience a decline in well-being, which in turn lowers the capability to cope with additional shocks and risks.

Vulnerability is a universal human characteristic rooted in our dependency on others, on the frailty of the human body and the changing nature of social institutions (Turner, 2003; Nussbaum, 2003 and 2006). Yet vulnerability shifts, it increases and decreases over time in the life of the individual, as a result of individual, social and environmental factors. The creation of social institutions such a the family, schools, health system, Law, welfare state, churches, among others, stem from the universal, dynamic and transient vulnerable nature of human beings and the need to control and mitigate its negative manifestations.

High levels of vulnerability create vicious cycles; vulnerable people tend to be disadvantaged in more than one dimension related to their capabilities. Likewise vulnerabilities are interconnected; "vulnerabilities may combine and compound their effects on well-being" (Barrientos, 2007: 15). Both capabilities and vulnerability of individuals "are deeply influenced by factors ranging from the prospects of earning a living, to the social and psychological effects of deprivation and exclusion. These include people's basic needs, employment at reasonable wages and health and education facilities" (Moser, 1998: 3).

The research participants were selected bearing in mind the dynamic concept of vulnerability. All of them had a migrant background, which made them a minority in the host country and more likely to drop out school and, when employed, earn lower salaries due to structural racism present in Spain (IOE, 2007). Furthermore, they had been born in Ecuador and experience the rupture entailed by migration, the rupture with the family and friends left behind in Ecuador, but also with their culture and idiosyncrasies. Some of them managed to subdue and overcome the cultural shock of being exposed to a new country with different customs; some others did not

manage to adjust to the changes without much suffering. They also had their youth in common, ranging from 15 to 20 years old, and their working class, with their parents being at the bottom of the ladder of the job market in Spain. Although some of them could be considered underclass (Wilson, 1987, Gans, 1990) the term lower-class or working poor might be better suited to depict their social and economic circumstances tainted by precarious jobs and economic instability. As Newman put it, the working poor are "people who toil year-round and either fail to pull above the poverty line or struggle to make ends meet just above it" (2009: xi).

Some of the participants were at risk of social exclusion and capability deprivation as a result of the failure of social institutions, particularly schools, to mitigate their high levels of vulnerability, by redistributing valuable resources and opportunities to enhance their capabilities and consequently their resilience. These disaffected participants risked becoming what has been termed "underclass", which evokes marginality and social exclusion. They risk growing into "people without role, making no useful contribution to the lives of the rest, and in principle, beyond redemption" (Baumann, 2004:71). According to Gans (1990), the 'underclass' is represented by school drop-outs, who do not work, teenage parents, teenage gang members, alcohol and drug addicts, homeless, beggars or illegal immigrants. Yet these definitions mask the responsibility of social institutions by focusing on individual characteristics and decisions, rather than highlighting the effect of structural discrimination on these outcomes.

6. 1. 2. Vulnerability Typology

The typology of vulnerability was drawn taking the concept of underclass into account. On these grounds, some of the participants were selected from a high school in a working class area; they were finishing the last year of compulsory education or were enrolled in the first year of high school during the first round of interviews. They were presupposed to be less vulnerable than the second, group, those who were enrolled in remedial short vocational courses. This group were expected to have dropped out school before finishing compulsory education, but had voluntarily decided to get back on track. The third group was to be found in juvenile detention institutions, this criminality was directly related to the concept of underclass. Although gender characteristics were essential for the research, having parity of sex was not the point, since the literature shows that young males of immigrant background are more likely than their female counterparts to drop-out school, belong to gangs and get involved in criminal activities. Thus, the research did not aim to compare the boys and girls in the sample, but the different types of masculinities and femininities described and displayed.

6. 2. The High School Participants

All of the research participants who were completing courses in high school had been born in Ecuador. Migration conveys a rupture, that is, a break from family and friendship ties from the home country exacerbated by the distance and the uncertainty of whether or when they will meet again; a change in terms of geographical space, but also cultural practices. This rupture is experienced by some of the participants as an acute disruption intensified by the cultural shock. Yet, migration does not only entail changes, but also continuities, such as transnational flows and connections. Parents often migrate on behalf of children, to provide a better quality of life and future chances in the new country (Coe et al, 2011).

The dislocation and social rupture entailed by migration is experienced in different shades depending on the individual and the circumstances of migration. Some of them, like Alvaro, arrived in Spain at the age of 6, during his childhood, which would presumably enable an easier adaptation due to the early incorporation into the Spanish education system. According to Oropesa and Landale (1997) this cohort would have an easier adaptation since they would undergo most of their socialisation process in Spain, retaining meagre memories of Ecuador, and consequently having a closer experience to their native counterparts. Yet, some other such as the cases of Jennifer who arrived in Madrid at the age of 13, or Alicia, at the age of 12, would be closer to the 1.25 generation (Oropesa and Landale, 1997), whose socialisation had already started in Ecuador, having a closer experience to first generation migrants than second generation. Although scholars presuppose the later arrival to be a hindrance in terms of acculturation, socioeconomic attainment and mobility, the two girls showed similar if not higher academic achievement than they boys who had arrived at a younger age.

Rather than a question of age of arrival, the answer to why Alicia and Jennifer were higher achievers than Alvaro or Felipe might be related to gender. Female students in general and girls of migration background in particular, tend to outperform boys in educational settings (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009; Fernandez Enguita, 2010). Teachers' expectations of girls' more docile and pleasant behaviour works to their advantage. Whereas boys are at higher risk to be victims of racism and physical violence, which seem to be related to the greater vulnerability of migrant background boys to become disengaged and drop out school.

All of the participants, with the exception of Felipe, were living with both their parents. The proportion of mother-head-of-family and other family structures was prevalent among participants who had dropped out and displayed antisocial behaviour, as will be shown in the following sections. The link between family structure stability and academic performance and

well-being has been widely researched (Astone and McLanahan, 1991, Cavanagh et al, 2006), especially the effect of emotional distress caused by parental separation, exacerbated in the cases of domestic violence. The presence of two or more adults in the family, as long as they are caring and there are not other problems, is usually linked to greater financial stability, support and affiliation (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009).

Memo: Alicia High school Female, 16 y.o. (12 y.o.)

Alicia was 16 years old and doing her first year of high school when I first interviewed her in 2011. She was born in 1994/1995 in a small town in the South of Ecuador. Her parents migrated to Spain and she stayed with her grandmother at first and one or two years with her godmother, who was her uncle's ex-girlfriend. Alicia was 12 years old when she arrived to Madrid in 2006, with her younger brother, two years younger than her.

Her parents completed basic education in Ecuador. In Spain, her mother works as a cleaner and her father as a builder. Her school in Ecuador was close to her house and most of the other students were relatives. She started school when she was 5 years old, a year earlier than the average, but she was doing well, so she became a regular student. The Ecuadorian teachers at her school checked the students' personal hygiene and appearance and hit students with a rule on their fingers if they misbehaved. She started middle school when she was 11, but she only stayed one more year in Ecuador.

Once in Madrid, she started first year of ESO (compulsory middle school). She missed Ecuador, but there were other Ecuadorian students in her class, which made her feel more comfortable "because you are not the only one among all". She has always done well in school and is happy when she gets good results.

She often asks herself whether she would go back to Ecuador, but she is torn. She misses her family in Ecuador, but she wants to finish her studies in Spain, because she thinks education is more advanced in Spain. She also considers Spain to be calmer country where there is more freedom. She disliked that in Ecuador people keep an eye on what you do.

She keeps in touch with her family and friends in Ecuador on a daily basis on the internet and once a week over the phone. Most of her friends, mainly Spanish, are from the school. She describes her family as united and charitable that helps each other. Her younger brother is not doing so well in school, so she tries to help him. She has some relatives who are studying at the university in Ecuador. Her parents encourage and support her to go to university.

In the future she would like to study medicine, to become a paediatrician. She is slightly concerned that a shortage of money or the need to get a very high grade to be accepted in medicine faculty may hinder her aspirations.

Approximately 8 months after the second interview, during a phone call with one of her high school teachers I was informed that Alicia had done very well and had great hopes she would get a good result at the Spanish university access test (selectividad), the final exam when leaving high school. In the end, she started a nurse degree at the university, rather than medicine because she did not manage to get a high enough mark at the university access test. Talking to her in 2014 she seemed very happy in her second year of a 4 year nursing university degree course, and hoped to carry on studying a medical surgery specialty two extra years after completing her degree. Her brother had to retake a couple of years in school and was still in the last year of compulsory middle school.

Children of migrants' academic achievement is below the average attainment of Spanish native students. The presence of other Ecuadorian students seems to foster their integration in school and helps their motivation as was mentioned by most of the participants (Jennifer, Alicia, Alberto). Yet when the presence of other Ecuadorian background students starts to dwindle as they progress to the following year, they feel more isolated and need to readapt, as was referred by Alberto. The presence of conational peers is linked to higher levels of embeddedness or integration in school, since they can offer invaluable help not only in terms of information on how to navigate the education settings, but also emotional support and inclusiveness, soothing the rupture that migration imposes. Peer effect can be positive, in terms of providing affiliation, self-confidence, and information that leads to higher engagement and achievement; but it can also be negative, in terms of distraction, encouraging them to skip classes or misbehave in class (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009).

The academic literature (Mickelson, 1989; Fenández Enguita et al, 2010, Abrams, 2010) points at significant gender differences in terms of education achievement for boys and girls that are corroborated by the cases outlined below. Boys, particularly working class and those belonging to ethnic minorities, present higher risk of becoming disaffected and dropping out (Fenández Enguita et al, 2010). Whereas girls are perceived as having a more convivial character that increases teachers' expectations leading to positive reinforcement and higher grades. Alicia's case highlights this gender difference where her brother has had to retake more than one year in compulsory middle school whilst she sailed through high school with the former aspiration to become a doctor.

> **Alberto, 17 (7 y.o.) High school 1/3/2011 and 16/1/2012**
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> Alberto was 17 years old and he was doing first year of high school (bachillerato) during the first interviews. He had passed to the second and final year of high school during the second interview. He was born in Quito and migrated to Spain in 2001 when he was 7 years old.
>
> In Ecuador he got on well with other classmates. When he arrived to Spain, he felt accepted in the school and does not recall any problems. He adapted easily to the new country, he followed what other students did. There were other Ecuadorian students in class (3 or 4) who helped him adapt to the school routine.
>
> When he started high school he liked it, but now that many of his friends have left or dropped out, he does not like it anymore. When he was doing compulsory education there were other Ecuadorian students in class, but in high school there are much fewer and much more Spaniards. Now that there are fewer Latinos, he feels he has to adapt again and talk to the Spaniards. During the second interview, he was doing the final year of high school. He thought it was easier than the first year because there are fewer subjects; however it is harder work and the teachers go through different topics very quickly. He is doing technological sciences.
>
> He has mainly Latin friends; he has a better time with them, since they understand each other better. But they do not go to high school, some have stopped studying, others are doing remedial

short vocational courses (PCPI). He has a good relation with his Spanish class mates and can ask for notes, etc. However he does not get invited to birthday parties or other events.

He would like to be an aeronautical engineer. His uncle and cousin studied engineering in Ecuador. His mother studied up to high school and his father up to the second year at the university. In Spain his mother works as a cleaner and his father used to work in a building site, but at the time of the second interview he was unemployed. His parents are not happy in Spain anymore because they cannot earn money and send remittances. Many of his relatives are returning to Ecuador because of the unemployment levels in Spain. Although things have improved in Ecuador there is still crisis. He would like to go back to Ecuador because he feels more comfortable with Ecuadorian customs, despite arriving to Spain at the age of 7.

His parents have always encouraged him to study so people do not exploit him like they feel they are doing with them. He has to be "someone in life" and earn a "good salary, have his own car, his own house and all that". He thinks that studying is difficult and takes a long time. But, in his opinion, education gives you the basis for other things in life. He mentioned that luck plays an important role in helping you carry out your plan of life.

He has never belonged to a Latin gang, but there were some students in the high school that belonged to gangs, especially Dominicans and Ecuadorians. He thinks people join gangs because it is fashionable, but it is dangerous, for instance you cannot walk in certain areas, because other gangs could even kill you. A cousin of his joined a gang in Ecuador but decided to leave the gang because they were ordering to commit serious crimes such as murder.

Approximately 8 months after the second interview, during a phone interview with one of her high school teachers I was informed that Alberto had been caught cheating in his last physics exam. The tutor tried to negotiate with the physics teacher but in the end, the teachers committee decided they could not let him go to Spanish university access test (selectividad) as it would create a precedent after his cheating had been a public offence.

After finishing high school, he returned to Ecuador with his family.

Felipe, Alberto and Alvaro explicitly mentioned having relatives who had study at the university in Ecuador. First generation university students, such as Alicia, have to face more challenges in order to access university and gain a degree than those students whose parents or other relatives have graduate degrees. The weight of evidence show that "compared to their peers, first-generation college students tend to be at a distinct disadvantage with respect to basic knowledge about postsecondary education (e.g., costs and application process), level of family income and support, educational degree expectations and plans, and academic preparation in high school" (Pascarella et al, 2004: 250). Likewise, the literature (Loo and Rolison, 1986) predicts a likely socio cultural alienation of the Ecuadorian background students in predominantly Spanish native universities. Several studies show that ethnic minority first-generation university students are especially vulnerable because of the higher risk of poor academic performance and high dropout rates (Dennis et al, 2005). The vulnerability has its roots in the lack of social capital, where the scarce familiarity with the university culture makes it harder to navigate the institutional bureaucracy as well as the University *savoir-faire* et *savoir-être*, which reinforces the unequal distribution of valuable assets outside the academic institution. Frequently, family obligations

and economic difficulties may jeopardise fulfilling the tasks assigned to university students. Yet, there is evidence that ethnic minority first generation students develop rewarding strategies to overcome these shortcomings, such as a stronger motivation to succeed due to the higher stakes attached to education to lift them out of poverty (Dennis et al, 2005). But these success stories should not divert the attention from the institutionalised discrimination recreated and normalised through these credentialising institutions that defer unequal rights and privileges upon those holding these certificates which are mainly native students from a middle and upper middle class background.

Memo: Jennifer Female 17/18 (13). High school. 28.2.2011, 26.1.2012

Jennifer was 17 year-old and was doing the last year of compulsory education during the first interview. She had been born in Quito. She has a brother two years older than her.

In 2008 she arrived to Spain; she was 13 years old. Although at first it was hard for her to be in a Spanish high school, there were other people from Ecuador in the class and she managed to make friends easily. She did not like living in a small flat, compared to her house in Ecuador. She used to cry and wanted to go back to Ecuador. Step by step she got used to being in Spain. She travelled to Ecuador for holidays. When she came back she found it difficult to get used to Spain again.

During the second interview she had passed from compulsory middle school (4th ESO) to first year of high school. She found it quite stressing at first because the teachers told them they had to study harder and had more work to do. She would like to finish high school in Spain and then go to Ecuador to start university. She would like to be a journalist or a policewoman. Her cousin and her aunt work in the police and she has a cousin who studied journalism and works in publicity. Most of her relatives who have gone to university are in Ecuador.

Afterwards, during a phone interview with one of her high school teacher regarding her final results, I was informed that Jennifer had failed several subjects, so she would have to retake the year. Her elder brother had retaken the year 3 times at the same high school and had not progressed. They were wondering whether to pass him so he would leave high school. He is more than 20 years old and had been caught cheating and was often rude in class. Jennifer mentioned how he was also working in a phone parlour run by their aunt. He used to work for an electricity company, but they kept giving him short contracts and had to do too much work

Her mother does not get used to the weather in Spain and misses her family in Ecuador. She works as a seamstress. Her father is happy to be in Spain with his wife and two children. He works as a driver and would like to carry on working in Spain.

She does not have a boyfriend and has never been in contact with gangs. However, some days before the second interview, a couple of guys confronted her, her brother and her brother's friend in a little alley and asked them if the boys belonged to a Latin gang called "Ñetas" and mugged them. She does not like gangs because they threat and make people scared.

Even when managing to access university, the participants seem to encounter more obstacles than natives. Although it may lead to speculations, one could wonder whether a Spanish native student whose parents possessed a university degree would have advised Alicia to retake the university access test to try to reach the score needed to start the degree in Medicine, or to try

another degree such as Biology where there were higher chances of transferring to Medicine (her initial aspiration) than opting for becoming a nurse.

Memo: Felipe 18 (9 y.o. 2002), Male, High school. 1/3/2011 – 16/1/2012

Felipe was 18 year-old and was in the first year of high school during the first interview. He was born in Quito.

Felipe migrated to Madrid in 2002, when he was 9 years old. He went one year to a private subsidised school and then he changed to a public school where he completed his basic education and had been studying in the same high school for five years.

During the first interview he was enrolled in the first year of high school and was one year older than most of his class mates. During the second interview he had had to retake that year; he had had family problems that didn't let him concentrate. He did not want his teachers to know and preferred to be treated as every other student. He failed 4 subjects and although he tried to study in the summer exams to pass them, there was too much to study. He was positive about retaking the course but found it hard to be new and the oldest in the class.

Many of his relatives have gone to university. His mother is a qualified nurse in Ecuador. She tried to convert her degree in Spain but she was faced with too many problems, she had to study an extra year and could not afford to spend that much time. She works as a cleaner. His aunt studied chemistry at the university in Ecuador and also works as a cleaner in Spain. His father works as a taxi driver.

He would like to study mechanical engineering, like some of his uncles. He considered studying aeronautical engineering, but it seems too difficult. He has had side jobs at the weekend and during the summer, working as a waiter, as a builder and in electronic installations. He did not have a contract; he was paid at the end of the day. The best paid job was as a waiter. He stopped working because it was hard to commute to the job place; the public transport took too long or did not get him to those places. He would like to get a driving license but cannot afford the classes.

He has never belonged to a gang. He thinks they are a waste of time. He had been beaten when walking with a friend because of being mistaken as a gang member. When he goes to the neighbourhood festival, many people think he belongs to a gang because of his look.

He has friends from everywhere, both Latinos and Spaniards. He used to practice sport: basketball, swimming and went to the gym, but now he cannot afford the fees. He cannot spare 30 Euros per month to play basketball or 40 Euros to go swimming. At the high school there is a free basketball team, but only younger students have joined.

He travelled to Ecuador once 5 years ago. He would like to go back to Ecuador, but only after he has finished his university degree. However his parents are returning to Ecuador, they bought two flats in Spain and because they keep being fired they cannot pay the mortgage and they will be reposed. They will not be able to fund his university degree in Spain, since salaries in Ecuador are lower. He is concerned he will not be able to stay in Spain.

8 months after the second interview, on a phone interview with one of his high school teachers, I was informed that Felipe had failed several subjects so he would probably have to retake the year or leave.

Out of the five participants in high school, two of them had had to repeat a year, in the case of Felipe, he had had to retake courses twice during the second interview. During a phone interview

with one of his teachers I was informed Felipe was expected to do the course again because of the number of failed subjects or leave school. The Spanish education law states that those students who fail more than three subjects have to retake the year. Yet, the success of this measure is highly controversial; with most of the research warning about the scarce effectiveness in terms of education achievement and the high personal impact of this decision (Fernández Enguita, 2011). Felipe felt awkward in class being two years older than most of his class mates. The age difference was not only a hindrance to bond with the other students, but also created a reputation of being a poor achiever which would consequently lower teachers' expectations. The fact he silenced his family economic problems from his tutor and other teachers, shows a lack of trust, where he prefers to suffer the consequences anonymously than asking for preferential treatment.

Felipe's predicament stems from the effect of the financial crisis increasing unemployment, particularly for migrants (IOE, 2012). His parents could not find stable jobs anymore and they were at the verge of being repossessed. The emotional distress caused by this instability is a high suspect for his poor results, and the need to take casual jobs in construction and catering, would steal some precious time from studying. Although his appearance would not indicate poverty, the money worries meant that his dearest leisure activities, such as swimming or basketball, were curtailed. It seems that the poor academic results were a symptom of the hardship experienced by Felipe and his family, only exacerbated by the uncertainty of returning to Ecuador to escape the debts.

Alvaro and Alberto returned to Ecuador after the second interview. Felipe's family was also planning to return, but they were still living in Madrid after two years. The prospect of return is commonplace for most migrants, yet it creates uncertainty, especially for young people. Both Alvaro and Alberto arrived in Spain during their early childhood, 6 and 7 years old respectively. They would have undergone most of their socialisation process in Spain and return migration would entail a second rupture, this time from the friends and family left behind in Spain. It is also likely to present a second cultural shock, where Ecuadorian customs are no longer perceived as their own and they have to re-adapt to the new situation. The reintegration process would be harder for those individuals most acculturated, i.e., for those who arrived at an earlier age and underwent a longer socialisation period in the host country. Similarly, although adult migrants tend to maintain strong ties to their homeland, this bonding is weaker for children of migrants, whose identity formation and belonging processes have taken place mainly in the host country. Yet these cultural ties and transnational family relationships have strengthened with the availability of telecommunication provided by internet (Reynolds, 2010).

Memo: Alvaro. Male 15/16 (6 yo). High school 28th Feb. 2011 / 16th January 2012

Álvaro was 15 year-old and was completing the last year of compulsory middle school when I first interviewed him in 2011. He was born in Guayaquil in 1996. He arrived to Madrid in 2002, when he was 6 years old. He has a younger sister who is 8 years old.

Once in Spain, he was bullied by a boy in the first school he went to. Then he moved houses and changed schools several times. He was in the second school for 5 years, when he moved again. After one year he moved to the high school where he was at the time of the interviews, to start 2nd year of ESO (compulsory secondary education) and he was in his third year (1st high school year) during the second interview. Since he arrived to Spain he has studied in four different schools.

He made friends quickly, including Spanish friends, at high school and played football with them. He goes out with them on Fridays and the other days of the weeks he spends them studying. He lives in a different neighbourhood to the school and he cannot go out with his friends as often as he would like to.

He has never had bad behaviour problems or belonged to a gang. For Alvaro it is important to have a degree "to be someone in life", to feel better and get a good job with a good salary. He would like to study architecture or engineering. His parents encourage him to go to university. Many of his cousins in Ecuador have gone to university.

He has been in an exchange in Germany organised by the high school. He would like to work in Germany or United States when he finishes university, because there are more well-paid jobs. He often talks with his friends about scholarships to study abroad, but he is afraid his results are not good enough.

He went to Ecuador when he was 15. He would like to go back because he likes spending time with his cousins and he prefers the climate. His mother would like him to go to University in Ecuador. They are waiting for him to finish high school. She is tired of being in Spain and misses her family. His father would prefer to stay in Spain because the salaries are higher. If they go back to Ecuador, Alvaro's parents could work in a blood test laboratory where some of their family work. Here his father works in a small company selling tiles.

In 2012, 8 months after the second after the second interview, during a phone interview with one of his high school teachers I was informed that Alvaro had said good bye at the end of the year because he was migrating with his family back to Ecuador.

6. 3. Remedial Vocational Education Participants

The Programs for Initial Professional Qualification consist of a series of short remedial courses for those students who have not finished compulsory education. "In Spain, initial vocational qualification programmes (Programas de Cualificación Profesional Inicial – PCPI) are aimed at preventing early school dropout, opening up new possibilities for training and qualification and facilitating access to employment. PCPI programmes are aimed at those students aged over 16 who do not hold the Graduado en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO) [Compulsory Secondary Education] certificate. In exceptional circumstances, this may apply to children aged 15 who have taken the second academic year of compulsory secondary education but do not meet the requirements to progress to the third year and who have already had to stay down once

during this stage" (Eurydice, 2011:48). The objectives of the PCPIs are: a) acquiring competencies corresponding to level I of the National Catalogue of Professional Qualifications; b) facilitating social and labour insertion c) and increasing generic competencies so that individuals can continue their studies within the framework of the educational system (Holms, 2009: 57).

Carlos, male 18 (6) years old, PCPI

Carlos was 18 years old and was completing a remedial short vocational course (PCPI) when I first interviewed him in 2011. Carlos was born in Quito and arrived with his parents and his older brother (2-3 years older) to Spain when he was 6 years old, in 2000/2001. It was his father's idea for all the family to move to Spain. He started primary school in Spain and stayed in the same school until he moved to middle school. He started middle school (1º ESO) in a middle class and well-equipped high school near his home. He did OK academically (often failing maths and English) and used to play football until he started the last year of compulsory education (4º ESO).

When he was 15-16 years old, Carlos went with his family to Ecuador for 6 months in the middle of his last year of compulsory education. When they came back to Spain, he had to retake that academic year in a different high school, because there were no places in his old one. The new high school was in a poorer area further away from his home. There were more students of migrant background, especially from Latin America. There seemed to be discipline problems. Some students starting bullying him; they were connected to Latin gangs, and were mainly of Dominican background. After 3 or 4 months he got into a fight and was expelled. The teachers recommended him to move schools to avoid retaliation. He had received death threats.

He was a promising footballer. He did the trials to become a professional footballer and got a place in one of the three premier league teams in Madrid. But he had to reject it because of his father's pressure and their trip to Ecuador. He still plays football.

Then a friend told him about the remedial short vocational course in IT (PCPI) he was doing during the first interview. During the second interview he had finish the PCPI after doing a one-month unpaid internship in a small computer repair shop. He was finishing compulsory education after completing an adult school course at the same VET centre. Two years after the second interview, one of his teachers informed me that he had started vocational training education in IT but did not go to class and ended up dropping out.

When he went back to Quito after 10 years he didn't recognise his family in Ecuador and felt less secure there. He would not like to go back to live in Ecuador, because all his friends are in Madrid. He only wants to go to Ecuador when he has money and is successful, not if he is "empty handed".

His brother had some problems with Latin gangs. He preferred Ecuador and decided to return there with his father. Carlos' mother and he went back to Spain. Carlos' father and brother work in a small restaurant in Ecuador. His father used to work cleaning swimming pools when he was in Spain. He had to travel from one place to another. Carlos lives with his mother, his aunt and his cousin. His mother went to high school and works as a waitress in Madrid. Carlos' mother and father are still a couple even if they live in different countries.

Carlos has not have problems with gangs after leaving high school, but he has had some racist encounter with police. He has been stopped and searched several times. Some policemen have accused him of trying to steal from people or shops and have been aggressive to him. One even slapped him. He does not trust police or the judiciary system and thinks his statement would always lose against a Spanish policeman's statement in court.

His girlfriend is Ecuadorian and goes to the same class in adult school.

He is worried about the financial crisis, especially the high unemployment rate. He is concerned that there is a highly competitive job market where most people are more qualified than him: There are "university students without a job. So, for me, without having completed compulsory education, it's going to be even more complicated". He thinks education teaches respect, commercial skills so people cannot take advantage of you. During the second interview he was concerned about the new political changes after the Popular Party (PP) won the elections. He thinks this party is against migrants and wants to make them leave.

His parents would like him to go to university, but he does not think he will be motivated enough. He does not like studying, especially having to memorise things that he considers not useful. He prefers coursework, where he learns more. He would like to get the motor cycling license to work as a courier. He likes languages and would like to travel and work abroad (USA, Holland).

Juan 18 (7) PCPI

Juan was 18 years old and was enrolled in a remedial short vocational course in IT during the first interview. He was born in a town in the middle of Ecuador. He stayed with his brothers when his parents migrated to Spain. He migrated to Spain in 2001 at the age of 7. He has six older siblings, the two oldest are from a different father. In Madrid he lives with his parents and his older sister. He has some uncles and cousins who also live in Madrid.

His father is a mechanic and his mother works as a cleaner. Juan occasionally works in construction, helping one of his uncles in a building site. Some of his brothers live in Ecuador and work as wielders or mechanics.

Once in Spain he passed third, fourth, fifth and sixth grade with any problem. Then he progressed to compulsory middle school, where he had some problems with some teachers who picked on him because of his clothes, his piercings and the rest of his appearance. He started to skip classes and decided to change schools. In the new middle school he passed first and second year of ESO, then when he was 16 or 17 years old, he got disaffected and dropped out. After six months without doing anything other than going out with friends, he decided to start a remedial vocational course in IT.

He has been in several fights in discos and bars; he was even threatened with knives, but he managed to defend himself or run away. He has never belonged to a Latin gang. He avoids certain places in his neighbourhood where he is more likely to get mugged. He is often stopped by the police who ask for his ID. Sometimes it has happened more than 5 times in the same day. He is annoyed, but since he does not have police records, they let him go straight away after showing them his ID. He has witnessed some police brutality against some of his friends, and he felt defenceless and frustrated.

He is in a football team and plays four times a week. Some of his friends are Spanish and are part of his football team. He also goes out with Ecuadorian, Colombian and Dominican friends from his neighbourhood.

During the second interview, he was doing a remedial adult education course to get the compulsory education certificate. He had not finished the remedial short vocational course in IT because he went to Ecuador for over a month and he had missed too many lessons. He would like to be a mechanic or a wielder. Although he also likes playing music, he would like to work as a DJ.

He has been back in Ecuador two or three times for holiday. He would like to return.

There is a higher proportion of males of Ecuadorian background enrolled in short vocational remedial courses (PCPI); in 2008/2009 out of 1363 Ecuadorian students enrolled in PCPI only 464 were female whereas 899 were male (MEC statistics). There is an overrepresentation of Ecuadorian students enrolled in these remedial short vocational courses: 2,92% out of the total student population enrolled in PCPIs and 80,90% out of the total foreign student population enrolled in PCPIs, in comparison to compulsory middle school (ESO) 1,73% and 61,49% respectively and non-compulsory high school (Bachillerato) 1,15% and 58,56% respectively (INE statistics). Although these remedial programmes seem to be successful in rescuing those students who would otherwise become NEETs (Not in Education, Employment, or Training); the concentration of Ecuadorian students in these remedial courses does not facilitate their social integration with native students.

Other than Carlos, all the other remedial vocational participants stayed in Ecuador whilst their mothers, and often also their fathers, migrated to Spain. There is burgeoning research that points at a negative impact of family disjuncture brought by migration on children of migrants' education attainment. Gindling and Poggio looking at the United States context found that "the negative impact of separation during migration on educational success is largest for Latin American immigrants, for children separated from their mothers (as opposed to fathers), for those whose parents have lived in the United States illegally, and for those who were separated from their parents at older ages and reunited with parents as teenagers" (2009: 4). This separation is likely to result in education gap as a consequence of repeating a school year and higher risk of drop out. The education gap might be due to the inconsistencies in the timing of the school year between the home and the host country; the reflection of the trauma or cultural shock on the school performance; the effect of having retaken a year or having to interrupt school in order to take care of other family members after parents migration, and so on (Gindling and Poggio, 2009).

The negative consequences of the separations from their parents is mediated by circumstances such as whether one of the parents stayed, who took care of the minor whilst the other parent was away, how the main caregiver during this separation perceived and portrayed the reasons behind the migration, the age of the minor, the duration, the contact during the separation, and the changes that take place until the reunification such as new partners, new siblings, etc (Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, Louie, 2002).

Charlie 17 (9) PCPI

Charlie was 17 years old and was enrolled in a remedial short vocational course in IT during the first interview. He was born in a town by the seaside in the South of Ecuador. He stayed with his father after his mother migrated to Spain in 1998/1999. In 2003, he migrated to Spain at the age of 9, together with his elder brother, but his father stayed in Ecuador. His mother first brought Charlie's older sister, who had a mild mental and physical disability, in 2000. She progressed in Spain and finished high school, but went back to Ecuador, got married and had a child.

His mother wanted to migrate to Spain to give their children a better life, where they could study. She works as a cook in Madrid, but the working conditions are precarious and she is not always paid on time. She also works as a cleaner one day a week. Charlie occasionally works in the same restaurant cleaning dishes. His father works selling ice-creams in Ecuador. In Madrid Charlie lives with his mother, his brother and his mother's boyfriend. Charlie's mother's boyfriend is from India and often travels to Germany. Charlie has uncles and cousins who live nearby in Madrid.

Although he was a good student when he was in Ecuador, migrating to Spain was followed by a cultural shock in the school. He did not understand the teachers and started to skip classes as early as in fourth grade. He used to stay sleeping at home when his mother went to work. He had to retake one year and when he was 12 or 13 years old, he progressed to the first year of compulsory middle school. He met some friends who were "bad influences", they were caught by the police trying to steal a car and spent some hours in prison before his mother came to collect him. He used to skip classes to go to house parties during the day. He was expelled from the school in the end. It was then when he decided to start a remedial short vocational course to study mechanics, he did not attend all classes because it was far from his house, so he was expelled.

Then he started the short vocational course in IT, at the time I first interviewed him. During the second interview he had passed the short vocational course in IT and finished the internship with a good grade and was enrolled in a remedial adult education course to get the compulsory education certificate at the same centre. He had enjoyed doing the internship in a small computer repair shop, but had to walk 25 minutes four times a day, because he could not afford the price of the bus, and he was too tired. That is why he did not try to stay in that placement after the one-month internship. Two years after the second interview, I was informed by one of his teachers that he had started vocational training education in IT and was studying to get the title.

He had travelled three times to Ecuador after migrating to Spain. His sister fell in love with someone in Ecuador, got married, had a child and decided to stay in Ecuador. His brother met a girl in one of his trip to Ecuador and decided to stay there. Before the second interview, I was informed that his mother was planning to return with him to Ecuador, but at the time of the second interview, these plans had changed and they were staying in Spain. Charlie's brother was coming to Spain because he had been sick and health care seemed better and free in Spain. He does not want to return to Ecuador, he prefers to stay in Madrid.

He has an Ecuadorian girlfriend in Madrid. They have been going out for almost three years. They met at a disco, where she works. She is three years older than him. He has never joined a Latin gang.

He would like to get the compulsory education certificate to do a vocational training course. In the future he would like to be a work in IT, possibly repairing computers.

Contradicting the hypothesis that a later age of arrival implies a harder adaptation – similar to what happened with Alicia and Jennifer – Charley, who migrated at the age of 9, as opposed to Jose and Carlos aged 6 and Juan aged 7, was the only one still studying at the end of the

research. He was separated from his mother for 4 years when she migrated to Spain. He stayed with his father and his elder brother during that time. Charley was parted from his mother at the age of 5 and then being severed from his father at the age of 9, with whom he had built a strong affective relationship. On top of that, he had to re-adapt to his mother's new partner and experienced the separation from his sister and brother, who returned to Ecuador. He was also planning to return with his mother, but a last minute decision to bring his sick brother back to Spain, to seek medical assistance, made these plans fall through. Although this situation would entail a great deal of instability, he seemed to have developed resilience to the changes and unpredictability brought by this serial or back and forth migration.

Charlie, like most of the participants in this research, has an Ecuadorian partner. Mixed or interethnic marriages are considered a sign of successful integration (Alba and Nee, 1997), whereas having a conational partner points at stronger bonds with the same migrant community. Jose's son's mother is also Ecuadorian, even if his latest girlfriend is Peruvian. Jose's case is deeply analysed in chapter 9. A few notes can summarise his situation in this section. Coming from what the experts considered a dysfunctional family, the presence of his grandmother and uncle, serve as a source of economic and emotional support. Apart from not living with his parents, other sources of vulnerabilities related to his case are: being the son of a teenage mother, having moved houses before and after migration, not having the Spanish nationality, working at his uncle's restaurant, having to dedicate time to look after his cousin first, and now his son. Yet, what could be considered a source of vulnerability, in this case working at his uncle's restaurant, turns up to expand his capability set, in the sense of doing something that he values and were he is respected and fairly paid. Likewise, having had a baby has brought a new sense of responsibility that has distracted him from some forms of namely anti-social behaviour.

Perhaps the most salient theme emerging from these five participants is their experiences of ethnic profiling by police, an explicit form of discrimination on the base of appearance. Several of them mentioned how they were regularly stopped and searched, even several times in the same day. Some of them had been witnesses and even victims of police brutality. Although four of them did not have criminal records and arguably Charlie's criminal records would also be clear, they are perceived as wrongdoers, a stereotype that can easily be internalised under this constant pressure. Besides, this blatant and pronounced form of institutional discrimination increases their vulnerability in terms of physical and psychological violence, as well as curtailing their freedom to walk freely or meet with friends in public spaces without fear of the police stopping them. Furthermore, this form of discrimination conveys the message that they are not considered full citizens with rights, which in turn lower participants' trust in public institutions.

Jose. Male 16/ 17 (6) PCPI / Adult school 3/5/2011 and 16/2/2012

Jose is a 16 year-old Ecuadorian male from a small village in the South of Ecuador. His parents separated when he was born and his father migrated to Madrid shortly after that. His father works as a waiter in Madrid. Jose lived with his grandmother (from his father's side) in Ecuador. He has never lived with his mother. His mother, who was around 15 y.o. when she had him, migrated to the Balearic Islands when she found out her son had migrated to Spain. She works as a carer for old people. Jose has four younger stepsiblings, two from his mother's side and two from his father's side, but he is not in touch with them. Two of them live in Madrid with his father and his father's partner and the other two (12 and 8 y.o.), from his mother's side, live in Ecuador.

He arrived in Madrid in 2001, when he was 6 years old. He migrated with his grandmother (63 years old) and his uncle (28 years old). At first he lived with his father, but they did not get on well, so he moved back with his grandmother and uncle. It was a "drastic change" for him. When he arrived to school he did not understand what the teachers explained. He wanted to go back to Ecuador. But, step by step he got used to it and in 4th, 5th and 6th grades he passed without much difficulty.

When he went to middle school, he did well in the first year, but he started doing worse in the second and third years. He started to go to friends' houses during the day and skipped classes. His friends called him to go out and he hanged out with them instead of going to class. His grandmother and uncle told him to go to school. Also, his teachers advised him not to miss classes, since he was intelligent and could pass the subjects if he studied. He started going to class again and improved a little, before going off track again.

He does not have the Spanish nationality. His father is trying to get it for him, but they have not managed yet. He lives with his grandmother (63), his uncle (28), his uncle's wife and his uncle son (4) and daughter (5). He looks after the children and helps them with their homework. His uncle has a bar, Jose works in the bar in the evenings during the week and all day at the weekends. Sometimes he does not go to class because he is too tired and falls asleep. His grandmother helps with the children and does the domestic chores.

Since February 2011 he is studying a short course in IT (PCPI). He was taking the course seriously and attended all classes. There are 13 or 14 students per class, half of them are Ecuadorian. At the time of the second interview he had finished the PCPI but he didn't pass, he didn't do the internship and he was studying a catch up course for adults who want to get compulsory education qualification at the same place as the PCPI. He said only 4 out of 16 students had passed the PCPI, most of them dropped out or failed.

During the two interviews he had found out he had a son (9 months at the time of the second interview). He tries to look after him but he is not going out with the mother. He gets on well with her, but has another girlfriend from Peru for 2 years. The baby's mother is 18 (1 year older than Jose), also from Ecuador, is in high school and lives with her parents. Previously, Jose had been going out on and off with the baby's mother for 8 months. She did not tell him she was pregnant. It was only after the baby was born that she told him. He and the baby's mother share the baby. He looks after him one week, when Jose's grandmother (who is 67) and sometimes his uncle help him care for the baby. And the mother looks after the baby the following week. Although his grandmother does much of the caring for the baby, he doesn't sleep much (5-6 hours per night) because of his job in the bar and the baby and he is often tired and falls asleep in the morning being late for class. He doesn't go out much anymore because of the job and his baby.

In the first interview he said he would not like to return to Ecuador because he would "have to get used again", only just to visit it. During the second interview he said he would like to start his own business, a bar or a restaurant. He has been working in the catering industry for a while with his uncle. He would like to save some money and send it to a relative in Ecuador to have a big house built

there and then go back and rent the rooms. He would like to return at some point, some of his relatives who migrated to Spain are returning. Although he has never been back to Ecuador since he migrated (at the age of 6) he has heard that is much nicer now and that the salaries are higher, although it is still a bit dangerous. However, now "the problem" is that he has a baby and unless the baby's mother wants to go to Ecuador, it would be hard to leave him in Spain.

He has never joined a Latin gang, but he has been asked if he belonged to the Latin Kings. He knows some people who belonged to Latin gangs and greets them in the street. Police often stops him (around 2-3 times a month) to ask for his ID. When he was younger and dressed with wide trousers, they used to stop and search him more often. But he has never had tense or violent encounters with police unlike some of his friends.

He considers himself Spanish from Ecuador. He "hasn't lost" his Ecuadorian accent and his family also speak like they used to in Ecuador. He does not spend time with Spaniards, mainly with other Ecuadorians, Colombians, etc. When he went to primary school, there were very few Spaniards in class, most of the students came from Ecuador, Dominican Republic, etc. He usually goes to places where there are no Spaniards, only Latin American background people.

Having the highest youth unemployment rate in Europe, with a 55.2% in 2012, compared to 23.2 % as the average of the Europe 27 (EUROSTAT), Spain offers only blight prospects for those who have not managed to get the compulsory education certificate. The 2011 OECD report on the education situation in Spain states that in 2009 those who had not managed to get the secondary education certificate and were unemployed were 21.9%, compared to 15.4% for those with this certificate and only 9% for those with a university degree (OCDE, 2012). According to García: "The positive effect of education has also grown during the course of the current crisis, to the extent where higher secondary education or university graduates decrease a 20% the risk of being unemployed" (2011: 7). Furthermore, the negative consequences of early school leaving continue throughout the professional career, hampering their basic insertion into the labour market and decreases their chances to participate in further training throughout their working trajectories.

The remedial short vocational courses or Initial Vocational Qualification Programmes (PCPIs), were created with the intention to mitigate the high rate of early school leaving and to provide them with basic qualifications and vocational skills and the opportunity to achieve the title of Compulsory Secondary Education; and thus the possibility to move to further education through access to academic or entrance test (Segales, 2013). There is evidence that these programs do not result in good labour market outcomes, but the lack of employment opportunities after finishing these courses might not be causal, but related to the pre-selection on the students from the pool of early school drop-outs who would have had bigger difficulties to find a job than other youth anyway, particularly if they have a migrant background (Macerano-Gutierrez and Vignoles, 2010).

The lack of employment opportunities for youth without education qualifications worsened after the crisis where the construction sector no longer needed the precedent contingents of unskilled hand labour. It was during this time that the PCPIs increasingly became an attractive alternative to an unfruitful search in the labour market. Nevertheless, the patterns appreciated in this research of low completion rates are corroborated by other studies, such as Marin Marin et al, who point out that only 50% of the students enrolled in PCPIs in the Southern Spanish region of Andalusia progress to the following course with which they could get the compulsory education certificate (2013: 98). All in all, these remedial courses seem to be effective rescuing some students who would have otherwise abandoned education; besides, the participants reported higher rates of engagement and a closer relationship with their teachers and tutors.

6. 4. Participants in Detention

The selected participants who were serving sentences in young offenders' institutions were predominately male. This ration reflects the actual composition: 86% males and 14% females in 2009 (ARRMI, 2009: 113). In 2009, 15% of the young inmates in these detention centres had the Ecuadorian nationality, almost half of the total inmate population from Latin America (32%) the second highest after the 54% with Spanish nationality (ARRMI, 2009: 109 and 114). Although I was not allowed to ask them about the crimes that led them to detention, some of the participants brought up that information during the interviews. For instance, Bartolo mentioned he was a serving a sentence for having killed two people, among other issues. Roberto also explained that he had attacked and beat his girlfriend several times. The proportion of young people in detention serving sentences for murder or murder attempt was 5.6%, and 13.8% because of domestic violence, in comparison to 40.4% related to armed robbery or violent assault (ARRMI, 2009: 88).

Table 8. Andrews and Bonta 2007

The seven major risk/need factors along with some minor risk/need factors Major risk/need factor	Indicators	Intervention Goals
Antisocial personality pattern	Impulsive, adventurous pleasure seeking, restlessly aggressive and irritable	Build self-management skills, teach anger management
Procriminal attitudes	Rationalizations for crime, negative attitudes towards the law	Counter rationalizations with prosocial attitudes; build up a prosocial identity
Social supports for crime	Criminal friends, isolation from prosocial others	Replace procriminal friends and associates with prosocial friends and associates
Substance abuse	Abuse of alcohol and/or drugs	Reduce substance abuse, enhance alternatives to substance use
Family/marital relationships	Inappropriate parental monitoring and disciplining, poor family relationships	Teaching parenting skills, enhance warmth and caring
School/work	Poor performance, low levels of satisfactions	Enhance work/study skills, nurture interpersonal relationships within the context of work and school
Prosocial recreational activities	Lack of involvement in prosocial recreational/leisure activities	Encourage participation in prosocial recreational activities, teach prosocial hobbies and sports

Non-criminogenic, minor needs	Indicators
Self-esteem	Poor feelings of self-esteem, self-worth
Vague feelings of personal distress	Anxious, feeling blue
Major mental disorder	Schizophrenia, manic-depression
Physical health	Physical deformity, nutrient deficiency

Melanie 16 (6) Female

Melanie is a female born in Quito, in 1994. She was 16 years old during the first interview. Her parents are separated. Her mother works as a waitress and her father is in jail in Madrid.

In 2000, her parents migrated to Spain to look for a job. She and her younger sister stayed and lived first with an aunt and then with their grandmother. Together with her younger sister, she migrated to Spain in 2001, when she was 6 years old. When she first arrived to school some children picked on her because she was new. She was surprised by the Spanish way of speaking. She did not understand some expressions and the other children did not understand some of hers.

She passed her grades until she went to middle school. She felt under pressure because of the amount of studying she had to do. She started to skip classes because of peer pressure. She went to parties and sometimes did not go back home. She joined the Latin Kings' gang at the age of 12 and she decided to quit at the age of 15. She started to live independently from her mother when she was 15 years old. She paid the rent with the money she earned from working as a waitress or as a disco dancer. She falsified her ID card and lied saying she was 18 years old. She enjoyed the freedom she had living in her own house.

She had already served 7 months and still had to serve 5 months in a closed regime and 6 months in semi-open regime. She belonged to the Latin Kings' gang between the ages of 12 and 15 years old. A problem related to her ex-boyfriend was the reason why she was in the young offenders' institution. Whilst being in detention she was studying administration, but she did not like it. She would like to study languages or beauty therapy. She was studying 4th grade of CREI (a special remedial program to get the compulsory education certificate), two hours a day plus the book keeping course (remedial short vocational course). She wanted to do a PCPI in hairdressing, but there weren't enough places. At the time of the second interview she had a semi open sentence where she could go outside to study in a VET centre for catch-up education, in a marginal area of Madrid.

During the second interview, she described how she felt going outside to do the book keeping PCPI and catch up course. She felt more free but often awkward. She would ask for permission to go to the toilet (like in detention) and would come back and greet friends with two kisses (which is not allowed in the centre, only shaking hands). She was scared of walking free on the streets, without surveillance cameras. She was more excited about Christmas. She had been rewarded to spend more time outside because of her good behaviour. She is convinced people can leave the juvenile detention centre having learned to appreciate their freedom. She now values her freedom, her family and going back to study.

She has never been back to Ecuador since she arrived to Spain. She would like to either stay in Spain or go to another country to find a job in the future.

Melanie's father was also serving a sentence in jail; having a parent with criminal records is hold to increase the risk of criminal conduct and consider a factor of vulnerability for social workers dealing with minors. She had a conflictive relationship with her mother and commented how she felt jealous of her affection towards others. It seems reasonable to think she did not receive the necessary love and affection and that influenced not only her relationship with her parents but also with her boyfriend and other friends. Her need for affiliation in her social relations was often tanned by jealousy and control. Simultaneously, she also longed for independence, so she

would falsify her ID to present the necessary age to work at nightclubs to get money to pay for rent. Being a young girl she was vulnerable to exploitation by those running these businesses and although it was not mentioned during the interviews, it seems plausible that she would have endured low pay and precariousness in her job and possibly been subjected to sexual harassment. There is evidence that engaging in sexual relations make Latina girls more vulnerable to school failure, particularly because of the risk of pregnancy; whereas for Latino boys the most prevalent factor related to school failure was committing violent acts (Packard et al, 2011: 111; Flores, Tschann, & Marin, 2002)

Bartolo's parents were also involved in criminality. In fact, his father's murder was apparently related to drug trafficking. His mother had to hide herself because of the risk associated to her new partner's illegal activities and that separated her from her son. Bartolo blamed his mother for this separation and loathed his stepfather at the same time that idolized his father. His father represented the fearless, macho hero that would guide his aspirations. Parental violent, illegal or criminal behaviour not only become negative role models; they shape the first socialisation of participants, affecting conflict resolution skills, self-management and respect to the law. Roberto himself constantly brought up his history of physical abuse perpetrated by his father to explain and often justify his aggressions against his girlfriend and violent behaviour in the gang.

Memo: Roberto 18 (7) Male

During the first interview Roberto, an Ecuadorian male from Quito, was 18 years old. When his parents migrated to Spain, he was separated from his two siblings, who stayed in Quito with his father's and mother's family respectively, whilst he went to a smaller town in the South with his grandfather. They were very poor; his grandfather had to borrow in the local shop to buy food. When he was 5 years old, he worked chipping stone in a mine. He burnt tyres to make the stone softer to be able to break it. Once he had broken the stone he dragged the pieces to the lorry. His grandfather made him a smaller pick, so he could lift it up.

When his grandfather died he went to live with his grandmother. He used to work with her selling coffee beans. His grandmother had a reasonably big allotment she had bought with the remittances Roberto's mother and uncles sent from Spain. He also lived during some time with his aunt and helped her collect bananas. He worked with the neighbours too shelling coffee and tobacco beans and grazed their donkeys.

Roberto was a small boy (stunted growth), but, according to him, the food in the juvenile detention institution, where he has spent a good part of his adolescence and the food introduced by his Spanish stepfather had helped him grow.

Roberto arrived to Spain in 1999 when he was 7 years old. He did not want to migrate. He missed his Ecuadorian school, but making friends was not as difficult as he expected in a new country. In Spain he used to be friends with two black students, one was African and the other one was from the Dominican Republic and a Roma boy. At first, a couple of students picked on him, but then he became a bully when he was 8 years old.

His father used to beat him up. He abandoned Roberto, his brother and mother one day in Spain and never came back. Roberto would have been 12 or 13 years old at the time. His father is now in Ecuador working as a taxi driver. Roberto says that he does not hate him, but does not love him either. He blames him for the person he has become, as the root of his abusive relationship with his girlfriend.

When Roberto arrived in 1999 there were fewer immigrants. He had a Spanish accent and used Spanish expressions. He forgot his Ecuadorian accent, but he regained it when he started to hang out with other Ecuadorians. He felt the teachers did not like him very much. It was during his first year of middle school (ESO) (12/13 years old) that he decided he did not want to study anymore and he failed subjects. He stayed at home or went out with friends. Now he regrets having dropout and he is studying again. He thinks getting the school diploma is very important for everything, to feel happy with himself and to get a job, especially now he is a father.

He was 13 years old when he joined the Latin Kings gang. His parents had to work long hours and there was no one at home. His mother works as a cleaner. He spent too much time home alone and "took refuge" in the gang. He enjoyed "being Latino" again. The members of the gang welcomed him and he felt it was like a family. He felt attracted to the Latin Kings because he wanted to feel important, to attract girls, to command respect. He escalated the gang hierarchy, in which the more violent and crueller the more respect you commanded. At first he was shocked by their "cold blood" and could not sleep at night. But little by little he lost this fear and became "colder". He was expelled from the gang when he started going out with his girlfriend, because she was a high ranking king's girlfriend at the time. He "fell in love and did not think it twice". He was not beaten up or repudiated ((usual punishment for this offence in the gang)), because he was also high in the hierarchy. They have deserted him. None of the gang members had written a single letter to him since he started serving sentences in juvenile detention institutions.

He had a 6 month old baby girl during the first interview. His girlfriend is from Colombia (she was present during the second interview) and had been adopted by a Spanish family when she was 7 years old. They met in another juvenile detention centre. He has had several rows with his girlfriend. It was because of one of these rows (he seriously beat her) that he is in a young offenders' institution. He was very jealous and he used to drink and beat her up. He thinks the root of his behaviour is his father's abusive nature.

Now he wants to change, he feels very guilty for what he has done. He thinks that his past attitude is not good for the baby of for himself, who felt guilty after the aggressions. He describes himself as a good person but with problems. During all his life he has been surrounded by violence, first his family, then the Latin King gang, where the crueller you are, the more power you have and the higher in the hierarchy. He has always felt lonely; very few people paid him any attention. When his girlfriend entered his life, loving him, he was scared of losing her. His way of holding her was through aggressions.

He really wants to start working in order to have a salary and be economically independent of his mother. At the time of the second interview, Roberto and his girlfriend were both in probation, living with their respective parents. His daughter was more often at her parents' house.

In some exchanges with his probation officer two years after the second interview, I was informed that Roberto continued his education and this had positively influenced his social integration. He had managed to get a title of "Assistant in Early Childhood Education". At home he is respectful to his family, and seemed detached from his troublesome old friends. He was involved in leisure activities that were appropriate for his age and were socially accepted. He had a good relationship with his girlfriend and actively participated in their daughter upbringing.

Roberto's story is marked by extreme poverty. He recounted the intense labour he had to endure as an infant digging in a mine in Ecuador, being exposed to chemicals and fumes. He also described his family situation as living in debt and having to borrow to be able to eat. His growth was stunted as a result, although the stuntedness was practically corrected by the balanced diet he received during his years as a teenager in young offenders' institutions. Once in Spain, his family's economic difficulties were signalled by the long working hours his mother had to undertake to support his two sons. Although fulfilling the basic need for food and safe housing, Roberto and his brother suffered from lack of attention and affection. The working poor face the paradox of having to work in order to support their families at the expense of providing parental emotional support; or spending time with their children at the expense of suffering economic deprivations. This is a common dilemma faced by immigrant parents, particularly for single mothers "when the economic survival of the family is at odds with the educational well-being of their children" (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, Martin, 2009: 736). Having to work long hours that hinder the suitable care needed by their offspring is a facet of institutional discrimination in which the Spanish segmented labour market creates and reinforces the intra-generation and intergeneration transmission of disadvantage.

Although only Roberto and Javier explicitly linked their mothers' long working hours to their antisocial behaviour as a result of lack parental supervision, the other three participants in detention could have done the same. None of these five participants lived with their fathers. Bartolo's father was murdered when he was 9 years old; Manuel did not know his father; Roberto's father physically abused him until one day he abandoned the whole family; Melanie's father was in jail and he was separated from his mother; Javier's father was separated from his mother and lived in Ecuador. The lack of a second income had to be overcome by taking more than a job or working extra hours by their mothers. Their mothers work as cleaners, old people carers or in the catering industry; which is not dissimilar to the other research participants studying in high school or enrolled in a remedial vocational program. Yet, those in high school were predominantly living with both their parents, which would increase the chances of extra economic and time resources to care for their children.

Memo: Javier 19 (12) male in detention

Javier was 19 years old and was serving a two-year sentence in a juvenile detention centre during the first interview. He was born in Quito and migrated to Spain in 2003, at the age of 12, together with his elder sister. Both his parents had migrated to Madrid previously, but his father decided to return to Ecuador after a year. When he was not in detention, he lived with his mother, his sister, his sister's husband and their little child, which whom he shared the bedroom.

His father works as a marble mason in Ecuador, and his mother works as a cleaner in Spain. His mother finished basic education, but his father did not. His mother really wanted him to study, but she worked long hours and could not control what he did.

He reported having difficulties to understand school explanations and memorising facts. His first impression of the Spanish school was the wide range of nationalities in the classroom. He had to retake the first year of compulsory middle school (ESO), he was often rude to teachers and they used to send him home. He dropped out school during one and a half years. He stayed at home, looked after his little nephew and went to parties. Then he progressed to the third year of middle school, but did not pass a single subject.

During the first interview he struggled to follow the rules in the detention centre and could not get the rewards that those inmates in final stages could get such as certain courses, TV in the evening and other social activities. After several days doing well, a call from his family or another incident could turn into a hard day for him where he would misbehaved and get sanctioned.

He thinks he has missed many of the chances he has been given, such as studying at high school or doing some courses in detention. He complained about having experienced racism by some Spanish people, such as insults and even physical abuse.

He used to hang out with members of Latin gangs, but he claimed not belong to any. He did not like being ordered what to do. He thinks that the former members of Latin gangs joined out of courage and Latin pride, but nowadays it is just fashionable and children, as young as 11 join them. He lives in a neighbourhood where there is a predominance of Dominican youth, but because they already know him, he is not targeted as other Ecuadorians. He is proud of being Ecuadorian and looks down of those people of Ecuadorian background who claim to be Spanish because of having Spanish nationality.

After he left the juvenile detention centre I scheduled a second interview with the help of his probation office, but it had to be postponed because he had been knifed and was in hospital. During the second interview he explained his routine out of detention. He was going to a remedial adult education centre to get the compulsory education certificate and to study IT. He played football and went dancing at the weekend.

Because of being above 18 years old (he was 19 during the second interview) and not having legal residence permit, he was afraid of being stopped by the police. He has been taken three times to short detention centres for illegal immigrants. Even when he has a document that states he has started the procedure to get the legal residence, the police usually ignore it and takes him to these centres, where some times has to spend more than one day. When that happens his mother calls a private lawyer who is helping them with the legal residence procedure. He distrusts state lawyers because he has had bad experiences where they did not send the papers on time or seemed not to care about him as a client. He is scared of being deported to Ecuador. In the future he would not like to form a family, but he would like to run his own business as a wielder, and help his mother. During the second interview he commented that he had recently started going out with an Ecuadorian girl.

Javier's case presented interconnected vulnerabilities such as the migration experience, including separation from his parents, mother head of household working long hours in a low-skilled and instable position as a cleaner. His reported learning difficulties and negative attitude towards teachers, probably stemming from his lack of embeddedness in school as a result of institutional discrimination, seem to have led him to skip classes, repeat a year and finally dropping out. Despite his mother's best intentions and an apparent strong family network in Madrid, he lacked parental supervision and hung out with 'bad influences'. The peer pressure was probably the effect of living in a deprived neighbourhood where violent ethnically based gangs are prevalent and present an alternative affiliation mechanism to gain respect and status. His perception of threat to his physical integrity had real manifestations, such as when he had to spend some time in hospital after being knifed during the two rounds of interviews. Because of spending time in detention and possibly due to constantly challenging the juvenile detention centre workers who could have helped, he never got the Spanish nationality. This meant that once he was free after serving his sentence, he did not have a legal residence permit. Consequently, he could not work legally or even enrol in any course. Furthermore, he was at risk of being stopped by the police and taken into a short detention centre for illegal migrants. Most of all he feared being deported to Ecuador, a country he had not been since he was 12 years old, so his freedom to move was substantially restricted.

Memo: Manuel 19 (10) Male

Manuel is a male from a small town between the seaside and the mountains. He was 19 years old and was in detention during the first interview. He did not know his father. His mother works as a cook. He has some letters tattooed on his fingers that seemed to have been done by himself or another friend. These tattoos usually symbolise belonging to a Latin gang.

He did not like studying ever since he was little in Ecuador and skipped classes since 4th grade. In Ecuador his teachers used to punish him physically. When he arrived to Spain in 2002, he was 10 years old. His mother wanted him to study, he went to a nuns' school. He was used to not going to school. He started taking drugs. When he started middle school (1st grade of ESO), he committed a crime that led him to a juvenile detention centre for the first time. At the time of the first interview he was serving a sentence in a juvenile detention centre.

He had not considered what to do in the future. He would like to do a course on solar panels or join the army, and live day by day. His "crazy life" and peer pressure would be a barrier to achieve these aspirations. He considers education to be very important to fulfil these aspirations because "if you don't have studies you cannot get a dignifying job" and "a person with education has more opportunities than someone without education". He also considers moving to another country to start from scratch.

Possibly linked to the lack of parental supervision and unfulfilled affective needs, the majority of the participants explicitly mentioned their membership to the Latin Kings gang. Their loneliness and lack of belonging made them vulnerable to the promises of a protective, united "family" – metaphor constantly used by the Latin Kings gang – where his Ecuadorian background was a source of pride. Yet, they soon discovered that belonging to this gang involved violence and criminal conduct, together with physical punishment for those who did not obey the contradictory rules marked by the gang hierarchy. Being in a gang fulfilled their need for affiliation but at the expense of higher risk to their physical integrity and their freedom when they were caught by the police. And once in prison, the lack of support and contact by the gang members was a further desolating experience.

Together with family circumstances such a single mothers, parents' long working hours, domestic violence, parental criminal records, etc.; other factors that increase these five participants' vulnerability included school failure, racist encounters, living in dangerous neighbourhoods and alcohol and drug abuse.

Memo: Bartolo Male 20/21 (11) Detention 25th Feb 2011, 24 Nov 2011.

Bartolo was 20 year-old and serving a sentence in a juvenile detention institution when I first interviewed him in 2011. He had been born in a small town near the seaside. He has two younger sisters; the youngest one is a half-sister. His father was killed and he lived with his grandparents. His mother decided to migrate to Spain with her partner to flee a life of criminality and danger. He migrated to Spain in 2002 when he was 11 years old. It was his mother's decision, he wanted to stay.

Bartolo's father was a drug dealer in Ecuador and was killed when Bartolo was 9 years old. He admired his father and wanted to be like him. Bartolo's father funded his sister's (Bartolo's aunt) education and cost of living with the money he got from illegal dealings. Bartolo's aunts looked after him in exchange. In Ecuador he lived with different relatives: aunt, uncle, godmother, mother's side grandmother, father's side grandmother and grandfather. When he was living with his aunt, his cousins picked on him. His grandfather was the only one who talked to him and cared.

His mother left his father to go out with another man who was also involved in criminal activities. She lived under threat and had to hide and could only see Bartolo by playing tricks. His mother studied up to middle school. In Spain she works as a carer for old people. He does not get on well with her. He blamed her for leaving his father to live with someone she had to hide in order to stay alive. But she is the only one who supports him and visits him in the juvenile detention centre.

His mother wanted him to study and paid for private schooling. She made him repeat first year of ESO (middle school). He passed his subjects. During the second year of ESO he got disaffected. He considered that Spanish teachers did not understand him because they were not members of the same "race" or "religion" as him. He was expelled from middle school because of a fight with a neo-Nazi group where someone was seriously wounded. He went to another middle school from which he was also expelled. He had problems with other schools students. His schools mates sometimes referred to him with racist insults: "fucking Latino". He often got himself into fights, some of them using knives and seriously hurting people. He lived in an upper-middle class neighbourhood. Some of his neighbours looked at him suspiciously, would not say hello or would ask him whether he lived in that building.

Bartolo joined the Latin Kings gang when he was 13 or 14 years old. He wanted to emulate his father. He enjoyed having money to buy new things. His mother used to register his room and tell him off when she found stolen items. So he decided to move with older friends. He managed to climb the ladder of the gang hierarchy. He first served a sentence in a juvenile detention centre in 2005, when he was 15. He managed to escape and lived his mother for 7 or 8 months before the police caught him again and he had to go to another detention centre. Then he escaped again and went to live with his girlfriend, before he had to go to the juvenile centre he was in at the time of the interviews. The reason why he was serving this last sentence was related to having killed two people.

Bartolo used to have a girlfriend two years older than him. They were living together whilst he had fled from the detention centre. He used to put money into her bank account. She got pregnant and he was very excited about having a baby. But her family pressured her to have an abortion when he went back to the detention centre. After the abortion they split up.

He thinks he has always being too mature for his age. He blames that on his difficult childhood. Bartolo considers that now he has "no friends, only acquaintances ", but he has had "good friends who have given everything for him and he did for them". They were Latin friends. He has Spanish acquaintances, but he has more fun with Latin friends because they "come from the same land".

He would like to study Law, because he likes fighting for his rights. But he does not like studying or working. In the first interview he said he needed to leave behind his old way of living to carry out his plan of life. But in the second interview he was afraid he might get involved in criminal activities again to get money, as it requires less effort than physical labour. He does not like working, he has never worked. He does not like studying, but he has done it whilst in detention, in order to "kill time and not think" about what he had done. He was doing the final year of high school.

During the second interview he said he would like to go back to Ecuador. It would be hard because he has been living in Spain for longer than 10 years. But he feels "100% Ecuadorian" and his roots are there. He encourages young people from Ecuadorian background, especially his youngest sister, to speak with an Ecuadorian accent and act Latin. In some occasions, he considers himself Spanish, such as when he wants to claim his rights.

Conclusion

Vulnerability is a dynamic concept and the personal and social factors that have been highlighted as stressors are more or less salient depending on the circumstances. All of the participants have the experience of migration in common. Yet, they migrated at different ages, with an average of 8.26 years old, varying from 3 years old (Gerardo, whose story was not included in the analysis) or 6 years old in the cases of Jose, Melanie, Alvaro and Roberto; to 14 years old in the case of Alicia, the most successful participant. In this case, contrary to the evidence presented in other studies (Oropesa and Landale, 1997; Rumbaut, 2004), age of arrival is not a significant factor regarding successful integration for this research sample. Perhaps the fact that Ecuadorians also speak Spanish and share other cultural traits such as catholic religion would decrease the effect of this variable.

Gender seems to be a significant variable. Even when there are only three female participants in the research, both their stories, the Spanish statistics and the literature on education and migration confirm that they outperform boys academically and are less vulnerable to school failure, racism and physical violence; although they presented higher vulnerability in terms of sexual stereotyping and violence and their lives are usually more disrupted in the case of becoming parents.

Although all of the participants belonged to low-income families, there seems to be considerable variations in terms of economic difficulties. Being in debt was a stressor that had negative consequences in the case of Felipe, who failed subjects and repeated the school year unsuccessfully. Roberto came from an extremely poor family, which forced him to work in a mine being a young child and stunted his growth. Those living in single parents households were at higher risk of poverty because of the diminished salary. In these cases, their mothers were often the ones who had to work long hours to support the family economically, at the expense of parental supervision and emotional support. Being alone for long periods of time was linked to school failure and gang membership. Parents' criminal records and physical abuse were factors that increase the participants' risk to become juvenile offenders, like in the cases of Melanie, Bartolo and Roberto.

The protective factors that decrease vulnerability identified in this research are related to being female, living with both parents in non-abusive families, migrating together with parents or staying with one of the parents during migration, parental education beyond compulsory level, having Spanish friends or participated in regulated leisure activities such as being in a football team, being embedded in school, having teachers that strive to promote intercultural curriculum, pedagogy and class atmosphere.

There are some controversial factors that although they might lead to higher levels of vulnerability, they also seem to offer opportunities to improve their resilience to risk. That is the case of becoming a parent. Both Jose and Roberto were teenage parents and took responsibility for their children. Having a child gave them strength and direction to strive to become a better person. This process was also explained by a director of a juvenile detention centre, by which having a child represents a turning point, a floating board for those immersed in gang violence who did not know how to leave.

Another controversial factor is working whilst studying. Jose worked at his uncle bar, which reduce the number of hours he could invest in his studies and sleep time. Although it is

reasonable to think his school performance was suffering as a result; he was learning a trade as well as earning a salary and expanding his opportunities to make a living out of it.

It seems necessary to remark that vulnerability is not a personal characteristic associated of immigrants; it is a universal and dynamic concept that encapsulates complex processes in which high levels of vulnerability are the consequence of clusters of disadvantage created and reinforced by the failure of social institutions to expand opportunity structures and individual capabilities.

Chapter 7: Young Ecuadorians' Experiences in School

There's an old proverb that says it's better to teach someone to fish than to give them a fish. But what if they sell the river? Or what if the river is poisoned? And what good is it to know how to fish if the owner of the river doesn't let us fish? In other words, education is inextricably connected to all other aspects of life.

— Eduardo Galeano

School is one of the most important institutions for socialisation. Together with the family, schools are supposed to provide the necessary knowledge and skills to function adequately in society (Ballantine and Spade, 2008). Schools are not isolated institutions, they influence and are influenced by society. Students' experiences of school are not just mediated by their age, gender, social class and ethnicity (Lareau and McNamara Horvat, 2008, Walker and Unterhalter, 2007) but also by their families, peer groups, their teachers, teachers' pedagogy, school ethos, mandatory and hidden curricula (Ballantine and Spade, 2008).

Figure 2: Cartoon representing the school as a site for social reproduction

FIGURE 2

Source: Diane Lasch, *Leviathan*, 1, No. 3 (June 1969), 12.
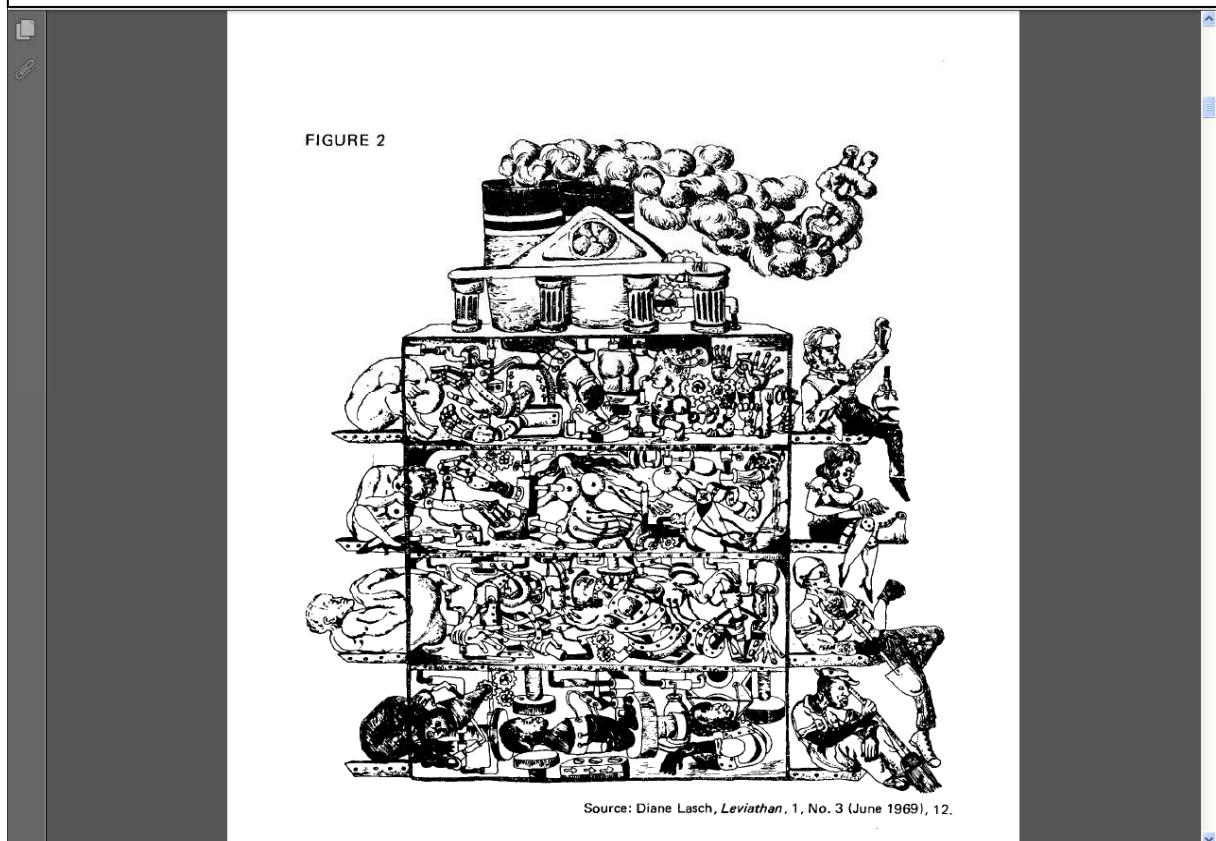
Schools have been criticised as active reproducers of social inequalities. The cartoon above caricaturises the school as being a machine where individuals go in with their heterogeneities such as sex and particular phenotypes, and through the machinery process they are turned into

individuals with defined class, gender and racial roles in society being ascribed a position in the hierarchy ladder. The role of schools in social reproduction has been widely studied by scholars such as Bourdieu (1999, 1997, 1968; Lewis, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Nevertheless, historically schools are also seen as great equalisers and crucial sites for upward mobility. Immigrant parents want their children to do well in school in order to integrate into the new society and move up the ladder, so they spend time and effort pushing them in this direction. In a recent survey conducted among adolescents who are children of migrants showed that 77% of parents aspired to a university degree for their children, whereas only 40% of the children aspired to such a degree (Portes et al 2013).

Parents' and Children's Aspirations

Parental aspirations for them to go to university were a common theme amongst the participants. Even if these aspirations do not translate into a university degree, they are a necessary precondition to have a chance to get it (Portes et al, 2011a). Alvaro, a sixteen year old student who was in his last year of middle school during the first round of the interviews and managed to progress to first year of high school during the second round described his parent's expectations "they want me to be someone, who has a university degree, like all my cousins and to be someone in the future" (Alvaro, 16). Also the parents' of the participants who were serving sentences in young offenders institutions encouraged them to study and go to university: "My mom tells me to study, study, study and take advantage. Since you have that [having completed compulsory education through remedial programs whilst being in the detention centre], you can get yourself a degree, whatever you want. And I don't know, don't know. I'll listen to her one day (laughter)" (Bartolo, 20). Talking about how his parents support him to study and expect him to go to university to study engineering in order to improve his social status and escape the possibility of being exploited in Spain a high school student narrated: "Yes, my parents, from the beginning, they've always taught me, I have to be more than them, because, because they tell me: look the situation we are in, we are looking for a job, and people, people trash us, they tell me. I don't want you to be like that, and they've told me since I was a wee little boy. And I have it here in my head. I want to be someone in life" (Alberto, 17). Therefore, most migrant parents see education as the key for the upward integration of their children into the middle class. From the parents' perspective, having a university degree is equated to being freed of exploitation and gives a meaningful reward to the sacrifices they make as a consequence of migration.

The idea of meritocracy, i.e., those who deserve it because of working hard and being intelligent will do well in education and will have a successful career, is well spread in the popular culture.

Even when many scholars (e.g. Johnson, 2006) have shown the mirage of the "American dream" of working hard bringing success regardless of your class, ethnicity or gender; most families at either end of the wealth spectrum seem to take responsibility for their situation of richness saying that they deserve their income and status because of their hard work, and their situation of poverty, blaming themselves because of being lazy in school, joining the wrong crowd, drug or alcohol abuse or not being intelligent enough. For instance, a male in a juvenile detention centre explains why he did not do well in school "because I was too lazy, I'm very lazy in school, you know? I'm a bit thick; I can't get things in my head easily" (Javier, 19). Similarly, a high school student after having completed middle school and complaining that he finds the first year of high school difficult he blames himself saying that it is hard "I don't know, because I'm lazy, I guess [laughs] I don't know" (Felipe, 18).

Instead of blaming the lack of motivation on the personal predispositions of these students, Varenne and McDermott refer to the "adaptive withdrawal" (1998: 152) as a type of resistance mechanism in which predicting that working hard would not offer them the same types of rewards than it would to their native peers or middle class students, they become disengaged to the school. Henceforth a considerable proportion of migrant youth rebel against middle-class values, drop-out school when they are met with a 'forced-choice dilemma'. On the one hand, they can choose between their parents' aspirations for upward mobility conforming to white middle-class values that discriminate against them, at expense of being ostracised by their immigrant peers. On the other hand, they can confront these values, opposing authority and giving in to peer pressure that leads to integration in the 'underclass', being marginalised by the larger society but also by their own community (Zhou, 1997: 989-990).

An alternative explanation for the lower academic achievement among ethnic minorities and immigrant groups consider the "attitude-achievement paradox" (Mickelson, 1990), by which, even when the majority students share the same educational values than the native majority and believe in the upward mobility promise offered by education, they become disengaged and face greater risk of school attrition than their native counterparts. According to Carter (2005), school disengagement finds its root in the attachment that students feel towards school, which depends on how welcome and fitting they feel within the institution. This attachment translates into school engagement and academic performance. Here, attachment is conceptualised as the affective component, the degree in which the student feels welcome and embedded into the institution; whereas engagement refers to the behavioural component, i.e., the work and effort they are willing to put into the school activities (Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder, 2001; Carter, 2005). Whether students feel part of the school is mediated by interactions with other students,

teachers and administrators and the values represented by these three actors, together with what is taught in the overt and hidden curriculum. Teachers, in particular, act as "cultural gatekeepers", parcelling out rewards and sanctions according to who abides by dominant cultural rules (Carter, 2005: 6).

For Carter, rather than developing a marginalised culture that pushes minority students towards school failure, "ethno-racial cultures serve positive functions, including a sense of belonging, distinction, and support for how to critique and cope with inequality. Their ethno-racial cultures are not mere adaptations and reactions to experiences with closed opportunities. Neither are bad behaviour, deviance, and delinquency the principal components of these cultures. Rather, their cultural presentations of self are better understood as practices of distinction based on a critique of an undiscerning mainstream culture in schools rather than a submission to powerless and oppression" (2005: 6). When schools echo these demands and facilitate minority students' school belonging, then parental and students' aspirations are fostered and there is room for success; albeit this is not often the case.

Parents' hopes to give their children a better life lead them to praise education as their lifesaving float for upward mobility. An Ecuadorian, director of a civil society organisation for migrants, criticised this naïve vision of education: "in Ecuador, as in Latin America in general, the goal is to study because if you don't study you won't have a good quality of life, you won't have an income. We're still in this, we're a bit behind in that aspect. We're still in the modern age, not in post-modernity, but modern age where we're still going on and on to our children with: study to be someone in life, study to have a better life. And we still give an important weight to education; we believe that education will be the solution for all problems especially for economic status". Yet, the belief that education is key to upward mobility is well spread internationally and across families of different class and ethnicity, which explains the amount of time and energy that parents dedicate to pushing their children to study (Kluegel and Smith, 1986).

Table 9. Transition from Education to the Labour Market 1990-2000

	Total in survey	Those with only Primary education	Secondary education. Middle school	Secondary education High school	Further education University
Men	1,476,100	106,900	477,700	320,800	570,600
Didn't find a job	671,300	68,000	246,900	147,400	209,000
% Didn't find a job	45.5	63.6	51.7	45.9	36.6
Women	1,373,900	70,500	305,500	291,400	706,400
Didn't find a job	733,500	54,600	199,300	158,900	320,700
% Didn't find a job	53.4	77.4	65.2	54.5	45.4

Source: INE Módulo año 2000. Transición de la educación al mercado laboral (Metodología EPA-2005)

Education and the Labour Market

However, education has a positional value (Unterlhater, 2007) in which the more people with degrees, the less the economic value of the degree; the Spanish unemployment situation with a large percentage of university graduates desperately looking for a job cast even more doubts on the economic value of education. Table 9 represents the persons between 16 and 35 years old that, between 1990 and 2000 when the last INE survey was conducted, had left education for the first time. The percentage of men (36.6%) and women (45.4%) who are unemployed despite having a university degree paints a gloomy picture for those who link university degrees to finding secure stable jobs. Yet, those with higher education stand a better chance to find a job than those who left education after secondary school (45.9% for men and 54.5% for women) or primary school (63.6% for men, 77.4% for women). Nevertheless, table 10 signals that young unemployment is rampant and affects all levels. The unemployment has been steadily increasing since 2007 when the economic crisis started.

Table 10.	Rate of Unemployment								
	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
% Total men and women	27,16	24,44	21,29	20,05	17,36	9,63	8,47	9,07	10,19
% 16- 25 y.o.	57,22	52,01	45,39	40,93	35,66	21,28	17,83	18,73	21,78
% Men Total	26,78	24,09	20,76	19,96	16,86	7,87	6,32	6,81	7,77
% Men 16-25y.o.	59,21	54,04	47,31	43,36	36,19	19,46	14,06	16,62	18,62
% Women Total	27,61	24,86	21,94	20,16	18,01	11,99	11,39	12,22	13,64
% Women 16-25	54,96	49,75	43,20	38,04	35,00	23,58	22,71	21,34	25,96

Source: INE Encuesta de Población Activa

The rates of unemployment for young people are double the amount of the total unemployment rate, painting a blight prospect for those looking for their first job. These high levels also affect those with a job, since there is more uncertainty and the working conditions have worsened as a result of the increasing supply of labour force and the reduce demand. Since it appeared in the Spanish newspaper El País in 2005, the term "mileurista", that is, worker earning 1.000 Euros a month, has spread to define the difficulties of young people that despite having a university degree, some even with postgraduate education, having unpaid working experience through internships, volunteering, etc., when offered a stable job with a contract, the salary never goes beyond the 1000 Euros a month (Fernández Romero et al, 2012). This situation forces them to live with their parents or spend most of this salary in rent. However, what started as a complaint in 2005 became a social phenomenon and even an aspiration in the recent years in which having a secure job earning 1000 Euros per month seems like a dream for most young people in Spain.

As one expert coordinating a vocational education and training centre explained: "Their intention is always to find work as quickly as possible, they don't care about the field as long as it gives them money to spend. Because even though, they know that there is no, no, they don't believe that there is an ideal job for them [...]. Many of them like to get an apprenticeship or even being ultra exploited because they have a very high endurance capacity, they handle a lot of pressure, […] but of course, that also frustrates a lot because now I think there are very few pay rises […], I think the concept of 'mileurista' no longer exists, now it's considerably below 'mileurista'".

What this expert flippantly refers as "liking" being exploited can be considered an adaptive preference consequence of the lack of capability for work, the lack job opportunities that respect, value and promote individual potentialities and aspirations. This scarcity of meaningful jobs is rooted in the hoarding of high positions by the elite through the legitimisation of the transmission of economic, social and cultural capital through university degrees (Bourdieu, 1997). Equally, the low expectations and endurance capacity can be explained by looking at historically migration receiving countries where the second or third generation do not manage to get professional-executive occupations and are at higher risk of unemployment than their parents. Even when being born or at least mainly socialised in the host country, immigrant children "will either not be asked, or will be reluctant, to work at immigrant wages and hours as their parents did but will lack job opportunities, skills and connections to do better" (Gans, 1992: 173-174)

Low School Progression

Nevertheless, despite their parental pressure and students' aspirations, the number of young people of Ecuadorian background that go to university is very low[15] (See table 11). A high school teacher comments on the small number of students of Ecuadorian background who achieve high grades and go to university: "Very few go to university, they usually do modules [short vocational courses] […] electricity, IT, these things are the most ... [...]. [But] when they want to go to university, they really go for it, they are people who study medicine; medicine is in great demand by the students". According to a recent survey conducted on young people of migrant background in Spain, Ecuadorian students seem to have lower career expectations than other migration background youth (Portes et al, 2013 and Portes et al 2011). Table 9 shows the low percentage of university enrolment in comparison to other levels of education.

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[15] In the academic year 2011/2012, there were 8728 students from South America enrolled at a university in Spain, out of a total university population of 810076; they would represent 1.07% of the total university student population. Out of those 8728 students from South America, 5439 (62%) were women and 3289 (38%) were men (INE).

Table 11. Number of students enrolled in the different levels of education in Spain 2011/2012						
	Total	From other countries	EU 27	Ecuador	% of Ecuadorians out of total	% of Ecuadorians out of foreign students
TOTAL	7923293	781236	203182	79400	1,00%	39,08%
Early childhood education	1917236	144369	42392	6774	0,35%	15,98%
Primary education	2797804	272305	76451	22664	0,81%	29,65%
Special needs education	32233	3955	691	485	1,50%	70,19%
Middle school ESO	1792548	215386	50414	31002	1,73%	61,49%
High school	628753	46448	12348	7231	1,15%	58,56%
VET first cycle	312016	30215	5366	4986	1,60%	92,92%
VET second cycle	303063	18545	3301	2183	0,72%	66,13%
Short vocational courses PCPI	84217	17589	3036	2456	2,92%	80,90%
University	1456783	47003	7497	2019	0,14%	26,93%

Source: INE

Students originating from Ecuador seem to have more difficulties than their native counterparts to progress through schooling. As it can be observed from Table 11, the number of students enrolled in 2011/2012 decreased considerably from middle school 31002 to high school 7231 and then to university 2019; similarly they are overrepresented 2.92% of the total population in the short vocational courses created as an alternative remedial programme for those students who had not finished compulsory education. In the study conducted by Fernández Enguita *et al* out of the total number of students with a migration background who drop out, 77% stop studying before completing compulsory education, only 23% of those who stop studying had achieved the compulsory education degree; whereas in the case of their natives peers 62% of those leaving

education had already attained the compulsory education degree (2010:94). Fernández Enguita blames the high levels of school attrition among students with a migration background to the migration process and cultural readjustment, together with the language differences and the education idiosyncrasies such as curriculum and pedagogies from either the host country or the country of origin. However, according to this author, for those who were born in the host country, the likelihood of school failure is linked to their social class rather than their ethnicity (Fernández Enguita *et al*, 2010:87). Although none of the participants were born in Spain, the findings of the present research suggest that both ethnicity and class intertwine – together with gender and age – and are more or less salient drivers of disadvantage depending on how different social institutions distribute and redistribute valuable opportunities.

Often neglected, some prominent factors associated to school disengagement that lead to drop out are related to institutions: such as de-facto racial, ethnic or class segregation in different schools; racist or violent school environment; racist or cultural insensitive teacher disposition, not feeling embedded into the school culture; familial factors: having only one or no parent at home; parents' long working hours; individual factors: lack of cognitive skills, lack of work habit, lack of language and culture familiarity (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009). Looking at institutional discrimination (Gomolla, 2006; Gomolla and Radtke, 2002) improves our understanding of the inherent mechanisms in the school system that contribute to discrimination against students with a migration background. Institutional discrimination has been defined as "the collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (Macpherson of Cluny, 1999, 6.3.4). In the school system, this discrimination takes place at different levels: a) at the level of an ethnocentric curriculum that undervalues the knowledge brought from other cultures; b) at the level of teacher-student relationship, where teachers tend to have lower academic expectations on students of migration background and perceive them as being more problematic; c) at the level of peer relation in the classroom and the entire school, where harassment, physical and psychological violence and more nuanced forms of discrimination such as microaggressions (Solorzano, Ceja, Yosso, 2000), create and reinforce social disadvantages, lowering the capabilities of some of the participants overtime. Yet, this institutional discrimination becomes normalised and goes unnoticed by the educational professionals; more concerning is perhaps the lack of awareness by the individuals affected

(Gomolla, 2006). Hence, the need of qualitative studies to uncover these nuanced processes of discrimination that lead to lower opportunity structures and capabilities.

Curricular Gap or Ethnocentrism

Teachers look for explanations in the country of origin, blaming the lack of achievement on the curricular gap: "the education gap [...] is striking. [...].But in the case of Ecuador, you know what public education is like there, don't you? It is residual, without means, then they arrive with a huge curricular gap. There are kids who come and don't understand. They ask very basic concepts, and they understand nothing, nothing, nothing". The director of a young offenders' institution concurs: "the curricular gap [is] very big, very big. Most of the cases we have, it is very big, 5, 6 or 7 courses [gap]". This perspective can be predicted to lower teachers' expectations on Ecuadorian students whose background education is seen as deficient and problematic.

Ironically, the young participants never mentioned this curricular gap, they pointed out at the lack of engagement in the class: "At first, as I was saying, I was doing well, well, well, but only studying what I liked, I mean, if I liked a subject such as crafts, what I most liked was drawing, and I put myself into it ... It was the only subject that I used to pass, that and geography. And … why didn't I study? […] Studying doesn't work for me […] I don't want to study" (Melanie, 16). This girl was serving a sentence in a juvenile detention centre; she dropped out of school at the age of 13. Another participant from a juvenile detention centre describes the different curriculum and pedagogy in Ecuador: "Not difficult, but it was different because the first days I had to get used to it, and I didn't get used to the class. Because in history there I studied Latin America history and it seemed more interesting than this history, which, when I came here, they taught the History of European wars, Spanish civil war ... and then, I didn't like it, but hey, I had to adjust. But everything is very different, I don't know why, but there everything is different. Both because you know the people, teachers, they didn't know your ..., how to say? As they say, they are not of your race, they don't understand you the way they understood me there" (Bartolo, 20). This longing for closer and more understanding relation with teachers is common among students of migration background and the distance is bigger for boys than for girls (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009). These attitudes could also be attributed to the previously mentioned 'adaptive withdrawal', in which consciously or unconsciously the participants notice that schooling fails them and their efforts will probably not be translated into upward mobility (Varenne and McDermott, 1998).

One of the experts, an Ecuadorian working for a civil society organisation who had experience working as a teacher both in Ecuador and Spain complained about the ethnocentric representation of Latin American culture in Spanish text books; he complained about how Spanish teachers "always looked at them [Ecuadorian students] from ethnocentrism, from the point of view of the super European culture while looking at Latin American subculture, cultures that don't work, that have no worth, where they measured, they regarded Latin American education as a deficit […]. Spanish texts were not adapted and they even induced to stigmatize Latin American population or immigrants in general, they [text books] portrayed our cultures as inferior in a subliminal way in comparison to the Spanish or European culture". As well as creating an unwelcoming context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), these representations of other cultures constitute a form "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), by imposing meanings that overtly legitimises the power relations of the historical colonial oppression.

Notwithstanding, some teachers try to include knowledge from other cultures into the curriculum in order to make students more engaged and increase the multicultural knowledge. That is the case of a male Spanish high school teacher: "sometimes I try that students who come from other places, in this case Ecuadorians, find here certain sensitivity to the geography, history and art of their countries of origin. And I try to do something about it, i.e. introducing to the extent to which educational programs and rhythms allow, specific references, attentive to their geography, their history and even in the case of arts. I mean that an Art History student from Ecuador hear about Guayasamín in class, or that he or she hears mentioned in history , I do not know, Eloy Alfaro , or , or , or when talking about the duality of certain countries one can mention for example the contrast between the coast of Guayaquil and the interior highlands. Quito when citing World Heritage cities, the teacher can use Quito or Cuenca as examples. I mean, well, a certain sensitivity to their place of origin, for them to see it as a sign of respect as well as the fact that they, somehow, raising this curiosity they also contribute to the class". This cultural sensitiveness helps create a welcoming context of reception where all students are invited to bridge the cultural gap and feel embedded with the school, easing the transition for the newcomers and making them feel engaged (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009).

Student-Teacher Relationship

The relation with teachers was an important theme in most interviews. Respect towards teachers seems to be linked to the perceived attitude towards old people in Ecuador fostered by their parents: "The teachers [in Ecuador] were good people, they cared, we respected them more,

because in my country old people are very much respected" (Bartolo, 20). Nonetheless, this perception of respect and discipline is contradicted by other studies such as Cuenca et al. (2009) whose results point out a lack of discipline and respect and even cases of violence towards teachers in Ecuadorian schools (Cuenca et al., 2009:119).

In some instances, there was a conflictive relationship that discouraged students from attending their lessons. This was the case of a male participant doing a short vocational course who narrated how the middle school teachers' reaction to his appearance put him off going to class: "I started here in third grade [primary school]. I don't know, I was good at school, I passed third grade, fourth, fifth and sixth grades [primary school]. And then went to high school [four years of compulsory education, middle school]. Well, there was a time that people started wearing wide clothes and all that, and I also wore wide clothes. People looked down on us, […]. Well, I went there when I was in first year [of compulsory middle school]. I had a few teachers who were half racist. Well, because, as they picked on us I said, no, and I started to stop going to school. And I left that school […]. At first they [the teachers] use to tell me to remove my piercings. And I said no, I'm not doing anything wrong. And [the teacher] said no, you don't go into my class like that. Okay, so I didn't go in" (Juan, 18). Although this teacher probably saw his request on student' clothes and appearance as a sign of discipline, the authority he was trying to impose through these restrictions made Juan alienated and felt unfairly unwelcome in school. By targeting ethnic minorities when imposing discipline regarding their clothes, schools convert students' personality traits and fashion into subversive opposition, which brings more resistance to the school culture rather than adherence (Morris, 2005).

Yet, some students, such as a female Ecuadorian student finishing upper secondary education, described their relation with teachers as encouraging and increasing her well-being: "you can make friends with the teachers here, I mean, it's like having one more friend. However in Ecuador it was different. The teachers were ... a ..., like ..., you could say that they were like the law there and ... and that's it. But here it's more ... it's more like friends. With their jokes and all that" (Jennifer, 17). In contrast, other students reproached the lack of implications that some teachers showed in comparison to the perceived effort that Ecuadorian teachers had shown in the past. The closeness and understanding shared by teachers fosters stronger engagement with the school whilst providing critical support, confidence and advice on how to navigate the school culture for students who tend to lack that cultural capital. Albeit it is not by chance that the participant that relates such close relationship is a girl, research shows that "boys tend to have fewer meaningful relationships with their teachers and perceive their school environments to be less supportive than do their sisters" (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009: 717).

Explaining why teachers in Ecuador taught "very well" a male student in a short vocational course described: "for those who didn't understand, they [teachers] explained there, and stood there, to explain a lot of times" (Jose, 16). Some complained about the fast pace of their teaching, especially in middle school. A male Ecuadorian who had finished serving his sentence in a young offenders' institution and who is trying to finish compulsory education through a remedial program for adults said: "Here they are more patient, because in the high school everything is faster, cam' on, let's go, otherwise you'll learn it at home" (Roberto, 18). The Spanish education system does not track into bottom or top sets depending on the academic level of subjects such as Mathematics, as other European countries do; therefore, teachers have to prepare their lessons for students with mixed abilities. Although students benefit from peer learning and are not casted down as low achievers; often they struggle to understand and follow the rhythm of what is taught for the average student in the class.

Expulsion, Suspension, Repetition and Automatic Progression

Other factors associated to school attrition are related to behaviour issues. Being sent home after clashes with teachers was not uncommon among those had dropped out, as one male participant in detention recounted: "When I got to first year of the ESO [compulsory middle school] I was going to class, you know? And I retook the year because I was more or least lazy, because I went out and I was sent home a lot. I was thrown out the class, two, three days. And I saw myself able to pass, you know? Only that I was a little brat" (Javier, 19). Being sent home is a popular sanction among teachers, albeit it can be argued to convey the wrong message for those students who are not enjoying being in school and long for being outside with other friends (Fernandez Enguita, 2010). Likewise, catching up the content of those missing classes because of being sent home implies a great effort for those students who tend to lack a disciplined work habit. Consequently they become more and more disengaged with the lesson topics and the school life in general.

The Spanish education law, similar to the French education system and unlike other countries such as Great Britain, determines that those students who fail more than three subjects have to retake the year. In primary education students can repeat a year once at the end of each cycle which last two academic years. In the academic year 2004/5 the percentages of students who retook each course of the secondary compulsory education were: 14.8% 1st year of ESO, 21.1% 2nd year of ESO, 17.8% 3rd year of ESO, 12% 4th year of ESO (Arregui Martínez et al, 2009: 34). In all levels the percentages of boys retaking courses or dropping out are considerably higher than for girls and children of migrants are more likely to retake years than their national peers

(Fernandez Enguita, et al, 2010; Arregui Martinez et al, 2009). As a male high school teacher explained: "There are kids who don't understand, that is, they are asking very basic concepts […]. On the other hand, they are respectful, but they don't have much to offer. Most of them are home alone, their parents often go to work, then they have no control, nor study habits, or they get discouraged. I mean it is rare the Ecuadorian who doesn't repeat one course or two in order to begin to understand something more or less, right? And, they are in a precarious situation, especially now that many are leaving. Their parents have a lot of interest, really, when they come to talk with the tutor they are always very correct […], but the kids are in a situation of returning to their country, not returning, no man's land and waiting to see what happens. But with such an absolute precariousness that is alarming".

Those in favour of retaking courses argue that promoting students who were not able to understand the basic concepts learned during that particular academic year, are not likely to cope with learning higher levels of content in the following courses. In this research, such was the case of an expert working in a juvenile detention institution: "and also with the added problem as I said, by law they have to go progressing into the next course according to their age [regardless of whether they pass the exams] and what is the benefit for a boy to pass to the next year if he doesn't have the knowledge?". Nevertheless, most studies have shown the scarce academic success of retaking a year and the high personal impact on students (Fernandez Enguita, et al, 2010; Arregui Martinez et al, 2009). Felipe, a 19 year old male high school student who – during the second round of interviews – was retaking first year of non-compulsory high school recounted: "Well, as I'm now too old for them [other class mates], because, you know, it's weird, I feel different and I don't know, I can't. [...] And It's also hard for me because of having repeated [retaken the year] and such" (Felipe, 19). Felipe had some family problems that led him to fail 4 subjects out of a total of 9; he did not want to tell his teachers about these family predicaments because he did not want any special treatment: "I didn't want to pass just for that, it's supposed that I have to be like the others" (Felipe, 19). Nevertheless, due to having retaken the year and probably another year before, he was then two years older than most of his class mates and he would have the reputation of not being a good student among teachers, which would consequently lower their expectations and his academic performance.

Another participant, a young male in detention commented: "I retook first year of ESO, then I stop studying for one and a half years. Then I went back to school and got into second year of ESO, then I also dropped out from this second year of ESO and they placed me in third year of ESO because of my age. And I stayed in the third year, I was studying, you know? But I had a problem at school and they let me out [being expelled] and I didn't go to school anymore. I got

to the third year of ESO but without passing any subjects" (Javier, 19). Yet automatic progression to the next year without extra support does not provide a suitable solution for those students who are struggling to understand the content of certain subjects. Provisions particularly designed to suit students' needs to catch up should be in place. All these factors taken into account, it seems that retaking a year constrain students with a migration background's capabilities of affiliation or social relations, of self-respect, of knowledge, of aspiration (Walker, 2007) therefore decreasing well-being in general as well as their chances for successful integration. Likewise, the overrepresentation of students of migration background among those repeating a year signals the institutional discrimination present in Spanish schools.

Bonding and Bridging

Regarding the integration of students of Ecuadorian background, there seems to be more bonding – intra ethnic ties – than bridging – inter ethnic ties – (Putnam, 2001). That is, they seem to create stronger bonds with other Ecuadorians and students originating from other Latin American countries, than forming friendships with the native peers. Referring to his group of friends a male participant who migrated to Spain at the age of 11 said "Spanish, acquaintances, but friends are Latinos. Because we come from the same land, we enjoy ourselves more with Latinos than with people of Spain or anywhere else in Europe" (Bartolo, 20). Another participant who arrived in Spain when he was 6 years old recalled his experience in primary school: "Well, normally I used to go with two friends of colour, so black boys and, the others they were, were very nice to say the truth. The majority was Spanish but the two Black boys were, one was a Dominican and the other was African. And I related better to them because, like …, because they were not Spanish, as they say, because I'm not … Spanish. We met the three, but the others were, were very nice, very nice […].   And the two brown-skinned, well, they were like my bodyguards" (Roberto, 18). This extract reflects social construction, de-construction and re-construction: the social construction of Spanish as different to Black, and of the participant not being Spanish because of his migration origin; the de-construction of different national origins, given preference to being Black and not-being-Spanish; and the reconstruction of a social identity where social distance is narrowed among the Ecuadorian participant, a Dominican and an African migrant because of being outsiders in the mainstream class (Putnam, 2007; Alba and Nee, 2003). Although the participant seems to display an Ecuadorian identity, when being confronted with a majority of Spanish children, he feels closer to a black Dominican or a black African student because of sharing the stigma of having been 'othered'. Portes et al (2011b) study regarding parental influences on children of migrants' self identity points out that Ecuadorian background youth show very low levels of identification with Spain. This is despite

sharing the language and having closer cultural connections with Spain than other nationalities such as those originating from Eastern Europe or Northern Africa. They suggest that the mestizo phenotypes predominant in the Andean region, similar to what happens with the mulatto and black phenotypes, are a target for racial discrimination that translates into lower levels of identification with Spain.

The bridges were broken in circumstances where there were victims of verbal or physical discriminatory abuse: "other also […] said, fucking Latino, […], fucking Latino. Often they believed that they [native Spaniards] were superiors in the school, since they were, since they were well-off, coming from families they have […] good money" (Bartolo, 20). Sometimes the discrimination was more subtle, in the form of 'microaggressions' (Solorzano et al, 2000) like in the case of Roberto: "I don't know, they didn't accept me […]. No, I wasn't part of their group. [...] My Spanish peers didn't accept me. They could talk to me and everything, but when for example, when, they said: hey, I invite you to my house. They invited, I don't know 3, 4. Even when I was friends with them, I wasn't invited, and such… and I used to think dammit! […] Let's see, I didn't mind […] And I ignored it, and I said I don't care. And I used to go to my house, I didn't care, that is, I was indifferent, but ... There lays the rejection" (Roberto, 18). The participant had to develop a defence mechanism to cope with this rejection that possibly followed the steps of protest, despair and detachment explained by Bowlby (1973) in his theory of attachment. This rejection also explains the need to find other sources of belonging and affiliation that were usually met by Ecuadorian or Latin groups of friends and sometimes Latin gangs.

Nonetheless, some other participants made good friends with native Spaniards, especially those involved in football teams. A male in a short vocational centre explained: "those in my team are mainly Spaniards. And I spend most of the time with them. We go training or sometimes we arrange to meet, we connect ourselves by Tuenti [Spanish social network similar to Facebook] or something and we meet in the park and ... I don't know, we go out, we go for a walk, or we go to the cinema and stuff. […]. Sometimes Spanish and Latinos, and we go out together. [...]. Yes, there in my neighbourhood [...], there are Latinos and Spaniards. We met when we were little and we are still friends" (Juan, 18). Juan arrived to Spain when he was 7 years old, similar to Alvaro, a high school student who arrived to Spain at the age of 6 who also seems to have made good Spanish friends through playing football: "I made many friends from the early days, I was invited to play football, and as they lived nearby, they passed by my house and rang me but they did not know where I lived, but they rang all the floors until they found me" (Álvaro, 15). Sport has been used as an integration tool by policy makers in countries with a long history of

migration, following Putnam's theory of social capital, sports are expected to foster voluntarism, citizenship, democracy, community well-being, trust, inter-cultural knowledge and social networks (Walseth, 2008).

The presence of other students of Ecuadorian background in the class tends to act as a factor of integration and well-being, creating stronger bonds. A male in post-compulsory secondary school said: "since the first day I made friends because, as they were from my country, Ecuador, that helped me" (Alberto, 17). Another high school student remembers: "Well ... yes, from the beginning I made good friends and … man, of course I missed the, your friends there and all that, but ... generally well. They were nice to me. And, besides, since there are also, sometimes, some people from right there, from X ((little town in Ecuador)), or from Ecuador, you feel more comfortable too, because you are not the only one among everyone" (Alicia, 16). Yet, these quotes reflect the experience of stigma, "not being the only one", and social distance, the experience of being regarded as different, as the "other". As Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder (2001) argue, 'school racial-ethnic composition' influences school engagement and attachment, because having other Ecuadorian or at least Latin background students make the participants feel more comfortable in the classroom, more embedded in the school.

However, as they progress in the academic track, this presence starts to wean and the few remaining feel more isolated. Their engagement and attachment for the school diminishes and if they do not feel embedded, they might try to avoid interactions with other students and teachers by skipping classes (Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder, 2001). That is the case of Alberto, an Ecuadorian male student completing the first year of high school: "Yes, it used to be good. But now, I don't like it anymore […] because there are not many friends. Some stopped studying and others left the school. […]. They work, or are in one of those PCPI [short vocational courses], and don't study anymore. Most of them stopped studying" (Alberto, 17). Table 11 showed the high proportion of Ecuadorian students enrolled in these remedial short vocational courses: 2,92% out of the total student population enrolled in PCPIs[16] and 80,90% out of the total foreign student population enrolled in PCPIs, in comparison to compulsory middle school (ESO) 1,73% and 61,49% respectively and non-compulsory high school (Bachillerato) 1,15% and 58,56%

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[16] "In Spain, initial vocational qualification programmes (Programas de Cualificación Profesional Inicial – PCPI) are aimed at preventing early school dropout, opening up new possibilities for training and qualification and facilitating access to employment. PCPI programmes are aimed at those students aged over 16 who do not hold the Graduado en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria certificate. In exceptional circumstances, this may apply to children aged 15 who have taken the second academic year of compulsory secondary education but do not meet the requirements to progress to the third year and who have already had to stay down once during this stage" (Eurydice, 2011:48).

respectively. This concentration of Ecuadorian students in these remedial courses does not facilitate their social or economic integration.

ESO - a Turning Point

Middle school comprises four years of compulsory education followed by two years of upper secondary school for those who would like to go to university. The second year of middle school (2° ESO), seems to be a turning point in which many of the participants become disengaged and drop out. A probation officer explains the possible reasons by describing the school failure among young offenders: these "kids, the vast majority, 95%, don't go beyond 2nd ESO. 2nd of ESO is the critical point for our guys. First let's say, 1st year of the ESO is a jump from primary school, they are still children in 1st of ESO. And it builds up a bit regarding adolescence, they have moved schools, the context is more, let's say, aggressive, and in 2nd year of ESO they usually drop out or they are diversified in various programs either, for that, for compensation or training classrooms more vocational oriented". These selection processes apparently based on merit, are actually informed by a broad spectrum of prejudices regarding ethnicity, social class, and gender, reflecting institutional discrimination. The decision regarding whether the student would follow a more academic or vocational track has short, medium and long term consequences of the students' educational trajectories and careers (Gomolla, 2006).

The progression from primary to secondary education is a critical point. A factor arguably related to the disengagement with schooling is the more distant relation with teachers in middle school, consequence of a higher number of students per teacher and different teachers for different subjects (Fernández Enguita, 2010:154). This distance was confirmed by some high school teachers: "I'm not very interested in their family life, maybe I should be, but I'm not. […].I don't know if I am being prudish or not sufficiently sensitive to their social context, but I don't go very deep in the, in the family context of my students, unless it comes up to me for some reason, which doesn't usually happen otherwise". Another high school teacher commented "we don't intrude in their lives, do we? […] neither do we interview them to know about their personal lives". The lack of knowledge and interest about their students' family situation are explained either as respecting their privacy or as not being part of what high schools are supposed to do. It is only when there is a sharp decrease in a student's attainment that the tutor might share some family details with the other teachers in one of the evaluation meetings that happen once a term. Yet, it is commonplace in the school failure literature that the family, particularly parents' socio cultural status and expectations for their children, together with family structure or the existence of family problems such as violence, drug or alcohol problems, partner

instability, unemployment, etc highly influence the students' achievement (Johnson, 2006; Astone and McLanahan, 1991; Bernard, 1991; Coleman, 1987; Willis, 1977).

The distance between teachers and students is also used to maintain discipline. Although students with a migration background tend to be more respectful at first, they rapidly assume the perceived lack of discipline and respect professed by their native peers: "discipline has also fallen sharply, sometimes kids haven't internalised that the teacher's role is very different from theirs, however democratic and civic that we all are" (high school teacher). Nevertheless, the interviews also reflect the implication of many other teachers in the student's educational journey. Jose, a short vocational education course student narrated how his teachers used to say to him before he dropped out: "don't skip classes, you're very smart, you could get it out right (pass the course) if you study, don't skip classes" (Jose, 16).

The progression from primary to secondary school also entails higher levels of difficulty and exigency (Fernández Enguita, 2010: 154) yet, more freedom and independence to manage students' individual time and learning. A student in upper secondary complained: "yes, they demand a lot and go very quickly, the topics we have covered are six topics per semester, yes, and very fast. That's what shocked me" (Alberto, 17). Another student commented how a false perception of being more free and relaxed ended when the exams arrived and suddenly he realised it was more difficult than he had anticipated: "at first it was vacation, this, uh, … I hardly ever did my homework, I didn't study much. And because things seemed easy, but then, when the exams arrived, they were difficult. [...] The topics were very long, lots of theory, many, many ... exams with practical exercises, maths, particularly" (Alvaro, 16). It could be argued that Alvaro is suffering from unequal information in comparison to other students whose parents or relatives have gone through the Spanish education system, since they could have advised him to work harder at these final years before university, as they are decisive for his future career.

Migrants' Education-Occupation Mismatch

A male Ecuadorian working as a mediator points out that the dire economic situation at home together with seeing their parents working in low skilled jobs despite being qualified lead young people of Ecuadorian background to drop out: their "parents tend to have low-skilled jobs, low-skilled, even if they are qualified, because it often happens that people are qualified, […] so young people see a quick exit in the, in the low qualification labour market, they stop studying". This situation was described by one of the male participant in high school: "My mother has a university degree but she can't work here because she needs to convalidate it and she can't waste much time. [She did] nursing [and she works] cleaning. […]. Yes, she validated it, but I don't

know, they created a lot of problems and in the end they said that she would have to study another year, but as a higher grade. And in the end my mother can't waste time so she has left it. […]. My aunt, who studied chemistry, also lives here in Spain and is working as a cleaner" (Felipe, 18). The long process of degree convalidation[17] or accreditation makes many Ecuadorian migrants unable to apply their knowledge to the right fields. The requirement to do some extra courses in Spanish universities does not take into account their difficult economic situation, where they need to work full time to survive and usually pay the debts contracted during the migration journey. The time-consuming bureaucratic process together with the conditions for the accreditation of these titles, discourage most Ecuadorian migrants to pursue the recognition of qualification and skills thereby remaining trapped in precarious and low paid jobs in the (mostly informal) labour market (Kontos et al, 2009: 29) with no negotiating power to voice their demands.

The director of a vocational and compensatory education centre describes the lack of ambition or low aspirations that his students show regarding the kind of jobs they apply for: "They don't seem to care about the type of job that they get. Perhaps, man, like everybody else, they try the less demanding the better; but to say the truth, for them it doesn't matter if it is construction, it is construction. What happens is that often they realise that they lack a routine structure of a normalised lifestyle. Having to wake up and be punctual, going to work in perfect condition, absences for reasons not justified, that is, they often lack the necessary skills to keep a job or to attend training courses". But this perceived lack of ambition might be the result of the adaptive preference formed by the lack of real opportunities to get meaningful and well paid jobs.

School Attrition

Thus, considering other research findings related to the factors associated to school drop out such as "low-income or single parent families, getting low grades in school, being absent frequently, an changing schools" (Barton, 2006: 15), one could argue that the low income, single parent family and changing schools are the only factors, since absenteeism together with low grades are but symptoms of the drop-out process (Fernández Enguita, 2010). The participant's ethnic background seems to be related to their disengagement with the school life, but it cannot be easily separated from their social class and gender. The likelihood of belonging to low income

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[17] Most European countries do not have national policies targeted at supporting migrants "to fully utilise their skills in the labour market despite the institutional framework in place to regulate the recognition of academic titles and the certification of qualifications in the EU (e.g. Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region – Lisbon 19976, the European Qualifications Framework, bilateral agreements between states, etc), collaboration networks (e.g. European Network of Information Centres, the NARIC Network, etc), and national structures (National Academic Recognition Information Centres)" (Kontos et al, 2009: 29).

and single parent families is also higher for children of Latin American migrants than for natives (IOE, 2007, Fernández Enguita, 2010). However, the disengagement is not the result of personal characteristics, but how the school actively and passively discriminates against certain individuals already disadvantaged and oppressed by other social institutions.

Changing schools was common among some of the participants, as one of the male high school student whose family moved houses at least three times after migrating said: "Well, at first when I arrived, I remember that I had a hard time at school, because there was a child that picked on me. And then I remember I changed school, I moved to another area X., and I lived there, for five years. [...]. Then I went to another school, where I spent one year and then I moved home, here in Y., and then I moved again, where I am now" (Alvaro, 15). Another participant moved schools in his last year of compulsory education because his father decided to take him to Ecuador for a 6 month holiday and when he returned he could not enrol in his previous high school again, furthermore, he had to retake the year because of missing half of the academic year. These changes bring a great amount of instability and uncertainty that affect their well-being and aspirations. Like one of the experts working in a young offenders institution explained: "Building something sustainable with them, and developing the means so they can think what they want to become or what they want to live is very hard work. That is, very difficult, very difficult, because they don't ... They live in the provisionality [uncertainty] and the uncertainty they drag from their migration process, from the adaptation to different school classrooms. Since we move you because you don't fit the profile. Their adaptation to different addresses [homes], the tentativeness of this month you're okay [enough economic resources] and you live in a furnished 3-room flat, but next month something goes wrong and you have to rent one, then your room is no longer yours and you have to share with your mother in a small space where you don't have your own space, that is very common. […] Reducing their personal space, the space to develop normally. The provisionality is what marks them". This instability increases their vulnerable position and is created and reinforced by the combination of a segmented labour market, economic crisis, an education system that is not able or willing to adapt to the students' diverse needs, among other factors.

Conclusion

Thus, although education is usually portrayed as the way forward to achieve social mobility, this research data signals that the Spanish education system, similar to other Western countries, tends to reinforce social inequalities by producing higher levels of school failure among students with a low social class and ethnic background. The institutional discrimination takes place at different

levels, and although sometimes is explicit, often goes unnoticed by the perpetrators and the victims, becoming a normalised practice.

For those achievers who manage to progress to high school and even university, the decreasing presence of other Ecuadorian peers in their class makes their educational journey more isolating. Few of the participants were accepted as equals by their native peers, and most of them searched for the comfort and support from other students with Ecuadorian background. They were a majority in remedial vocational institutions, which seem to provide a second class alternative to other academic tracks, but who succeed in rescuing students who would otherwise be categorised as NEETs (not in education, employment or training). However, the concentration of students with a migration background in certain inner-city schools and remedial courses does not benefit the social and economic integration of children of migrants, resulting in bonding with other Ecuadorians and Latinos in general, at the expense of bridging the gap between themselves and native Spaniards. Likewise, the job opportunities that these courses open are very questionable.

Although missing in the participants' narratives, who instead referred to a convivial relation with some teachers, some exceptional multicultural education efforts made by certain teachers include incorporating Ecuadorian references into the curriculum and adapting their pedagogy to the heterogeneity of the students' needs. These efforts facilitate the mutual understanding of natives and migration background students which increases school progression, particularly for the latter group. Likewise, social activities elicited during the interviews such as playing in school and local football teams also promotes social integration. Yet, it is striking that schools in general and teachers in particular, do not try to address the unequal starting point of these students who are at disadvantage in terms of material and inmaterial resources that affect their ability to learn. Neither did they seem to concern themselves with the lack of bridging, nor the daily micro and macro aggressions (nuanced and explicit forms of psychological and physical violence) of racisms, sexism and classism. For those who did not doom Ecuadorian background students with their low expectations, their preferred attitude of distance or neutrality reinforces the inequity, contributing to the legitimisation of a complex system of oppression.

Therefore, the lower levels of education achievement displayed by students of Ecuadorian background in the official statistics are not the result of particular traits of an imaginary "Ecuadorian culture". They are rooted in a complex system of inequality of capabilities, in which education institutions often end up building further barriers by not providing more effective mechanisms for the integration of all the students in the class regardless of their country of origin, by not paying attention to their diverse needs in order to increase their capabilities to

participate in education, or by not addressing and redistributing the inequality of valuable assets such as power, respect and resources that affect their educational journeys and career expectations.

Chapter 8: The Intersections of Age, Ethnicity, Class and Gender

The end of the essential black subject also entails a recognition that the central issues of race always appear historically in articulation, in a formation, with other categories and divisions and are constantly crossed and recrossed by the categories of class, of gender and ethnicity. […] the question of the black subject cannot be represented without reference to the dimensions of class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity.

─ Stuart Hall (1988)

Intersectionality offers a critical tool to study well-being, vulnerability and deprivation analysing the dynamic interactions between individuals and institutions (Hancock, 2008: 74) between agency and structure. Sexism, racism together with other forms of discrimination on the basis of age, class, origin, disability and other status shape social and economic disadvantage. Looking at the intersectionality between gender, class, ethnicity and age enhances our understanding capturing the multiple dynamics of discrimination that young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain might encounter in their daily lives.

This research follows the premise that ethnic, gender and class differences in education outcomes are not the result of genetic differences, as some authors such as Jensen, 1969; Herrnstein and Murray, 1994 argued. The empirical evidence that these authors support their theories of genetic differences are flawed due to the incomplete account of social factors that they claim to have controlled when measuring racial education inequalities, their simplistic definition of intelligence, even when this concept changes through time and culture and it is not rooted in any specific gene (Nisbett, 1998, Persell, 2008). Other authors such as Lewis, 1966 argued that the root of the educational disparities among different ethnic groups in America is mainly related to cultural practices such as parenting, student behaviour, values, aspirations, etc. The problem with the cultural explanations is that, similar to what happen with the genetic explanations, they place the roots of the disadvantages on the individuals affected, victimising the very people who most suffer from these inequalities absolving public institutions from their roles as perpetrators of the unequal status quo. Furthermore, both genetic and cultural explanations risk becoming self-fulfilling prophecies when the host society and particular stake holders such as teachers, believe that ethnic minorities and children of migrants will get worse education outcomes than their native counterparts and, therefore, lower their expectations.

Critical with genetic and cultural approaches, this research follows the structural perspective in which differences in education attainments are not seen as purely individual but as the result of how advantages and disadvantages are structured along ethnic, class and gender lines.

"Historical and current racial stratification is related to socialization contexts, particularly neighborhoods, families, and schools. Racial stratification, ideologies, and socializing contexts shape and constraint culture, interactions, and responses that occur between parents and children, teachers and students, parents and teachers, and among peers. All the three major components in the model are implicated in creating racial differences in educational outcomes" (Persell, 2008: 300). Racism, sexism, classism and ageism produce and sustain material inequalities and unequal power relations that lead to inequality of capabilities, capability deprivation, poverty and social exclusion.

Social reproduction has been criticised for being too deterministic without letting room for individual agency and social change. Instead one could follow Lareu's and McNamara's (1999) conceptual framework of moments inclusion and moments of exclusion, representing reproduction and contestation, or even assimilation and resistance. The moments of inclusion refer to turning points in which the individual's capability set increases providing an advantage such as being placed in a high performing group, being offered a scholarship or being encouraged to applying to university; whereas the moments of exclusion would be those occasions in which the individual's capability set is constraint leading to disadvantages, such as being placed in a lower academic track, being expelled, failing exams, etc. Lareau and McNamara (1999) argue that cultural and social capital is only useful in particular fields and even in these fields, those who posses them may activate their capital or not. Therefore, age, ethnicity, class and gender affect individual's educational journeys and life trajectories but do not determine them. "Each person […], through the skill with which he or she activates capital or plays his or her hand, influences how individual characteristics, such as race and class, will matter in interactions with social institutions and other persons in those institutions" (Lareau and McNamara, 1999: 50).

Education

The effect of class in shaping education advantages and disadvantages has been widely studied (Willis, 1966; Bowles and Gintis, 1976), showing that working class students tend to follow education itineraries that lead to working class jobs either by being placed into lower academic tracks or through a process of resistance and opposition to the middle class culture and authority reigning school practices; whereas the middle and upper class students activate their cultural and social capital succeeding in the school hidden curriculum. The impact of gender in education has also been focus of much research (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007, Harris, 1998), whose findings usually point at higher levels of achievement for female students whenever they are allowed to

participate in terms of equality. Nevertheless, girls' career aspirations show a preference for arts and care, opting out other scientific and managerial careers. Yet, teenage pregnancy have a more negative impact on girls than boys, acting as a heavy burden that derails young mothers' career aspirations and often condemns them to higher levels of poverty. In terms of ethnicity, most research (Persell, 2008, McIntosh, 1998, Oakes et al. 1992) concludes that ethnic and racial minorities tend to be placed in lower academic tracks in schools, such as vocational skills, when they have not previously been segregated either by law or by housing distribution patterns into schools equipped with nether resources in terms of facilities and teachers' qualifications. Likewise teachers' low expectations towards them have a negative impact on their education achievement.

However there are fewer studies that look at the intersections of these axes of oppression. Morris conducted an ethnographic research in an urban school in Texas and concluded that "race, class and gender profoundly alter each other in framing perceptions of different students, which translates into different methods of regulating and shaping their behaviors. Examining organizational discipline at these intersections is crucial to developing a more nuanced understanding of the role of schools in producing and reproducing social inequalities" (Morris, 2005: 45). For instance, there is a growing concern regarding the case of white British working class male students' school disaffection (Abrams, 2010) whose situations clearly differs from their female, other ethnic minorities or middle class groups. It is necessary to disaggregate the data regarding different social identities to perceive the compounded effect of the different structural power relations.

In terms of gender, the findings of this study corroborate previous research (e.g. Mickelson, 1989; Fenández Enguita et al, 2010) showing higher education attainment for girls than for boys[18]. Even within the same family, thus controlling for social class and ethnicity, female siblings outperform male ones. A female high school student refers to her younger brother's results in middle school: "Well, not so well ... [...] I don't know, not, I think he doesn't like studying, it's a bit difficult for him. But hey, I'm trying to help now too, giving him a hand" (Alicia, 16). Teachers have the perception that girls display a more appropriate behaviour than boys and are harder worker putting more effort to succeed in school. This probably increases

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[18] Higher female education attainment is only a recent trend, since girls and women have historically been denied the opportunity to study and progress in formal education. As Barro's international comparison of education showed: "In OECD countries, the difference between male and female overall years of attainment has been small: the attainment of the female population has been about 95% of that of the male population from 1960 to 1985. In contrast, in the developing countries, the difference has been substantial, as males had about twice as many years of schooling as females until the 1970s. Although the gap declined in the 198Os, females still had only 67% of male attainment in 1985" (Barro and Lee, 1993: 389).

teachers' expectations leading to positive reinforcement and higher grades. Although this is the case for both native and children of migrants, this tendency is exaggerated in the case of the latter, probably affected by migrant parents' social class (Fenández Enguita, 2010). A high school teacher commented: "girls tend to have a more, more formal behaviour than boys; boys tend to be more disruptive, most rebellious and the girls on the other hand are sweeter, more docile, more obedient and more studious. That is a difference that is also observed in relation to the Spanish population. Girls are usually more wilful, more studious, care more about the situation, bother less in class, maintain higher rates of discipline, and are more disciplined. And then usually the academic results are always better in girls than boys in both the native and in foreign population". This ascribed and interiorised feminine behaviour fits better with the dominant school culture, facilitating engagement and attachment and, consequently, achievement (Carter, 2005, Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder, 2001).

Some authors point out at biologic factors to explain the reasons behind the perceived higher discipline and effort in girls, such as the changes during puberty (Harris, 1998). However, gender, together with ethnicity and class, is a social construction, therefore, the effect of differences in socialisation are higher than the genetic ones. The gender role ascribed to girls tends to be more complacent and less rebellious than the role for boys, which facilitates their adaptation into the school life, consequently they have a much lower risk to retake courses and drop out than boys (Fernández Enguita, 2010). The gender pattern of girls doing in average better than boys in school (Mickelson, 2008) is exacerbated for those students of ethnic background coming from more patriarchal cultures, especially if they belong to working class or low working class (Fernández Enguita, 2010). This is likely to trigger a generational dissonance where parents' expectations for these girls are opposed to the girls' aspirations to be as free as the native female students.

Thus, although the gender differences for boys and girls give an advantage to girls in terms of school attainment, the intersections of gender with ethnicity and class clearly seem to disadvantage young males of Ecuadorian background. The higher risk of skipping classes, repeating a school year and eventually dropping out also translate in a higher risk of being victims of violence, caught in criminal activities and serving sentences in juvenile detention centres. As one director of a young offenders institution explained: "Ecuadorian girls, we have had very, very few, […] their social conflict is lower than in the case of boys, these girls I think are more, uh, more inhibited, more, uh, trying to adapt in a better way, they are more home oriented, so to speak, more attached to the family and have less conflicts".

Marginalised Masculinities

The lack of discipline, social conflict and violence elicited among certain boys of Ecuadorian background both by teachers and juvenile detention centre staff finds their root in what Conell (1995) calls "marginalised masculinities" as opposed to the "hegemonic masculinities" ostented by white middle class men. Marginalised maculinities value strength, dominance, risk-taking behaviours, saving face and violence. For "boys who are in poverty, from racial and ethnic minority cultures, who are educationally disadvantaged, homeless, unemployed, risky and violent behaviour provides almost the only way of obtaining status and cultural resources" (Kenway and Fitzclarence, 1997:122). Accordingly, forming or joining an ethnically based gang can be conceptualised as a resistance mechanism to contest the exclusion rooted in structural racism. The sense of belonging to a violent based ethnically group such as a Latin gang and their status within it, depends on the respect and pride brought by the display of strength and dominance. Yet, these gangs' explicit violence threatens the body and life of their members: "Latin Kings [...] so much violence. I saw that they were very wild, because they are the gang's rulers. The more, the more cruel you are, the higher the position, and respect" (Roberto, 18). In these gangs, violence is used in initiation rites, as control mechanisms, as punishment both inside the gang and amongst gangs and in order to escalate the hierarchy (Buelga, 2010).

The role ascribed to girls in these types of marginalised groups usually describes them as potential sexual partners, girlfriends or as fragile possessions to protect; constraining their agency and freedom, subjectifying girls (Butler, 2004; Althusser, 1971) by creating a dependency to the agentic male. Most of the participants mentioned that being with girls was one of the main appeals for joining a gang. Describing his entry into the gang at the age of 13 years old: "I knew nothing, I saw, I saw the girls, I liked them, I am like, I like girls, I like the girls that were there" (Bartolo, 20). Another male in detention who also joined at the age of 13 narrated what attracted him from the gang: "The desire to feel important, desire to be with girls, you know? And then you see that, almost all were older. Then they had, they had respect, smoked, drank, felt like, adults, women stuck to them, simply because of being a Latin King" (Roberto, 18).

Unlike other violent ethnically based gangs, girls have an important role within Latin Kings gang's organization chart, either by joining the gang because of their relationship with one of the male members or becoming a member of the female version of the gang called the Latin Queens. A male participant serving a sentence in a detention centre described the role of girls in the Latin Kings gang: "the girls there couldn't be with the boys. Only if I'm with my girlfriend, my

girlfriend is there with us. As the king's girlfriend who is with us, but the girls are not ... are Queens , named Queenas, are separate in another area, with them, only girls, and three, four boys more caring for them, so that nothing happens. They are cared for and treated like your sister or your mother" (Bartolo, 20). Again, the gender role ascribed to girls is being a subject dependent of boys' status and protection. The metaphor of the family is used in terms of the father, head of the family, provider and protector of the family's honour. Bartolo continues describing the limitations prescribed for girls in the gang that reinforces the idea of masculinity among its members by defining the boundaries between men and women: "But there are girls who have joined ... I mean , I 'm with a girl, she's my girlfriend , if she wants , she says , I want to join , but it, once she joins she has to be with the girls, she can't be in my chapter [segment of the Latin Kings gang in a particular neighbourhood], with me , she can't . (-). That's forbidden. That's forbidden. And if there are girls, because there has been much out about girls being raped, the Latin Kings, among themselves, that's a lie! I won't lie, there is sexual harassment, that's happened, that I can't deny it, because there has been, because someone being drunk, I don't know. He loses his mind, does something stupid, I don't deny it. But the girls that have been so [sexually abused], in that sense, were the girlfriends of others [gang members] ... they weren't ... they weren't the queenas, the queenas are treated [with respect] like your sister. I remember one day one [of the gang members] hit one of the girl, and my God! I remember the poor guy... He was hit like a son, because you can't, can't" (Bartolo, 20). Sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse are not condemned when it is perpetrated against girls who are not members of the female section of the gang or are protected because of their position as girlfriend of one of the members. Violence against women seems to be part of the 'macho' masculinity particularly influential in the Ecuadorian psyche (Andrade and Herrera, 2001; Echeverría and Menédez-Carrión, 1994); yet all of the male participants had a great respect for their mothers and sisters.

The family metaphor is used by the Latin Kings' gangs who consider themselves a family and those in higher positions "educate" member in lower ranks punishing them using physical violence as a father would do in their imagination. In Ecuador, family, church and schools are sites of reproduction of violence were authoritarian structures and perceptions are engendered through the respect-punishment formula (Andrade, 1994: 134). These relationships have to be approved by the gang member otherwise they would be punished, curtailing their capability for affiliation with the other sex through a power exercise that tries to control the gang members' private life. Once they are approved, girlfriends are supposed to be respected by their boyfriends and other gang members under the threat of being beaten, however these rules were violated by the same people who imposed them: "they said that you had to respect the girlfriend you have,

she is like your daughter, is the best thing, the only thing you have, and if you don't respect her… they…, I don't know, and maybe they were the ones sleeping with your own girlfriend, the ones who harass them, who kissed your own woman" (Roberto, 18). Then, the contradiction between the narratives of respect-punishment concerning relationships and honour and the acting or performance by higher status gang members relate both to the contradiction between different types of masculinity the protective and the abusive 'macho' as well as the symbolic and physical violence used to maintain authority.

The conflicting roles ascribed to girls belonging to the Latin Kings gang were explained by one of the participants: "They, the women, they were more peaceful, but there are some who are, like everything, some have a temper and fight some men. And also some of them were with us, throwing bottles, this and that. I, the first time I saw a woman doing that, I was surprised, so I was shocked […]. Because since we were always taking great care of them. Not because they are weak, but because we're always taking great care that nothing happens to them, that they don't lack anything. The first problem you have with them uuuhhh. And I saw that they were throwing bottles, sticks, insulting, so I was shocked" (Bartolo, 20). The female participant who had been a Latin Queen, seem to share many of the characteristics described by the term 'marginalised masculinity'. "With […] 13 years I was in the famous Latin Kings gang […]. I'm not at all proud, I even feel ashamed to tell you, [...] but in those days I saw it as: oh, oh, I'm the meanest! And I've realised, over the years and now that I'm 17, I'm going to turn 18, [...] when you're in the street is not that you have their respect, it is that they are afraid" (Melanie, 17). Behaving like a 'bad girl' (Messerschmidt, 1995) in the sense of being violent and involved in criminal activities is an alternative way of 'doing gender' intimately associated to the oppression suffered by ethnic minority working class girls. Both "women and men 'do gender' in response to situated normative beliefs about masculinity and femininity" (Miller, 2002:434) shaped by structural positioning of intertwining classed, raced, sexed and generational social hierarchies. Thus, although these practices reproduce social structures they also reveal agency in the reinterpretation and resistance towards legitimised white, middle class femininities.

Whereas the Latin Queens are respected, the other girls are objectified and exploited: "There were other women , because there are many girls, who are not anything [they don't belong to the gang], […] And we know that they only come to have a good time, […], smoking and drinking, and ... listening to music, dancing, and that. And that, that, and those are the ones we have sex with and stuff. Some [gang members] crossed the limits" (Bartolo, 20). This boundary can be explained in terms of 'gender crossing' in which some of the girls are treated with the same respect as the other boys, because of acting as a 'bad girl' and enacting the role of a man in a

gang (Miller, 2002). Whereas the other girls who are not part of the Latin Queens are seen as sexual objects whose femininity entails being seductive but not brave or violent.

The director of a young offenders' institution commented: "they [girls] can have their positions and may have their things and that tie them very much because they assume their hierarchical positions in these groups but they always assume it from a position of inferiority, i.e., that sexism is latent. A girl, uh, has a 'king' for a boyfriend, as they call them, and that girl is tied to that boy". Another staff member working in a detention centre described how Ecuadorian "girls, the truth is that they also sell more that image, not only sexual but some as an object and "I am an adjunct to"". In fact, one of the main pillars for the rehabilitation programs in these centres relates to the deconstruction and reconstruction of gender patterns to avoid gender violence. One of the front line professionals commented how they had to deconstruct the Ecuadorian girls' image as "totally an object for reproduction, for fun and as an accessorize". They try to deconstruct this image by questioning the idea of jealousy as a show of love and attention.

The role ascribed to girls in these groups damage their agency and self-esteem, their femininity is linked to their sexual attributes and are considered an object of pleasure or a fragile person to be protected when they describe them as 'sisters' or 'daughters'. A member of staff in a detention centre described "the concept that girls have of gender, that they have about themselves, is highly distorted, their self-esteem is hanging by a thread". On the one hand, they are exposed to a European ideal of beauty that clashes their Andean phenotypes, making them feel excluded. On the other hand, the image of Andean women spread by the video-clips of reggaeton music – so popular among Latino but also Spanish youth – where women usually gyrate against their dance partner's genitalia (see photo below), lead them to internalise an objectified hypersexual identity (Rodrigues Morgado, 2012).

Figure 3
Reggaeton Dance

Source: Caycedo (2004)

Jealousy often emerged when talking about relationships. Narrating why he disapproved his girlfriend's career aspiration to become an actress, a male participant in a short vocational course

explained: "Because I don't know, I'm jealous, seeing her like that... not" (Carlos, 17). A girl in a detention centre described herself as being: "jealous, whether, regarding the relation with my mother or my boyfriend … and my friends too" (Melanie, 16). A male participant serving a sentence for violence against his girlfriend explained: "Yes… we have… mostly [problems] with jealousy. I attacked her in many occasions ... because I have been very jealous and… whenever I drank, I drank, I … well…I behaved badly" (Roberto, 18). This jealousy, whilst being a powerful manifestation of gender power relations, can also be explained by the need for affection and stability, especially intensified for those individuals with a lower self-esteem. The masculine desire to control and the gender role ascribed to girls of being docile and controlled is at the basis of these behaviours. The insecurity related to adolescence increased by not fitting into the host society beauty stereotypes, together with the changes and instabilities brought by migration, linked to the lack of affection resulting from parents' long working hours – i.e. the intersection of age, gender, ethnicity and class – make these young people seek an impossible control of their partners that generate frustrations and conflicts and sometimes end up in violence.

Aspirations

Gender roles also shape their career aspirations (Bandura et al., 2001; McWhirter, 1997). In the case of the female participants who were in high school they wanted to study degrees related to care such as medicine, paediatrics concretely in the case of Alicia (16) and journalism in case of Jennifer (17); whereas the boys who were in high school opted for engineering Álvaro (15), aeronautic engineering in case of Alberto (17), mechanical engineering in the case of Felipe (18). These gendered patterns of career aspirations do not differ from the Spanish native population.

What is more striking is the proportion of males of Ecuadorian background enrolled in short vocational remedial courses (PCPI); in 2008/2009 out of 1363 Ecuadorian students enrolled in PCPI only 464 were female whereas 899 were male (MEC statistics); with Ecuadorian students representing 80.9% out of all the foreign origin PCPI students and 2.94% of all PCPI students in 2011/2012 (INE statistics). Those who were in these courses also followed ascribed gender patterns, such as being a professional footballer or IT technician in the case of Carlos (17), an IT technician or an attendant in a computer shop in the case of Charlie (17), Juan (18) wanted to become a wielder or a mechanic and José (16) wanted to start his own business opening a restaurant; he probably drew his inspiration from his job at his uncle's restaurant.

In the case of those who were serving sentences in young offenders institutions, Javier (19) wanted to become a wielder, Manuel (18) was thinking of joining the army, Melanie (16) wanted to be a beauty therapist or a stewardess. Probably influenced by their relation with lawyers,

social workers and psychologists, some of the participants in these detention centres wanted to study law: Roberto (18) and Bartolo (20). It can be argued that these career aspirations reflect adapted preferences in a society structured along gender, class and ethnic lines, where males have "more relative prestige and cultural power" (Unterhalter, 2009:221) and these career aspirations are also shaped by their horizon of expectations in which their role models' achievements expand or constrain their capability to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) and practical reason (Nussbaum, 2000, 2009).

Notwithstanding, there did not seem to be apparent gender differences regarding what quality of life meant for them. Both boys and girls, either in high school, in a short vocational course or in detention often mentioned having their basic needs – including clothes – satisfied; good health; having their own money – enough for a few luxuries – having a job; being happy with their family. These aspirations do not differ much from other native young people's, who, according to the young people observatory's survey, they also hoped to have a job, a family, money and social status (Delpino Goicochea, 2012). It is interesting that native youth did not seem to be concerned about having their basic needs satisfied, even when it was a recurrent theme for young people of migration background. This can be explained by the higher levels of poverty and instability among the migrant population in Spain, where ethnicity and class intertwine constraining capabilities. In 2010 more than half of the working migrants did not earn the equivalent minimum salary in a year and the poverty rate for migrants had reached 31% with the even more disturbing figure of 10.8% for extreme poverty, whereas the poverty rate for nationals in 2010 was 19% and extreme poverty was 6.7% (IOE, 2012). Likewise, native youth seem to give a higher priority to having a successful career and high socioeconomic status than the participants in this research sample; this search for self-fulfilment through a career is only feasible after having their basic needs fulfilled and as a result of enjoying a higher capability set.

In order to form their aspirations, many of the participants mentioned role models, usually relatives: "I like my cousin who's a manager for famous people, who has a music production company there [Ecuador] everything. And when I went on holiday there, I was with the singer who is now very famous in Ecuador, thanks to him" (Álvaro, 15, male high school student). Another high school student who said he wanted to study mechanical engineering explained "I like it ... and because I don't know, most of my uncles have something like that, and I have always liked it" (Felipe, 18). Jennifer, a high school female student who was indecisive between studying journalism or becoming a policewoman commented "Eh ..., police, a relative, my cousin. And my godmother, who is a policewoman. And ... journalism, a cousin, but she is more into advertising" (Jennifer, 17). A short vocational course student also drew inspiration on his

uncle's business for his aspirations: "Because I like catering, as I have been working with my uncle and I got used to all that and decided [...] I wanted to start my own business of running a bar, restaurant or whatever" (Jose, 16).

Among the participants serving sentences in juvenile detention centres, there were frequently negative role models such as Bartolo's father who had been involved with drug trafficking and was killed in Ecuador: "No, I looked at him, he was my mirror, I looked up at him, like someone, I looked up at him a lot, of course. I looked at him like the kids when they see a superhero" (Bartolo, 20). Some other participants in detention searched for positive role models within these institutions: "A: I'd to be a psychologist [and his girlfriend whom he met in a detention centre wants] to be an educator in young offenders institutions" (Roberto, 18).

One of the experts, an Ecuadorian mediator explained the impact on their parents' working condition on their children's aspirations: "Their horizon usually lowers a lot, because their horizon goes not far beyond to what they saw for their parents, well, then, if his father works in construction and has been unemployed for two years, he is getting a subsidy or not getting anything at all, they have debts of, make the calculation, 100,000€ or 120,000€ from [buying] a flat and what he wants is to leave [Spain] and the mother works as a cleaning lady, attendant, […] or something like that, she has a wage never more than 1,000€. And she is the one saying, look, sonny, my dear, study, study, study. That is, the incentive is usually quite short, most prefer to work to help the family". These quotes reflect the influence of class, gender and ethnicity on the participants' career aspirations; the axes of oppressions seem mediated by their horizon of expectations provided by their family and surroundings together with structural inequalities that decrease the sense of efficacy, diminishing their aspirations. As Bandura et al put it: "The social efforts must address the expectations, belief systems, and social practices in the home, school, mass media, and workplace that not only diminish personal efficacy and aspirations but erect institutional impediments to making the most of one's talents" (2001: 202). Therefore, formal opportunities cannot be seized if the personal abilities and circumstances constrain the conversion of resources into valuable beings and doings.

Mothers

Regarding the admiration for some of their family members, the hard work of the participants' mothers seems to be a recurrent theme. Similarly, the INJUVE survey found that 58.3% young Spaniards admired their mother, highlighting their mother's understanding and communication skills, prioritising the family, her hard work and effort to give her family and better life (Delpino Goicochea, 2012: 32-33). One male participant in a short vocational course pointed out: "with

my mother I get on much better even, because I've spent much time with her. She's always supported me in everything, for example. I love her, you know? And I get on very well with her" (Charlie, 17). Ecuadorian mothers seem to adapt to the changing circumstances provided by the migration to Spain better than Ecuadorian parents, who often resent their weaning of authority in a society less patriarchal than Ecuador. This adaptation decreases the generational dissonance experienced by some Ecuadorian fathers who repeatedly lament the lack of respect typical of those children of migrants' whose main socialisation process took place in Spain.

Bartolo, in detention, complaint about the amount of work his mother has to do: "Yes, she works. She works in one, there is a company that sends her to, to care for the elderly. And it works well there. Sure, I'm tired of her working so much" (Bartolo, 20). His mother has instilled him with a sense of dignity regardless their economic circumstances: "Being poor, for me it is to be polite. A person, because of being poor as we are, they think we are strange things. And she always tells me to be poor for me is to be polite, my son. Don't forget it! [...] Like, because I don't know, there [Ecuador] is different to here being poor, many times people who have money sees you as a scourge. They look down at you, they say, look he doesn't have, and they'll rub it in. [...] Because when she says that she didn't have, people who had, look down on you, they stare at you up and down. So she says, that for her being poor ... I don't know, she isn't ashamed, as they say, not to be ashamed to be poor" (Bartolo, 20). This concept of being poor but not being ashamed is linked to self-respect and dignity (Narayan, 2000) and it reflects the wider definition of poverty as capability deprivation (Sen, 1999) rather than merely income poverty.

Another participant, a male student enrolled in a short vocational course explained his mother's instable working conditions saying she is still working as a cook in the restaurant she had quitted tired of not being paid during the first interview: "yes, no, there in the same place, the same where, where they didn't pay her. But I don't know, I think they transfer her some money per week, a week will transfer 300, 500 from the money they owe her, now they are a little better. Before they didn't pay her anything, but now they give her a salary of 300€ or so, 500€, of the money she had previously worked for and they hadn't paid her anything […]. [And he wished that] she didn't work anymore, my poor mum, she's already worked too much" (Charlie, 17). The precariousness of migrants' working conditions is a structural feature of the Spanish job market, where migrants tend to occupy niches not fully regulated by law, especially those related to the care, catering and sex industries in the case of women, and construction in the case of men.

Their mothers tend to represent a source of stability that gives them strength, especially when they have to serve long sentences, as a male in detention commented: "my mother has never left

me alone, you know? The two years I've been here, she's never left me, in the 20 months. She's always been by my side, supporting me, in whatever [I needed], You know? All the headaches that I've given her, and she's never reproached … and whenever she can she comes to see me" (Javier, 19). In contrast to their friends who seemed to have deserted them once they were caught by the police and put in a young offenders' institution: "in the end you are arrested and the only one coming to see you is your mother. […]. She is the only one who comes to visit me here" (Bartolo, 20).

Fathers

Fathers played a secondary role in the participants' narratives; according to the experts, Ecuadorian fathers tend to be more absent. Many Ecuadorian women saw migration as an escape from abusive relationships (Camacho, 2010), some others gained power and independence when they were working in Spain and sending money to their family in Ecuador, often they would earn higher salaries than their husbands and the power relationship was altered. This situation brought conflicts with the patriarchal Latino psyche and many parents broke up. An Ecuadorian mediator explained: Ecuadorian women "are the ones who have jobs, have, they are the ones leading the family, caring for children, etc. Then for the man, since the man was already a ghostly figure in the, in the Ecuadorian culture. […]. The absent father, […], in that process I think the woman gains independence, gains freedom and empowerment. So it is difficult, that is, she hardly wants to return to the previous status quo [in Ecuador]. Why? I mean, going back to the […] male dominance, etc. […] there is this tension that affects very much to children, very, very much to the children". In fact, the number of divorces among Ecuadorian marriages in Spain has been increasing steadily (INE); the factors behind this increment seem to be related to an increase in the capability set for Ecuadorian women in Spain that have more economic independence and are less constrained by sexist stereotypes of how a good Ecuadorian mother and wife should act.

The case of Bartolo's father being a role model for him despite being involved in drug trafficking and having been killed was mentioned above. Another participant in detention, a female, also mentioned her father was serving a sentence in prison: "yes, we are in touch, he writes to me, I call whenever ... well, he calls me every 15 days, the thing is that he is in jail, here [Madrid]" (Melanie, 16). Another male in detention narrated how his father abandoned his mother, his brother and him one day: "My father's been five years separated from my mother, he wasn't a great person, so to say, no. He wasn't, no. He went to buy cigarettes ((laughs)) and didn't come back. No, I don't know. No, I don't hate him… I simply respect my father but I have no affection for him. I don't love him like when I was a child: […] I was trying to do things not

to annoy him. And he, I mean, I tried to do everything perfect, so he would see it. But not, for him I never did things well. And many times… when he beat me, then I resigned myself" (Roberto, 18). Bad treatments are not unusual among young offenders; in fact, the experts explained that they fulfil the prophecy of victims who become victimisers. These types of fathers become negative role models and lower their children self-esteem; they also influence their strategies for solving problems, which tend to resort to violence and low tolerance to frustration. As one of the experts working in a juvenile detention centre explained: "they have mixed feelings regarding, their father figure, due to the feeling of abandonment, they love him, they hate him, they have him as a hero but at the same time, they loathe him".

These examples do not mean that all Ecuadorian fathers are negative influences; in fact, many other participants recounted the support and admiration for their fathers. For instance, in contrast to her mother who wanted to go back to Ecuador because of missing her family, this high school female student commented: "he [father] says that what matters is us and that we are here and we have no reason to go there" (Jennifer, 17). According to another participant, who was enrolled in a short vocational course, his father sacrificed himself returning to Ecuador because of his brother decision to return. His father had better prospects to generate income there, but his mother stayed with the participant who wanted to stay in Spain. "Hmm, I don't know, because my brother wanted to go back and he [father] didn't want to leave him alone" (Carlos, 17).

Out of the fifteen young participants, nine of them belonged to single parent or restructured families, where they did not live with their genetic father. Four of them lived both with their mother and father, and for one of them this information was not clear from the interview. Perhaps coincidently, the four participants whose parents were still together were the ones studying at high school. Changes in the family structure such as separation or divorce tend to have a negative impact on the children's academic performance and well-being (Astone and McLanahan, 1991, Cavanagh et al, 2006). Even if the family does not comprise both father and mother, having other members of the extended family or other meaningful caregivers that offer stability is related to higher levels of well-being. As Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin argue: "two or more adult figures in the home are more likely to be able to provide financial resources, supervision, guidance, and discipline" (2009: 716).

Family instability has repercussions not only for the children well-being and education outcomes during that time, but these are often prolonged over time affecting their careers and plans of life. Family instability could be categorised as a corrosive disadvantage (Wolff and De Shalit, 2007) because of its effect constraining capabilities and yielding further disadvantages. This family

instability does not only refer to whether the family structure is that of a single parent, but whether the children were separated from their parents during the migration process; whether these children changed houses during the time they spent being separated from their progenitors; whether they were also separated from their siblings at any point; whether the family structure had changed once they migrated to Spain; whether they moved houses once in Spain; whether the family is considering returning to Ecuador; whether some of the family members have already returned to Ecuador; whether some factors such as unemployment, debt or precarious jobs are affecting their financial stability; or whether physical, emotional or sexual abuse, violence, alcohol and other drug related problems or even mental problems exist. The instability brought by these dynamic family circumstances has a negative impact on children well-being and reduce their capabilities producing further disadvantages. The emotional distress associated to family instability may lower children's aspirations and increase their risk of dropping out (Cavanagh et al, 2006).

In some cases the participants' aspirations were dashed like in the case of Carlos, who passed the tests to get into the training section for one of the three first division football teams in Madrid but his father stopped him from accepting the place. "I went to take the test for the X [one of the first division football clubs in Madrid]. They offered me a place, but as I had to go to my country […] Well, I went to my country [Ecuador] and I rejected that. Well, my father refused. And they were still calling me but my dad said no. […] I would have wanted to stay here [in Spain] because yes, yes it would have been nice but as my dad ... that's what happens when you are a minor [laughs]" (Carlos, 17). Age, gender, ethnicity and class seem to intertwine here to constrain the participants' capabilities. His aspiration of being a footballer is likely to be shaped by gender and the idea of masculinity, especially in the low / working class status that see sports as a possible career (Guest and Schneider, 2003). His ethnicity was represented in the case of going back and forth to Ecuador and the cultural practice of obeying one's parents without questioning them, especially the father in a patriarchal culture. His father decided to go for holidays to Ecuador with the whole family half way though his last academic year of compulsory school. Because of it, he had to retake the year in a different middle school where there were Latin gangs problems. One of the members of a gang tried to mug him, he did not let him and both boys were expelled from the school. The school director recommended the participant to go to a different school, since he was at risk of serious violence, since these gangs seemed to dominate the playground and the surroundings: "because once I was at another school X, I don't know there were a lot of Dominicans and I, in yellow and black [clothes], and they thought it was a Latin King and I had to fight and uff, there were a lot of problems and they made me choose that if I stayed it was for

myself, well if I stayed, they were going to beat me the same, a lot of Dominicans came, so if I left, the better" (Carlos, 17). In this violent incident, the intersections of age, ethnicity, class and gender appear again to constraint the participant's capabilities. Because of having an Ecuadorian background and being a young boy, he is targeted by the Latin gangs that seem to rule the school playground. Public schools in working class areas have a higher concentration of migrant background students and also report more fights (Fenández Enguita, 2010; Defensor del Pueblo, 2007).

Police and Ethnic Profiling

Other occasion in which the intersection of age, ethnicity, class and gender led to moments of exclusion (Lareau and McNamara, 1999) took place in encounters with police. Several participants, mainly male, complained about being victimised by the police because of their ethnicity. One young student in a vocational centre said: "I don't like police very much, they stop you a lot, I don't know whether it is ... because we are Latinos and such [...] [they stop you] to search you, take my things... you're walking happily, and they stop you" (Jose, 16). Another male student in a short vocational course recounted: "at night with a friend and they were, were police who went up the path [with the police car] […], thinking that we were stealing just because we are Latinos and it was at night. And if some people hadn't started some people to … they [police] would have beat us, because my friend got two hits here in the mouth" (Carlos, 17). The intersection of age, ethnicity, class and gender is behind this ethnic or racial profiling, where police hardly ever stop and search Andean looking girls, young Spanish looking males, or even old Andean looking men, or when these young Andean looking young male wear posh clothes indicating a higher class status . The restrictions to the capability to move freely are highly increased when these four structuring social positions work simultaneously.

This ethnic profiling has been denounced by several civil society associations. These types of clashes with the police are particularly pernicious for social integration, since they diminish the trust in public institutions and lower migrants' confidence and social capital (Putnam, 2007). Answering to the question of why they did not denounce the unfair treatment, a young male studying a short vocational course responded: No. What for? […]. If we denounce, what are they going to do? Will they be in our favour? No, because they are Spaniards and the fact of being Spanish is going to be in their favour. Because what do we have? We don't even have evidence, just that they beat us, and nothing. And I think that is very wrong. That only because of being Latinos they take us and they beat us. The same police who say that we have the same rights, what rights? If they take us and beat us" (Carlos, 17). Here the narrative of equality before the

law clashes with institutional practices that systematically discriminate against working and lower class migrants and their descendants. The alternative is to find defense mechanisms such as lack of trust in Spanish public institutions. Social capital and diversity can be reconciled when democratic and bureaucratic institutions provide distributive and procedural fairness and where there are considerable possibilities for informal social contacts with others (Kumlin and Rothstein, 2010).

Another participant in probation avoided any type of encounter with the police because it seemed he did not have a residence permit. He had applied but apparently it is a long process. He explained "when I get the documentation, it'll be better, I'll be more relaxed, I'll try to get a job because right now I can't work, and if the police finds me in the street, they take me, you know? […]. Because I have no documentation. They take me to Aluche [a centre for immigrants in police custody] overnight, if I'm lucky. Otherwise, they leave me there for three days, and that's not OK, I don't like it, you know? […] It's happened to me like 3 times, it's happened to me already[…]. For example, the last time I was there, I was leaving my house and they [police] caught me in the underground, you know, they asked for documentation, and I gave it to them. But no, not documentation, but a paper that I have that my lawyer gave me that as we were doing some paperwork, it is supposed that they [police] can't take me to with that, you know? […] . And the police saw that and they said okay, it's okay, we're going to Aluche that you'll get your passport. And we arrived to Aluche and they put me in the dungeon. Until the next day at 3p.m. they didn't let me out, you know? And the other day, the same, the same, they just took me and took me to Aluche, until the next day. And so […] And that's not cool , you know? Going home and then they take you and lead you to the dungeons there, it isn't cool. That's why I don't go out much, you know?" (Javier, 19). Javier's capabilities are highly constraint because of the fear of being detained and even deported if he does not get in touch with his lawyer. He does not feel free to go out in case the police stops him and takes him to the centre for immigrants in police custody, he cannot apply for jobs because the lack of a working permit. Because of his appearance, he is usually subjected to police ethnic profiling.

When we were going to meet for the second round of interviews, he could not make it because he was in hospital. There seems to have been a fight and he had been knifed. Having belonged to a gang, he is under threat and his capability of bodily integrity is at risk. His age, ethnicity, class and gender make him a target for both the police who stops him and take him to police custody for his lack of legal permit, and for different ethnically based violent gangs who threaten him and even attack him. Because of being a man, he is more prone to be stopped by the police and a victim of gang violence (Parkes and Conolly, 2013). Having turned 18 when he was still in

detention meant that now he is in probation he is treated like an adult, an 'illegal' immigrant. Normally minors have an easier access to Spanish nationality. He arrived to Spain when he was 12 years old so, in normal circumstances he should have got the double nationality. But his family's lack of socio economic resources has delayed this process and condemned him to live in a neighbourhood particularly risky if one has an Ecuadorian appearance, especially if one has ever been associated to a gang.

Gangs

Different youth gangs fight over territory; they use clothes, graffiti, hand gestures and other symbols as signs of identity. "There was a time that people began to wear wide clothes, and all that, and I got dressed with wide clothes. And people dressed like that looked bad; bad people dressed like this" (Juan, 18). Violence between and within gangs is not uncommon and it is often used to gain respect. Some of them explained their entry into the Latin King gang: "they said this is your family, we welcome you; and it felt like a family, because as I've never had this, in my house alone ... I took refuge in the gang" (Roberto, 18). The need to belong, together with a perceived need for protection – Nussbaum's capabilities of affiliation and bodily integrity – are used by these groups to attract young people with a migration background. Some of them joined at the age of 12 and 13 years old, although it is more common to join at a later stage. They present an alternative to going to school and involve gatherings in the street and home parties during the day.

Fun, alcohol, drugs, the opportunity to meet people of the opposite sex and make friends seem to be a common appeal for both native and migrant youth in general, but the addition of restoration of pride and imposed respect through fear and violence appears to be more prevalent in these gangs. One young male who arrived in Spain when he was 6 years old recalls joining a gang at age 13: "I joined, mostly because, […] in my house there was no one. In my house I was uncomfortable, empty. […] I started to hang out a lot with people FROM MY COUNTRY ((saying it louder)) […] I liked being Latino again. And I started hanging out, […] I saw the gang, because I, they started brainwashing me, you know? They told me this is your family. We welcome you, and such. And it felt like a family, because as I've never had this, at home alone, […] and I started ... Then I went out to nightclubs, stole things, because this is what happens, gangs are not good. And one of the worst things about them, which afterwards I also did, you know? […] Is that you convince children […]. The desire to feel important, desire to be with girls, you know? And then you see that, almost all were older. Then they had, they had respect, smoked, drank, felt like, adults, women stuck to them, simply because of being a Latin King"

(Roberto, 18). Joining or forming an ethnically based gang is an alternative to trying to conform to the discourse of the good white middle class Spanish citizens that excludes them. These gangs can be seen as a resistance mechanism where a new sense of belonging is found and marginalised masculinities and femininities flourish. Violence and criminal activities make sense when the reward is the respect and economic resources denied when playing the white, middle class game. As Messerschmidt holds, for marginalised boys "robbery is a rational practice for 'doing gender' and for getting money" (1993: 107).

Conclusion

Thus, age, ethnicity, class and gender are social constructs negotiated between individuals who, on the one hand, constantly construct and reconstruct their identity choosing from a multiple identity portfolio consisting of different intersections where age, ethnicity, class and gender are more or less salient depending on the features they choose to activate in relation with others. On the other hand, social identities are imposed on individuals on the basis of certain characteristics associated to stereotypes, in an exercise of cognitive categorisation permeated by power relations where individuals are sorted, building boundaries to structured access opportunities and resources. Such is the case of the moments of exclusions where the intersections of age, ethnicity, class and gender as drivers of oppression are exemplified by the placement in lower academic tracks, the ethnic profiling by police or the threats and attacks by street gang members.

Therefore, young people of Ecuadorian background's capabilities and agency are shaped by restricted socio cultural schemas or habitus and resources specific to the personal, social, and environmental conversion factors available in the social milieu which is structured in the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender. The aspirations reflecting the individual's valuable doings and beings, together with creative transpositions provide opportunities for transformative action that can take the form of resistance mechanisms, such as forming or joining a street gang, or a civil society organisation to defend migrants' rights. Yet, all in all, it seems that male participants were at higher risk of school failure, racist abuse and physical aggression than the female participants. The Ecuadorian background girls who participated in this research, presented different vulnerabilities related to gender roles, usually linked to sexual stereotypes. Both sexes experienced higher levels of poverty than the average native youth in Spain, situating them in a lower class extract, such a working class, working poor or underclass. The perceived unwelcoming context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) together with experiences of discrimination in the basis of race, ethnicity, class, gender or age, plus the fear of physical, verbal and psychological violence become stressors that hamper young people of migration

background academic achievement, making them vulnerable to school attrition (Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, Martin, 2009).

Chapter 9: Capability Deprivation and Resistance Mechanisms

Los nadie: los hijos de nadie, los dueños de nada.
Los nadie: los ningunos, los ninguneados, corriendo la liebre,
muriendo la vida, jodidos, rejodidos.
Que no son, aunque sean.
The nobodies: the no-ones, the nobodied, running like rabbits,
dying through life, screwed every which way.
Who are not, even when they are.

— Eduardo Galeano, Libro de los Abrazos

The existence of structural inequalities in society systematically condemns some individuals to lower access to valuable opportunities and resources, when not blocking it altogether. The capability approach terms this lack of valuable opportunities 'capability deprivation' or 'unfreedom' (Sen, 2009:83); i.e., the absence of multiple freedoms to promote the functioning which one has reason to value (Alkire, 2007). Capability deprivation can be seen as the result of multiple vulnerabilities that make an individual more likely to fall into a lower state of well-being (Dubois and Rousseau, 2008) and consequently constrain his or her future options to carry out his or her plan of life. As argued in the previous chapter, vulnerabilities, such as oppressive social identities marked by age, gender, class and ethnicity among others, tend to intertwine and compound one another, yielding further vulnerabilities or disadvantages. These compounds have been referred to as "corrosive disadvantages" by Wolff and De Shalit, who define "disadvantage as a lack of genuine opportunity for secure functioning" (2007:9).

If well-being represents the achievement of goals and functionings; the freedom to pursue these goals is also a dimension of well-being, what Sen calls "agency freedom". Thus, agency can be understood as the ability to make decisions and formulate plans of life, whereas well-being is the dynamic attainment of goals. "Agency goals" are the aims that a person has reason to value, which in some cases could be considered adaptive preferences. Although the ability to pursue one's plan of life is intimately related to the concept of well-being, some plans of life may induce further vulnerability and capability deprivation. Adaptive preferences are desires and expectations that lead to low levels of objective well-being (Robeyns, 2001:15). "The deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation because of the sheer necessity of survival, and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change, and may even adjust their desires and expectations to what they unambitiously see as feasible". (Sen, 1999: 63, and Sen, 2009: 283).

When children of migrants do not feel part of the majority group in the host society, the alternative affiliation and resistance mechanisms may result in higher levels of deprivation, even,

social exclusion. Social exclusion can be understood as the multiple disadvantages that result from the cumulative experience of poverty, discrimination and social isolation. Under the capability lens social exclusion can be seen as individual capability deprivation rooted in a dynamic failure of personal conversion factors, social relations and public institutions.

The young participants interviewed in this research presented different degrees of vulnerability due to their ethnicity, age, gender, social class and particular family circumstances. Five of the participants were pursuing courses in a high school with different success rates, including year repetitions, failing some subjects or being high achievers; another five were enrolled in a remedial short vocational education course after having dropped out compulsory middle school in different years, due to diverse factors; the last five were serving sentences in juvenile detention institutions and presented a wide range of constraints in terms of conversion factors. They all have in common being adolescents, having migrated from Ecuador to Spain and belonging to working class families. "The disadvantages faced by the excluded tend to be interrelated. People belonging to minorities or school drop-outs may have a greater risk of being unemployed or being employed in precarious jobs and hence being low-paid, less educated, recipients of social assistance, posses little political power, and fewer social contacts" (De Haan 2001: 26). Some of the participants were at higher risk of social exclusion for a variety of factors such as having dropped out of school before finishing compulsory education, being unemployed, their condition as young parents, their criminal records, their belonging to ethnically based violent gangs, their substance addiction or the compound effect of several of these circumstances.

The Case of Jose

For instance, let's focus on the case of one of the participants. Jose was 16 during the first round of interviews and 17 during the second. He migrated from Ecuador to Madrid, in Spain, at the age of 6. His mother was a young teenager when he was born and does not seem to have lived with him since he was a baby. When his father migrated to Spain, he stayed with his grandmother and uncle in Ecuador before the three of them also emigrated and Jose could live with his father again. By this time, his father had started a new family and this living arrangement did not last long; after one year Jose went back to live with his grandmother and uncle who had also moved to Madrid: "Yes, one year but I was ... I don't know, I preferred to go back with my grandmother and I'd rather live there with her and my uncle" (Jose, 17). He has 4 younger half-brothers and sisters; 2 of them, from his father's side, live in Madrid with their father and mother; another 2, from his mother's side, live in Ecuador, despite Jose's mother

living in a different Spanish city than Madrid. He hardly keeps in touch with any of them. Therefore he belongs to an unusual family – what the experts called a dysfunctional family – where mother and father are not present, instead, the grandmother fulfils that role, with the help of his uncle, who has a child of his own. The instability caused by what appeared to be an unwanted pregnancy with an extremely young mother (according to the data provided in the interview she would have been around 12 years old when she got pregnant), is well known to have a negative impact on the children's academic performance and well-being (Astone and McLanahan, 1991, Cavanagh et al, 2006), .

 When he arrived in Madrid at the age of 6 he started going to a school in the city centre with a disproportionally high number of migrants: "There were [almost] only Ecuadorians in the classroom. [...]. Out of 25, half were all Ecuadorians, almost. [...]. Spaniards 3 or 5, they were only a few. And there were also some Dominicans" (Jose, 17). This partly explains the absence of Spanish friends or acquaintances: "I have never hanged out with Spaniards. I've always hanged out with, with Ecuadorians, Colombians" (Jose, 17). When he started middle school he started to skip classes and this absenteeism translated into failing subjects, repeating years and finally dropping out completely at the age of 15. Similar to other participants in this research, peer effect and the appeal of house parties during the day seem to be behind the absenteeism that led him to drop out of school.

Academic literature provides numerous examples of the correlation between the concentration of migrant or ethnic minority students and poor academic performance as well as its adverse effect on integration (Coleman, 1966; Kozol, 1992, Portes and Hao, 2004). The effect of the school composition on school performance is seen as key and explained in terms of the differences in teacher quality, staffing ratios, school climate, and teachers' expectations in schools de facto segregated by socioeconomic status or country of origin. As in other migration receiving countries, Spanish native families are concerned with the potential negative impact on school attainment of the concentration of migrant background students in inner-city schools and consequently reinforce this over-representation by fleeing those stigmatized schools. The adverse correlation seems to be linked to the peer group effect, socioeconomic class composition and the school's resources including teachers' motivation (Cebolla Boado and Garrido Medina, 2011: 607). This de facto segregation in some inner city schools where network labour migration has concentrated, hampers the bridging of young people of migration background and native youth. Furthermore, it disadvantages migrant background students depriving them from more academic peers whom they could learn from; leaving them in classrooms where behaviour issues constantly interrupt the learning and violence often erupts in the playground. These

circumstances would have certainly decreased Jose's real opportunities to participate in education and the capabilities gained through education (Vaughan, 2007); leading him to drop out and condemning him to a lower capability set which yields further disadvantages.

Education and Employment

During the first round of interviews Jose was enrolled in a short vocational course (PCPI) in the field of electronics. At the same time he was working part time at his uncle's bar. During the second round he was enrolled in a remedial adult education course to complete compulsory school. He had failed the short vocational course due to absenteeism and failing exams. He was advised not to bother with the practical internship that usually follows the theoretical part of the vocational course since his chances of passing were slim. Only 4 out of the 16 students enrolled at that particular short vocational course had managed to complete the course that year; the rest, like him, had either failed or dropped out. He was also suggested to enrol the first cycle of adult education, comprising first and second year of compulsory school (ESO) since he only managed to reach the 3rd year of ESO due to automatic progression rather than having passed the necessary subjects. Although adult education did not appear as burdensome as the vocational course, the increasing working hours at his uncle's business seem to be hindering his attainment and inducing school attrition. Answering whether he was attending all classes he said: "Lately not because I'm working in a bar ...And I overslept today. […] [I work] in the evenings. [...] Now I go every day, […] Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Saturday and Sunday and I am there all day" (Jose, 17). He finishes working at around 1 a.m. everyday and needs to be at the adult education centre at 8 a.m. Evidence from longitudinal studies confirms the obvious, adolescent who work have less time for studying and therefore are more likely to become disengaged with the school life. Steinberg et al. (1993) also link adolescent employment to delinquency and drug abuse steaming from the autonomy from parents gained through the economic resources brought by these types of jobs. Working seems to have an effect on Jose's energy and engagement with education; yet, it could be argued that working made him more responsible and saved him from joining gangs or prevented alcohol and drug abuse. "I stopped going to school. [...] I think I was 15 or 16, [...] I used to go out with my friends. […]. But now I don't go out anymore" (Jose, 17). He seemed to enjoy working at his uncle's business and wanted to carry on in the catering industry running his own small restaurant. In comparison to his classmates, he was presented with higher chances to work in a place he values where he is respected and is fairly paid as well as learning a trade. Thus, his capability for work (Bonvin and Farvaque, 2003) seems to have expanded; even if at the expense of his capabilities to participate in and profit from education and leisure capabilities.

Becoming a Parent

Nevertheless, working at his uncle's was not the only significant barrier to his sleep and educational attainment. He had recently discovered he has a 9 month-old son. "The thing is a problem came up. [...] It's a son, or something, and, well, of course, I have to take care of him too, but also his mom ... […]. And so, sometimes it's hard to come here [adult school]" (Jose, 17). The baby's mother also originates from Ecuador; she is an 18 y.o high school student who lives with her parents. However, they are not in a relationship. Jose's current girlfriend is from Peru; they have been together for two years and she seems to be understanding with the new situation. Fortunately, Jose is able to provide for the baby thanks to his salary working at his uncle's bar. His grandmother helps him take care of the baby the weeks the baby is with him. "Well, she [baby's mother] lives in her house, I'm at my house, and she gives me the baby for a week, then the baby stays another week with her, and so on. [...]. [The baby] sometimes wakes up at 4a.m., hungry. And I don't know why. [...]. Then I have to get up, sleepy and I oversleep [so he misses the class]. [...]. I'm there and my mom [grandmother] takes care of him when he [the baby] is there. When I finish here [adult school] I'm with him [baby] too until 8 p.m., we are there. Then I go to work and come home at 1 or 2 a.m. […]. It is only at night, when he wakes up… then I am sleepy and get lazy and I have to come here at 8 a.m. and it's hard to get up. That's why I oversleep" (Jose, 17).

 There seems to be a higher rate of teenage pregnancy among youth with migration background, partly explained by the lower socio-economic status, partly by the changes in authority patterns after the migration process and parents' long working hours (González García et al, 2008). The interviews suggest a greater permissibility regarding teenage pregnancies in houses where members of the extended family live together and different generations look after the offspring. As one expert working in a young offenders institution commented contrasting the trend of young native Spaniards postponing forming families until they have finished studying and got a job: "These guys [children of migrants], on the contrary, postpone decision-making [regarding their future career] and it often overlaps with the time to live with their partner. What happens? They have to live with their mother, which that does not help the full development of the couple. The parents don't act like the parents really, but like older siblings because the ones who look after the children are the grandparents". Although helpful in the short term, this family overprotection hampers the chances to develop youth's agency, making their own decision, taking responsibility for the consequences and being able to design, redesign and carry out their plan of life.

Teenage parenthood compounds age, ethnic, class and gender disadvantages, especially in the case of girls; increasing the likelihood of long term and intergenerational poverty, by further reducing the education and employment prospects of those who are already disadvantaged. (Sigle-Rushton, 2004, Bynner et al., 2002). Jose was not the only participant who was a parent; Roberto (18), who had dropped out studying at the age of 15, was already a father during the first round of interviews. He was in a detention centre as a result of violence against the mother of the child, among other issues. During the second round of interviews he had finished his sentence and was in probation. He had restarted the relationship with the mother of his son, a Colombian background 19 year old female who had also been in detention. Despite being together, they also had to live separately with their respective families. Unlike Jose, neither Roberto, nor his girlfriend had economic resources to provide for their daughter. They depended on Roberto's single mother already afflicted with economic difficulties due to unstable jobs; but mainly Roberto's girlfriend's parents, a Spanish middle class family who had adopted her. In an interview with the couple they complained about their discomfort and apprehension regarding the economic burden they had imposed on their parents having had a baby. "I urgently need to emancipate myself. I don't want to be in the situation I am. Being at my mother's home without paying anything, uncomfortably. [...] Even when you try not to, there are always expenses" (Roberto, 18). Both, Roberto and his girlfriend were in a centre for adult education trying to get the compulsory school diploma. Although their parents supported them and encouraged them to study, they really longed for a job to cover their expenses and for a family life together. However, their prospects are rather grim considering their lack of qualifications and skills compounded with their criminal records in a context of huge youth unemployment and discrimination against migrants.

Yet, becoming a parent also seems to have positive consequences for young people, especially those belonging to violent youth gangs. As one of the experts directing a juvenile detention institution explained "the lads who managed to leave [violent gangs] are those whose relationships go much further and for example get [their girlfriend] pregnant, […] become a father. Then they have a better justification facing their peer group to get away and look for work […]. And sometimes that's the way out. I have had clear cases of lads really stuck in gangs who did not know how to get out and have suddenly got [their girlfriend] pregnant […] by mistake, or, wanting, who knows, and that has suddenly been the mast to which they have clung to, to get out from that tide of gangs, thefts or drug abuse". Jose had stopped going out and Roberto wanted to change "If I didn't have my family here, especially my girl and my daughter. I'd be a loose cannon here. No, it wouldn't be the same. I'd have no desire to work to change, to be

someone else, to be a better person" (Roberto, 18). He admired his girlfriend's new sense of responsibility: "She's already changed, she is a more responsible person […] for example she doesn't go out much, it maybe because she's taken responsibility as a mother. She doesn't go out every day [anymore] to the street, clubs, with her friends, drinking in parks. Yet she was very much linked to the gang [Latin Kings]" (Roberto, 18).

Having a baby gives the participants strength to redesign their plan of life and pursue more valuable goals. Having someone to love and take care of increases their capability for affiliation, even if at the expense of other capabilities such as education, leisure and so on. Those participants who had experienced bad treatments or neglect from their families, seemed to find a quench for their thirst of love and affiliation in their partners. However, these relationships often became possessive, plagued with jealousy and, in some cases, violence that can be explained using Bowlby's (1973) attachment theory, in which the separation from the mother or caregiver results in a long lasting insecurity and anxiety due to the fear of losing a loved one. Illustrated by the case of Roberto: "Jealousy, we have had many aggressions because of it. Because I've been very jealous and whenever I drank, I behaved badly. It's hard to say, you know?" (Roberto, 18). This jealousy can be explained by the fear to lose a person they love and who loves them back, when they have suffered from a lack of affection during their childhood or adolescence. "My psychologist [at the detention centre] and I came to the conclusion […] that I fear rejection and abandonment. Because as I've never had, I've have always been alone and there are very few people who cared about me. Then the one who gives me a lot of affection, like my girlfriend in this case, I'm scared of her leaving me, you know? And the way I have to keep her it's through aggressions" (Roberto, 18).

Family and Migration

Fortunately, most of the participants where not victims of bad treatments at home, however, the majority experienced relatively long periods of separations from their parents during the migration process, with the consequent instability and loss of affection. Migration changes family relations. Many of the participants stayed in Ecuador until their parents managed to save enough to bring them to Spain. A female participant in secondary school recounted her separation from her parents when she was 10. "I, at first, stayed with my grandmother. And afterwards, almost a year or two before I arrived, I was with my godmother. And, well, since then, I came here" (Alicia, 16). After migrating to Spain with her brother, she seemed happy with her family and has been very successful in high school. However, some of the participants related a more traumatic stay in Ecuador: "it hurt because I saw myself so young to be moving

from one place to another. [...]. I lived with my aunt, my uncle, my godmother, my grandmother, my other grandmother, my grandfather... From here to there, as the song goes.[...] [My cousins] used to say to me: you don't live here. At home, they always said it. And I, hmm, I used to say: ok, it doesn't matter... It doesn't matter, my dad is the one sending money for you to eat" (Bartolo, 20). For many Ecuadorian families, looking after the children of relatives who had migrated became a source of income, which would explain the importance of remittances for Ecuadorian migrants. Granting that some of these children are well cared for and find attachment in the new caregivers, others resent the loss or distance of their parents.

Although their parents were not interviewed for this research, other studies (González García et al, 2008; Camacho, 2010) concur that improving their children's well-being and increasing their opportunities in life are some of the strongest reasons for migrating to Spain. They, particularly Ecuadorian mothers, work extremely hard to send remittances home for those taking care of their offspring as well as for saving enough money for the family regrouping in Spain. The economic crisis in Ecuador, with the subsequent unemployment and worsening of living conditions, fostered many women to leave their country in search for opportunities to improve their family well-being, often sacrificing their own well-being[19]; however, economic household strategies alone do not account for many women deciding to escape family abusive situations, seeking autonomy and personal development (Camacho, 2010).

Despite their parent's good intentions, this separation tends to produce negative consequences in their children's school performance in Ecuador (Cuenca et al, 2010:118), as well as when they are reunited in Spain. The developments which occur during that lapse of time change the relationship between parents and children, altering the patterns of authority. The difficult working conditions for migrants in Spain, with a 36.53% unemployment at the end of 2012 (INE, 2013:5), forces them to accept low salaries and long working hours. Some participants' responses pointed out the effect of these long working hours. One male participant recalled: "in my house there was neither my mother nor my father, they had to work, you know? [...] we have grown up almost alone" (Roberto, 18). Another male in detention commented: "My mother wanted me to go to school, you know? Because she didn't want me to stay at home doing nothing. But I didn't want to. And what could my mother do? If my mother left for work in the morning and I stayed home alone" (Javier, 19). According to the 2007 survey more than one third of young migrants spend more than 6 hours alone per day (INE, 2007; Buelga, 2010).

Gangs

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[19] Oishi, (2002) and Carling, (2005) have researched the sacrifice made by Philippine migrant women as part of household strategies.

An alternative way of enhancing their capability of affiliation is looking for referents in outside their family. Most of the young participants mentioned the street as the social space where they hang out with their friends in these groups. Being in the street seems to reflect a particular way of life that contrasts with going to school or being at home, e.g., "At least now I want to go back, to, to this day I want to go back to school…. Because in the street I was [felt] bad, bad, bad, bad" (Melanie, 16). She recounts the beginning of the decline that led her to a young offender's institution, missing school and finding new friends: "I don't know, I didn't like studying, then I stopped studying, I didn't go to school, [...]. Worse was also because there were people who led me, telling me this, that, whatever. And I let myself be influenced and such" (Melanie, 16). One young male who arrived in Spain when he was 6 years old recalls joining a gang at age 13: "I joined, mostly because, […] in my house there was no one. In my house I was uncomfortable, empty. […]They told me this is your family. We welcome you, and such. And it felt like a family, because as I've never had this, at home alone" (Roberto, 18).

Yet, many of the participants bitterly discovered that the gang's metaphor of being a family quickly vanishes once one is caught by the police and sent to a young offenders institution: "we are 'brothers' and nonsense like that. But in the end you are arrested and the only one coming to see you is your mother. […]At the end I'm on my own, I've realised" (Bartolo, 20). Another male in detention complained: "I CAME TO BE WHO CAME TO BE [saying it louder]. I did so much for them, but I regret it. […] I almost gave my life for them. I've done very, very ugly things for them, you know? But now I feel, you realise when you're here [in detention] that not even a single letter you get. […] If they wanted to, they could call my mother and ask where is Roberto? or give me his address and I write him a letter. I don't ask them for a letter every day, but a letter when they can, but nothing. I DON'T EVEN HOPE ANYMORE [saying it louder]. At the beginning I said fuck, it hurts, here is 'my nation', where is it now? And then months went by and… I resigned myself and said to myself it's not point" (Roberto, 18). Similar to the broken bond experienced when a child is separated from his or her mother, the attachment felt by Roberto towards the other members of the gangs is reflected in the processes of protest, despair and detachment narrated by Roberto being first angry for not getting letters or calls, then sad and feeling lonely, and ultimately defensive and avoidant of that attachment feeling (Bowlby, 1973).

Therefore, joining these ethnically based violent gangs represents an adaptive preference. On the one hand they seem to satisfy the need for affiliation for those participants lacking affection from family and school peers. On the other hand they often lead to violence and criminality threatening their bodily integrity, life and curtailing other capabilities in the medium and long term. But because of the spread of these Latin gangs in inner-city neighbourhoods, the

participants were often confronted with belonging to a gang or being suspected to belong to the rival gang and being consequently attacked. As a male in probation, who claimed not to belong to any gangs but knowing them well, explained: "for example, there are three Colombians and they see one Ecuadorian wearing wide clothes and a cap and they go and say, ah, you are a 'Latin king'. They get him and beat him. Same for Ecuadorians, if they see […] some Colombians dressed in sneakers, for example, Lacoste [brand] and tight trousers and big shirts, for example, and rosaries, they say they are 'Ñetas' [rival Latin gang] and they beat them. Whether they are or not, they beat them [anyway]. And in the end they are always [members of a gang], almost always, so there are these problems" (Javier, 19).

 Responding to whether gangs are divided by nationalities, he continued: "No, gangs, there are all nationalities there, here gangs are divided into neighbourhoods. […]. For example, you go to San Cristobal de los Angeles and you'll see there Dominicans [Dominican Don't Play, or DDP] everywhere. That's a Dominican neighbourhood, there can't be any Ecuadorian or Colombian, that no one has ever seen there because they beat you hard. For example, if you go to Vallecas, those are the 'Trinitarios' if they don't recognize you […] they go for you and beat you. If you go to Móstoles there are the 'kings' [Latin Kings], same for Aluche, are the Latin Kings, if they don't know you also get beaten, or if they see you dressed in something, something, you know, normal, normal dress, or weird, you are also beaten. And if you go to Parla or Manhattan, there are the 'Ñetas'. The same, if they see that they are Colombian and you aren't, if you don't know any of them, they also lynch you" (Javier, 19). Even when it can be argued that this quote clearly exaggerates the occurrence of these violent attacks, the participant's perception of danger restricts his freedom to walk in those areas. For those who have been involved with Latin gangs, this perception of threat leads them to be tenser and more self-aware whenever they see a group of young people suspected belong to a gang. Violence erupts when this perceived tension is shared and there is a spark that serves as excuse to start a fight.

To my question regarding whether it is the same for native Spaniards, he then explained why Spaniards can walk freely wearing different colours or brands without being targeted: "I'm Ecuadorian, I don't see a Spaniard and say you're Spanish and you're this [any of the Latin gangs], because he is Spanish. That doesn't happen. […]. But if I see a Latino who goes around my neighbourhood that I've never seen before, for that one I'll go, you know, and I'll be careful to get him, you know? Because Latinos might say…, you can go up to a Latino and say you're from such [one of the gangs] and tell him: no, and take two steps back and get a knife out and stab you, you know? And I know that a Spaniard isn't going to do that because I know a Spaniard isn't going to walk around with a thing [knife] here in his pocket [...]. A Spaniard I

know he wouldn't, but I know an Ecuadorian, Colombian, Dominican, whatever, they take it out [knife], you know? And leaves you for dead there" (Javier, 19). These perceptions may induce Javier and some other young people of Ecuadorian origin to carry weapons as a defence mechanism and respond with violence whenever they are hailed or provoked. The stereotypes about young males of Ecuadorian, Colombian and Dominican origin make the participant unnecessarily afraid and lead them to attune their behaviour to these assumptions (Steele, 2011).

Stereotypes

Although only a scant minority of young people with a migration origin actually belongs to violent gangs, the overrepresentation of their crimes in the media and popular culture among youth, paints most young people of Ecuadorian background with the same stereotype-ridden strokes. The danger of these bias lies on the effect that these assumptions have on the construction of their identity, especially in the case of males. A male student studying a short vocational course remonstrated: "here if something happens, it's always the Latin Americans [to blame] if someone steals, if a Spaniard steals, it's been us, if Spaniard smokes, it's been us [...] I don't know, it's like so racist, and I don't like it" (Carlos, 17). Knowing these stereotypes burdens them; their actions are not as free as those of their native counterparts, since every mistake they make that fits into the stereotype would be taken as a confirmation of this assumption (Steele, 2011; Gorski, 2013) constraining their capabilities.

These assumptions were also present in some of the experts' narratives, such as a coordinator of a vocational centre which provides education programs for young people serving judicial sentences and regular students. Regarding the regular students doing short vocational courses (PCPI) in his centre he said: those enrolled in "PCPI, are only different to the kids who arrive here with such judicial actions [sentences], in whether they have been caught [by the police] or not, basically, but they have the same profile. [...] Pretty conflicting. Because here we have to focus also on, well, make a small distinction between those belonging to gangs or that have belonged to gangs those in 'choirs', which are like satellite groups of these gangs, and those guys who in principle don't belong to any gang". This over-generalisation of students of this vocational centre has an impact on the centre atmosphere as well as on teachers' expectations and pedagogies, which consequently affects students' results as more generally lower their capability set.

Public Space

The image of young ethnic minorities, especially those with low socioeconomic status, as dangerous is reclaimed by some who find strength in this exclusion, reconstructing and re-

appropriating the stigma (Goffman, 1963). Being marginalised at school, having dropped out, they may find a new way of belonging. The grouping of the socially excluded by the middle class native majority can be conceptualised as a resistance mechanism in which new rules apply. These new rules are linked to marginalised masculinities and femininities and violence that act as a counter narrative to the hegemonic narratives represented by assimilation into the native middle class. The process of assimilation involves acting like a Spaniard, loosing the Ecuadorian accent, dressing like middle class native youth, socialising in places where there is a majority of Spanish native youth and achieving at school, with the promise of an improbable social mobility and full social integration. The counter narrative promotes acting Latino, revaluing the Ecuadorian accent, joining groups composed by other Ecuadorians or Latin youth, listening to Latin music. In some cases, the counter narrative converts this pride into a fight for respect imposed by violence and threat; where Latin gangs provide the tools for pride, respect and protection.

There are specific signs such as certain clothes, graffiti, hand gestures and other symbols (Buelga, 2008) used by these gangs as signs of identity which might go unnoticed the untrained eye. Graffiti is used to mark what they consider their territory, but also as a sign of rejection of an orderly world from which they feel excluded (Elias and Scotson, 1994). Ethnic based groups gather in public spaces that they have reclaimed, such as some benches in a park, a dark alley, a corner at an intersection. But the claimed possession of those spaces is often confronted by other groups, including native Spaniards often represented by police forces. Young people of ethnic background are often suspected of mischief and loitering whenever they congregate in these public spaces. Native citizens perceive these young people as "the other", in terms of their ethnicity and age, and because of psychosocial factors place them all in the same category of mischief, whereas they would probably imagine native Spanish youth as more diverse and less of a threat (e.g., Meiser & Hewstone, 2004). However, this stigma of being outsiders and suspicious of mischief seems to be internalised in the narratives of some of the participants such as Javier, who fear other youth of Ecuadorian, Colombian or Dominican background but trust Spanish youth.

Some of the participants recounted some clashes with native Spaniards over public spaces, in this case a swing in a park: "An older man pushed my sister out of the swing so his daughter could use it. He pushed my sister, who was 7 years old at a time. And I yelled: you crazy. […] and I said, don't you ever touch my little sister again because we'll have problems" (Bartolo, 20). An Ecuadorian expert, who works as a mediator, commented the struggle for Ecuadorian people to gather and make use of parks in the way they were used to in Ecuador, since it violates the

Spanish law: "Ecuavolley [Ecuadorian volleyball], it is a sport played in Ecuador. And in Spain, particularly in Madrid, follows other cultural patterns such as informal trade, gambling, consumption of food and [alcoholic] drinks in public spaces. Then face this reality, already a complicated reality, which has no easy solution. It is a reality that violates the council laws and sometimes breaks other rules and laws. Against this, the [State] administration wields the rule of law as the only possible discourse. That is, this is my truth. My truth is that selling food in public spaces is forbidden, drinking alcohol in public spaces is forbidden, using public furniture to build Ecuavolley pitches is forbidden". Albeit the use of public space reflects structural power relations were migrants and young people seem to hold lesser rights than adult native Spaniards, different civil society organisations are working together to adapt these cultural practices to the Spanish law and to make the council rules more flexible to include and encourage these practices and promote intercultural events.

Although there are some successful mediation initiatives, the use of public space is still a contentious issue between ethnic minorities and the native majority as well as between young and old people, and middle and lower classes. The different social identities compete for the appropriation of public spaces and the older, middle class native majority has the back up of the public authorities. The previous chapter analysed the participants' clashes with public authorities, particularly the ethnic profiling carried out by the police forces in Spain. The clashes with public authorities diminish young people's of migration background trust in public institutions, affecting adversely to integration and social cohesion, lowering the social capital of the whole society.

Thus, the intersection of age, class and ethnicity constrain the freedom of the research participants, lowering their capability set by limiting the use and control of public spaces and sanctioning their behaviour to the point of being suspected of criminal activities and being profiled by police whenever they just meet friends and spend time in parks, corners, shopping malls, etc. These limitations obey to the logics of exclusion that regard native middle class adult use of space as the 'normal', the 'orderly', 'respectable' and perceives young people of a migration background's use of public space as suspicious and undesirable (Sharkey and Shields, 2008) as a threat to the order, civilisation and dignity represented by the middle class urban life (Mitchell, 2003).

The absence of real opportunities to make use of public spaces without fear of violence from violent ethnic base gangs, or without being suspicious of loitering and being involved in criminal activities, seriously curtails their capabilities to move freely, to enjoy outdoors leisure activities

and in some cases, threatens their bodily integrity. It also imposes a burden on their identity construction where stereotypes are internalised and at times become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Conclusion

Therefore, the structural disadvantages that the young people of Ecuadorian background interviewed for this research have to face leave them with a lower set of capabilities that often result in capability deprivation. Firstly, the migration journey entailed leaving friends and relatives, often very close family members behind and starting a new life in a new country. In most cases, they were separated from at least one of their parents who migrated previously to get enough economic resources for the family reunification in the host country. This separation often lasted several months, even years; consequently, the development that took place during the parents' absence was often difficult to accommodate after the reunification. Changes in authority patterns were the result of these changes naturally linked to adolescence and the search for identity in the new country, often reinforced by the long working hours that parents have to undergo to get by in low skill positions that are seldom fairly paid.

Secondly, the cultural idiosyncrasies of Ecuador and Spain frequently resulted in a cultural shock at their arrival, where Spanish as a common language became a clumsy tool to progress in school and understanding teachers became a challenge. Moreover when the knowledge they brought from Ecuador was not considered valid and was always looked at as deficient, blamed on the perceived curricular gap. Their accent and expressions became distinctive markers both to be accepted by other Latin peers and to be excluded by the native majority. "There are many Ecuadorians who were born here [Spain], or who have grown up here, and speak as the [native] Spaniards do, and when I see that, I feel, I say, sell your flag. I say, sell your flag! [be proud of being Ecuadorian] when I listen that they speak like you Spaniards do. But my sister also sometimes goes like that sometimes and I say: let's see how? How do you say it? [sister:] Nothing, nothing. She stays quiet [...]. Sure, she is Ecuadorian!" (Bartolo, 20). Or the case of Jose: "I'm still Ecuadorian. [...]. Because I haven't lost my accent and everything. [...]. Neither has my family, they keep talking as they did in Ecuador" (Jose, 16).

Thirdly, in order to fulfil their need for affiliation, certain participants joined ethnically based violent gangs. They portrayed themselves as rescuers of those whose parents were constantly absent and protectors of those excluded by their school peers, calling themselves their new 'family'. However, this affiliation came at a price; violence between and within gangs is not uncommon and it is often used to gain respect. Likewise, those who were serving sentences in

juvenile detention institutions frequently lamented the desolating experience of being forgotten by those who called themselves their family and for whom they have risked their lives.

Fourthly, because of this research selection process most of the participants had dropped out school and were pursuing remedial courses. Nevertheless, the statistics show a bleak picture for students of Ecuadorian background. They are often enrolled in schools with a disproportionate representation of students with a migration background, where teachers' expectations tend to be lower and disruptive behaviour is not exceptional. The attractiveness of school decreases during the years of middle school, with a concentration of course repetitions and school attrition. For those who manage to succeed their will to continue studying seems to weaken with the progression to the following academic years with a dwindling presence of their compatriots.

Fifthly, the instrumental and positional value of education reveals structural disadvantages particularly related to migration and ethnicity but often intertwined with age, social class and gender. Their parents' human capital is seldom absorbed in the Spanish society where they often carry out low skilled position regardless of their qualifications. Their parents' lack of human capital conversion consequently declines their social capital and networking to even aspire to white collar positions fade. Thus, despite their parents' encouragement to study a university degree to get out of a cycle of relative poverty, their capability to aspire is lower than that of their native counterparts. Their expectations can only be gloomier immersed in the economic crisis with a rampant youth unemployment and a precarization of the labour market.

Sixthly, the ethnic profiling used by the police forces curtails the participants' capabilities to move freely, to bodily integrity in the cases where abuses take place, among other constraints. It also reinforces the negative image of Ecuadorians as delinquents for the passers-by, feeding the stereotype of threat particularly associated to young males of migration background. This stereotype is occasionally internalised, exemplified by Javier's narrative, becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Seventhly, poverty results in capability deprivation due to the debts incurred to cover the cost of the family migration journeys, to pay for rent and for those more settled to foot the mortgage bill or just, generally, make ends meet. Absorbed by a consumerist society where certain goods command respect, define the owner's personality and heavily construct adolescent identity, the lack of resources to afford those goods translates in relative poverty. Many of the participants longed for being economically independent from their parents; several yearn to relieve their parents' precarious situation by obtaining a job that would enable them to send them money as well as having their desired life style. Often they were eager to miss school to work in occasional

jobs such as construction or catering, where the economic reward proved too attractive. A few others obtained the money through criminal activities such as drug dealing, robbing, etc. For those accustomed to make a living out of these profitable unlawful doings, reforming, working hard to learn a vocation to carry out a manual job were they would be poorly paid for their hard work was too long a stick for such a small carrot. Yet, the instability, threat to their bodily integrity, their parents' disappointment and a new incentive such as a stable partner or a child often make them want to change and rehabilitate.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

This thesis has tried to improve our understanding of how some selected young people perceive and make sense of their experiences and daily interactions. The selection process aimed to shed light on the real barriers the participants encounter to fulfil their aspirations and to attain high levels of well-being, as well as to explore the diverse mechanisms they have developed to increase some of their capabilities.

As a caveat, I would like to start by saying that I am aware that selecting the participants on the basis of the country of birth to study the factors contributing to education failure can be argued to be a homogenising exercise that adds to the negative representation of students of migration background as a problematic issue in education. Furthermore, the fact that one third of the participants were in juvenile detention institutions is a clear overrepresentation in terms of the entire population of young people of migration background living in Spain. This overrepresentation may be harmful for integration policies and discourses when it is interpreted wrongly; such as being co-opted to evidence the link between migration and criminality.

However, this research can be defended from these potential critiques. Regarding the generalisation and homogenisation of "the immigrant population", it can be argued: Firstly, the purpose of this selection was not to provide an unbiased representative sample, but to explore how the educational journey and career aspirations of the participants were affected by different factors, some of them related to their country of birth, but mainly others, such as education level, grade repetition, school attrition, enrolment in remedial vocational education, criminal conviction, type of family, neighbourhood, lapse of time before family reunification, and so on. Secondly, by paying attention to class, gender and age, as well as ethnicity, this research presents the heterogeneity of what is carelessly referred to as the "immigrant population", avoiding making generalisations about country of origin. Thirdly, biographical interviews and the biographic-narrative interpretative methods (Wengraf, 2001) manage to escape the risk of generalising and presenting an essentialist view on ethnicity, class, gender or age. Biographical interviews allow for the study of individual participants, enabling their voices to be heard and their perspectives to be taken into account. It allows for detailed accounts of long-term processes, for the complexity and irreducibility of the life world, and for nuanced perceptions and interpretations of the construction of age, ethnicity, class and gender.

In response to the second potential critique, the overrepresentation of participants at risk of social exclusion, I would respond firstly that this research does not intend to study how all young people of Ecuadorian background fare in school or in terms of socio-economic integration. But

instead it tries to understand what factors lead to low levels of well-being and capability deprivation. Thus, the sampling does not aim to be representative of the Ecuadorian population, it does not consider the country of origin to be the root of their risk of social exclusion; but uses the country of birth, as well as their youth, social class, and town of residence, as common variables for all the participants. Yet, some parts of the research draw on statistics divided by country of origin taken from official sources. These official statistics signal a significant growing presence of Ecuadorians in Spain since 1999, as well as low levels of academic achievement and an overrepresentation in detention centres for young people of Ecuadorian background.

Second, at risk of being criticised by the academic discourse as a deficit oriented perspective, it seems necessary to close the research gap and try to unearth the barriers that other students with migration background are likely to encounter during their education journey in order to put an end to the racist, sexist, ageist, and classist practices that lead to capability deprivation. By not studying these issues due to fear of recrimination for the perverse reading of the results (as a justification of the negative stereotypes associated with young people of Latin American background), we are neglecting a problem that social institutions need to address. The lack of attention from the academic world is filled by sensationalistic media, which portrays migrant background students as problematic and a burden for the education system and focuses on the violence of the gangs and the need to defeat them using police force and harder sentences for juvenile offenders, without trying to unearth the roots of the problem.

Third, although the academic discourse in historically immigrant receiving countries – such as USA, UK, France or Germany – is critical of studies of marginalised migrant background groups because of the perverse readings previously stated; official statistics, cultural expressions such as hip-hop, ethnically based gangs and, perhaps more notoriously, the riots in Paris and London, signal that ethnicity still plays an important role in terms of access to real opportunities or equality of capabilities, particularly when intertwined with a working class or underclass background, masculinity and youth. Therefore, it is necessary to explore, from the perspective of those systematically excluded, which barriers they have encountered and foresee in order to attain their valuable doings and beings.

Migration and Segmented Assimilation

The increasing migration flows with the advent of globalisation have placed this issue at the centre of policy and academic debates. Although migration is not a new phenomenon, the current migrant profiles, the context of reception and the process of migration are changing. The historical representation of migrants as male young adult has become obsolete with the growing

number of women leaving their countries in search for better economic and social opportunities. Likewise, the processes of accommodation and integration in the host country need to take into account that the newcomers usually strive to bring their family from their country of origin or form a new family in the country of destination. Consequently, the idea that working migrants are single individuals who would return to their country once their labour is no longer needed can only lead to short-sighted policies that would eventually have to deal with a reality of children of migrants being excluded from mainstream society.

The integration of the children of migrants does not tend to follow the same patterns as with their parents. These children would have been born or at least would have completed a substantial part of their socialisation process in the host country; consequently they are presupposed to be able to master the host language and skilfully navigate the social and cultural norms of the mainstream society. For those not born in the country of destination, the migration process is likely to entail a rupture from close relatives and friends; often a separation from their parents whilst they save enough money to proceed to the family reunification; and a readjustment to the changes imposed by the new culture and often strange language. For those born in the host country, their parents' heritage, including culture, language, appearance, and so on, may entail some distinctive markers that differentiate them from the native majority, leading to a discriminatory access to valuable assets.

This research has used a social constructionist approach of these markers, such as ethnicity, gender, class and age, since far from representing essential core characteristics of the individual; they are the result of an interactional construction, a dialectical social fabrication, constantly negotiated between individuals claiming a certain identity and other individuals ascribing a particular identity to them. Whereas the individual would choose a specific social identity with more or less salient characteristics associated to an ideal age, ethnicity, gender or class identity; power relations would impose certain expectations on these individuals in order to categorise them into different structured positions of access to opportunities and resources. Thus, ethnicity – similar to gender, class and age – is here considered a social construction both shaping the dialectics between identity and representation. It is linked to power and oppression that produce and sustain discourses and practices of material inequalities leading to social exclusion and capability deprivation.

The findings of this research confirm the existence the structural advantages and disadvantages in which different groups have unequal access to opportunities and resources (Barth and Noel, 1972) resulting in dynamic ethnic – although also gender, class and age – economic, educational

and in general, well-being inequalities that tend to accumulate in the life span of the individual, and that are transmitted to the next generation. Immigrants and their children face institutional discrimination (Gomolla, 2006) such as a segmented school system and labour market unequally structured on the basis of gender, discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, where the different nationality and social status of economic migrants become key explanatory elements for the trajectories of individual mobility experienced by these individuals and their future itineraries.

In this way, highly paid prestigious positions are hoarded by the native Spanish upper and middle classes. Because of the hourglass characteristics of the current economy, there is a scarcity of jobs in the middle rank, which curtails the upward transition from the usual low skilled jobs with poor wages, lack of stability and often unacceptable working conditions that immigrants tend to occupy, despite some of them having university degrees. Socioeconomic mobility for migrants, measured in terms of education achievement and medium to high income occupations, is linked to successful integration and higher capability sets. However, these findings do not signal this upward mobility, at least not in the short term. A high proportion of students of Ecuadorian background drop out of school as a result of the lack of embeddedness in school due to institutional discrimination at different levels: curriculum and ethos, pedagogy, relationships with teachers and with peers, among other issues. Leaving school early produces corrosive disadvantages (Wolff and De Shalit, 2007) that evolve along the individual's life span and tend to lower the capability set of the next generation, unless social institutions take positive steps to reverse this unequal distribution of valuable assets and opportunities.

This research has contributed to the understanding of the different processes of adaptation that young immigrants make in order to take advantage of what they understand as opportunities offered in the host country, as well as the barriers that they have encountered to achieve their aspirations. Drawing from the structural perspective (Gans: 1992) and previous research in historically receiving countries such as the USA, this research critiques classical assimilationism and naïve integration policies that believe the passage of time, the mastering of the mainstream language and the subsequent generations, would naturally induce genuine equality of opportunities and parity of achievement between ethnic minorities and the mainstream majority. The warning from structural perspective is that although some ethnic groups composed by the second, third and fourth generations of migrants may form part of the middle-class, with similar access to opportunities as those offered to the mainstream native population; these descendents do not always experience upward mobility through education and social class improvement. In fact, many suffer a decline, or experience downward social mobility becoming more excluded than their parents and grandparents were. This decline usually starts by dropping out of school

before completing compulsory education, getting unstable or low-skilled jobs or being unemployed. These findings show that those participants who have dropped out of school did so as a result of the complex and often nuanced dynamics of discrimination suffered in the school that failed to mitigate the disadvantaged position of these students and their families. Not being able to develop their capabilities in the ethnocentric, classist, and sexist curricula, pedagogies, disciplinary practices and school policies which legitimise wider systems of domination, oppression, and exclusion that reinforce their vulnerable position.

These findings move beyond Portes and Zhou's (1993) notion of "segmented assimilation", which describes how some groups with a migration background succeed in becoming economically and culturally integrated into middle-class norms having lost their original customs; some manage to retain their language and customs, but are still accepted and integrate into the host society's middle-class; and finally, others lose their parents' and grandparent's culture and are socially marginalised, becoming disconnected from both the native culture and the migrant culture; these individuals sometimes become homeless and many get involved in groups with criminal activities[20]. According to Portes and Zhou the reasons behind these patterns of adaptation and social mobility seem related to individual factors, such as education, aspirations, language abilities, place of birth, age upon arrival and length of residence, together with structural factors, such as racial status, family socioeconomic status and place of residence (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou 1997).

On a critical consideration of segmented assimilation, the findings of the present research point at the greater relevance of institutions and social structures as factors leading to downward assimilation. Consequently, marginalisation and social exclusion of migrants and their descendents, rather than being rooted in individual or cultural differences, are systematically produced and reproduced by the laws and policies of the receiving country (Calavita, 1998), assigning advantages and disadvantages on the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender. Therefore, the context of reception (Portes and Rumbault, 1990) plays a crucial role through the government's political responses to immigration; which in turn shape the societal attitudes towards immigrants in the host country. In fact, these findings point at the crucial role of institutional mechanisms such as institutionalised racism, police ethnic profiling, Eurocentric curricula, low teachers' expectations, explicit and subtle forms of psychological violence inter alia and so forth, which produce exclusion and inequality. Under this perspective, school attrition

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[20] It seems necessary to add a missing pattern: ethnic groups who keep their language and customs but are not accepted by the native population, eventually forming separate ethnic communities

and youth gangs would be seen as an alternative mechanism to cope with and resist these oppressive structures.

Ecuadorian Migration in Spain

This research is very timely due to the transforming Spanish population landscape consequent of the recent strong migratory flows. From being a source of migration to Latin America during the colonial period and to Europe as "guest workers" after the Second World War; the 1990s showed a turning pattern, with Spain becoming one of the main host countries in the European Union. In 2011, when the fieldwork took place, Spain was the country with the highest number of immigrants 507 742, ahead of United Kingdom 350 703, Germany 249 045 and France with 213 367 (EUROSTAT).

The selection of the participants' country of origin was informed by current demographic statistics. The relevance of studying Ecuadorian immigrants stems from, on the one hand, their numerous presence, with its potential to become an established minority in Spain and, consequently, a point of reference; and on the other hand, the recent migration which started around 2000 and would explain the scarcity of qualitative data regarding this population. Latin America is the main region of origin for Spanish immigrants and, among them, the Ecuadorian contingent is the most numerous. The reasons behind the disproportionate Ecuadorian migration to Spain since 2000 are associated with the 1998/1999 economic crisis, with the subsequent fall of GNP and the dollarization, privatisation and decrease of public spending following the Washington Consensus doctrine. These changes resulted in lower levels of quality of life, increased inequality and high levels of unemployment. The familiarity with the language and the bilateral agreements between Spain and Ecuador made Spain the most popular destination for Ecuadorian migrants.

Unlike other nationalities, the number of Ecuadorian migrant women was higher than the number of Ecuadorian migrant men in the first few years, afterwards it was similar. Most of these women found work in the caring service industry, particularly as cleaners, regardless of their qualifications; whereas the men tended to work in construction. These low-skilled positions remained almost unchanged after a decade, leaving Ecuadorian migrants little hope for upward mobility. Likewise, the 2007 financial crisis, with rampant unemployment rates especially for young people, worsened their situation, condemning them to unemployment (especially those working in construction) or to work longer hours in precarious jobs.

These findings point at family factors as drivers of disadvantage, always understood as being enmeshed in a wider structure of social institutions; where many single mothers had to bear the

weight of providing economic and emotional support for their children under oppressive circumstances, particularly related to the precarious jobs available. In a context where neoliberal policies have curtailed the welfare state by reducing the social budget and fostering privatisation, adding more pressure to families; migration has contributed to split households and has increased the number of single mothers who live far away from their extended family, resulting in higher rates of poverty in these households (Camacho, 2010). International migration is fostered by the demand of cheap, non-unionised labour (Mateo Pérez, La Parra, 2005), where illegal immigrants are trapped in abusive and exploitative situations, such as excessively long working hours, low pay, poor health and safety conditions, low status and lack of accountability in the employer-employee relation (Vicente Torrado, 2005) which leads to vulnerability and social exclusion.

The participants' narratives evidence the personal consequences of this segmented labour market. The professionalization of educated native women in Spain, among other industrialised countries, has produced "global care chains" (Hochschild, Hutton and Giddens, 2000), a demand for child care and domestic chores which is usually filled by immigrant women, who are more likely to accept unregulated jobs that are usually located on the lower rungs of the career ladder. Whereas some Spanish native children can enjoy a surplus of care given by their parents and the house keeper or child minder; the Ecuadorian children left behind can be seen as the end of the global care chain, being deprived from the care, love and attention that their parents would have given them had they not felt forced to migrate or work such long hours. The insufficient time and affection that these longer hours result in have negative consequences on their personal and social development and family patterns of authority, which in turn affect school achievement and social integration.

Affected by the impact of a discriminatory labour market accentuated by the highest unemployment figures in Europe, children of migrants in Spain also suffer the consequences of a deficient school system that produces soaring early school leaving rates: 40% for first generation migrants, 45% for persons with a foreign background, 29% for persons with a mixed background and 28% for natives (EUROSTAT, 2011:127). Students of Ecuadorian origin's academic achievement is significantly below the national average. They are overrepresented in remedial courses, particularly short remedial vocational courses (PCPI). Most concerning is the disproportionate presence of Ecuadorian origin youth in juvenile detention centres; 15% in 2009 (ARRMI, 2009:114). Yet, there are relevant gender differences in these percentages. Girls, particularly Ecuadorian girls, tend to outperform their compatriots in school and their presence in young offenders' institutions is much lower. This research uncovers some of the intertwining dynamics of discrimination that lead to these concerning figures.

Capabilities and Intersectionality

This research offers an innovative analysis in the field of migration due to the combination of the Capability Approach and intersectionality, providing a holistic but person-centred perspective that concentrates on the genuine, rather than formal, opportunities as well as barriers. Because of its specific focus on the personal and social characteristics that mediate the conversion of primary goods and resources into valuable doings and beings (Sen, 1999: 74), hence its focus on substantial, rather than formal freedom, the Capability Approach (CA) offers an invaluable lens to explore young people of migration background's experiences, perceptions, expectations and aspirations.

The CA is especially useful for studying the well-being of young people of migrant background looking at the dynamics within the family, their social interactions and their participation (or lack of it) in public institutions. This approach facilitates the analysis of whether their condition as young people, having a migrant background and their gender and social class create barriers to carrying out their plan of life.

In this sense, the CA advances our understanding by providing a multidimensional normative framework for the study of inequalities that takes into account human diversity; paying particular attention to functionings, capabilities and agency, in relation to the promotion of freedom and well-being, looking both at outcomes and also processes. However, its operationalisation, i.e., the measurement of capabilities, is an onerous exercise not free of controversy. The way this research makes use of the CA is through analysing which beings and doings the participants identify as valuable in their narratives and which barriers they perceive or have encountered for the conversion of their opportunities into functionings.

The added value of the analysis is that by embracing the lens of intersectionality, it enables a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of disadvantage, discrimination, and exclusion. This research argues that the CA needs to be complemented by the analytical tool of intersectionality, in order to provide enough guidance regarding interlocking systems of oppression, which shape both internal and external factors leading to capability deprivation; to study the different social barriers that constrain certain groups' capabilities. In most societies capabilities become exclusive privileges structurally allocated on the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender, as well as disability, religion, nationality, sexuality and so on. The theoretical concept of intersectionality is the right complement to the CA to study these interwoven dynamics of inequality, allowing for intra and inter-category distinctions and similarities in hegemonic, structural, disciplinary and interpersonal contexts (Hancock, 2007).

In this way, this research complements the CA theoretically and empirically by further unfolding the factors and processes that lead to lower opportunity structures. Looking at the intersectionality of gender, class, ethnicity and age enhances our understanding, capturing the multiple dynamics of discrimination that young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain might encounter in their daily lives. It enables us to study the interlocking of complex power inequalities and experiences of exclusion and subordination.

This research provides qualitative empirical data and analysis to the CA framework by studying the barriers that young people of Ecuadorian background in Spain face in order to accomplish successful integration in terms of equality, to enjoy high levels of well-being and to pursue their plan of life. Because education is considered a basic capability and a fertile functioning (Wolf and de Shalitt, 2007), and the school represents the most relevant public institution for young people, it was chosen as the common starting point to study how age, ethnicity, class and gender interact and how they enhance or hinder the particpants' well-being and plan of life. Following this aim, biographical interviews were chosen to gain an understanding of the personal impact of these interactions, asking individuals about their experiences and perceptions. A flexible use of the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretative Method (Wengraf, 2001) was deemed the most appropriate method not only to explore subjective tensions and contradictions arising from daily school experiences, but also to give voice to those usually unheard, those at risk of being socially excluded, amongst which, immigrants hold a prominent place.

Thus, the theoretical contribution of this research lies in the combination of the capability approach, as a normative framework, together with intersectionality, as an analytical tool, and the biographical interviews as the method of data collection. This fruitful combination presents an inclusive theoretical framework to explore perceptions of well-being, aspirations and expectations, shaped both by personal agency and structural factors, related to real opportunities and structural inequalities consequence of the interaction of age, ethnicity, class and gender from the affected individuals' point of view. This articulation of the CA, intersectionality and biographical interviews is not only particularly well-suited to capture the particular case of young people of migration background, but is also consistent with the empowering potential of the CA, by providing a platform for voices that tend to be excluded for decision-making processes and by unearthing normalised processes of unequal distribution of valuable resources and opportunities.

Analysis

Being an explorative study and aiming to provide a platform for the voice of the participants, grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was used to guide the data analysis as an inductive method that served the purpose of understanding the research participants' experiences and perceptions. Using ATLAS.TI as the main software, labels were associated to text segments for open coding. These codes were afterwards refined and broader themes emerged linking multiple subcodes, following the axial coding described by Strauss and Corbin (1998).

The concept of vulnerability was used in the participant selection process as well as for the analysis. The sampling did not aim to be representative of the Ecuadorian population in Spain, but aimed to understand the dynamics that lead to social exclusion. The criteria to approach the institutions from which to gather the research participants was informed by the figures regarding the concentration of Ecuadorian background students in remedial short vocational courses, 2.92% whereas they are underrepresented at university level, 0.14% (INE, Spanish National Institute of Statistics) and a gross overrepresentation in juvenile detention centres; 15% of young offenders had Ecuadorian nationality in Madrid in 2009 (ARRMI, 2009: 114). Therefore, a third of the fifteen participants was enrolled at high school, being expected to present a lesser degree of vulnerability and higher capability set; another third was enrolled in short remedial vocational courses; being presupposed to display a medium degree of vulnerability and capability set; and the final third was serving sentences in juvenile detention institutions, being hypothesised to have the highest degree of vulnerability and a lower capability set.

Other themes arising from the data related to vulnerability and the capability set were connected to gender, separation from parents due to migration, parents' working conditions particularly parents' working hours, family structure, changes in family structure, economic situation, residential neighbourhood, type of school in terms of behaviour issues and concentration of migrants, presence of other Ecuadorian background students in class, school year repetition, peer effect and peer pressure, experiences of discrimination, experiences of racism, contact with ethnic based violent gangs, possibility of returning to Ecuador, nationality, becoming a parent, domestic violence, alcohol or drugs abuse. These factors, highlighted as stressors of vulnerability, were often compounded and were more or less salient depending on the circumstances.

The protective factors that decrease vulnerability are related to being female, living with both parents in non-abusive families, migrating together with parents or staying with one of the parents during migration, parental education beyond compulsory level, good relationship with

teachers, having Spanish friends or participation in regulated leisure activities such as being in a football team.

There are some controversial factors that although they might lead to higher levels of vulnerability, they also seem to offer opportunities for the participants to improve their resilience to risk, for instance, parenthood. Having a child may be a source of strength and direction to pursue valuable goals; a floating board for those immersed in gang violence who did not know how to leave. Another controversial factor is working whilst studying; although this reduces the number of hours that the participants could invest in their studies and often reduces their sleeping time, it offers the opportunity to learn a trade as well as earning a salary, therefore expanding the participants' opportunities of make a living.

Participants' Experiences of Education

The participant narratives indicate that schools are not isolated institutions, they influence and are influenced by society. Students' experiences of school are not just mediated by their individual characteristics, but also by their families, peer groups, their teachers, teachers' pedagogy, school ethos, mandatory and hidden curricula (Ballantine and Spade, 2008) as well as the pervasive systems of oppression, discrimination and exclusion on the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender.

All the participants' parents wanted their children to carry on studying, in their view, having a university degree is equated to being freed of exploitation and gives a meaningful reward to the sacrifices they make as a consequence of migration. Although two thirds of the research participants had dropped out of school at some point, they still valued education and would like to gain a higher qualification than the one they had already achieved. The reasons behind poor achievement reported by the participants were often linked to internalised ascriptions of being lazy or not intelligent enough to succeed.

However, the analysis of their narratives signals an "attitude-achievement paradox" (Mickelson, 1990), by which, even when migrant background students share the same educational values as the native majority and believe in the upward mobility promise offered by education, they are more likely to become disengaged and face greater risk of school attrition that their native counterparts. The reasons behind this disengagement are related to the lack of embeddedness or how welcome and fitting they feel within the educational institutions. Ethnocentric curricula and school ethos contribute to the construction and expansion of social distance between migrant background students and the native peers. Some teachers seemed to act as "cultural gatekeepers", parcelling out rewards and sanctions according to who abides by dominant cultural rules;

contributing to the disengagement of students of migration background. Yet, some exceptional teachers seemed to act as cultural mediators, helping to build mutual knowledge and understanding, recognising and including migrant students' background knowledge as valuable learning for everyone in the class. In this intercultural milieu is where belonging could flourish and where parents' and students' education aspirations are best fostered.

From the findings of this research, other factors associated with school disengagement, leading to dropout, relate to institutional factors including: de-facto racial, ethnic or class segregation in different schools; racist or violent school environments; racist or cultural insensitive teacher disposition, explicit and subtle forms of physical and psychological abuse by other peers, not feeling embedded into the school culture; familial factors: having only one or no parent at home; parents' long working hours; individual factors: a lack of cognitive skills, a lack of a productive work habit and a lack of culture familiarity.

Another research finding regarding school attrition and social distance is linked to teachers' attitudes towards students' certain clothes, piercings and general appearance. By targeting ethnic minorities when imposing discipline regarding their clothes, schools convert students' personality traits and fashion into subversive opposition, which brings more resistance to the school culture rather than adherence (Morris, 2005). Likewise, typical Spanish education measures such as expulsion, suspension, repetition and automatic progression seem to constrain the students' chances to stay in education, decreasing their capability set and wellbeing regarding education, aspiration, affiliation with other students, self-respect and future job opportunities as well as successful socioeconomic integration.

Some of the findings from this research signal stronger bonding among Ecuadorians, and other Latin American background youth, at the expense of a weaker bridging with the native youth. Nevertheless, the context of reception and circumstance become key explanations for the bonding and bridging, such as the particularly high concentration of migrant background students in certain school or remedial courses, where the chances to have meaningful contact with the mainstream majority that would lower social distance decrease. On the other hand, organised leisure activities, such as football teams, came up as successful integration mechanisms where native and migrant background youth increase their capabilities for affiliation and belonging.

Thus, although education is usually portrayed as the way forward to achieve social mobility, this research data signals that the Spanish education system, similar to other Western countries, tends to reinforce social inequalities by producing higher levels of school failure among students with

a low social class and ethnic background. These ethnocentric mechanisms curtail students of migration background's capabilities of participating in education and hence their capabilities gained through education (Vaughan, 2007), thus precluding the fertile functioning (Wolff and De Shalit, 2007) or multiplying effect of education enhancing other capabilities. For those achievers who manage to progress to high school and even university, the decreasing presence of other Ecuadorian peers in their class makes their educational journey more isolating, afflicted by institutional discrimination. The concentration of students with a migration background in certain inner-city schools and remedial courses seems to only benefit the social and economic integration of children of migrants in the short term. On the one hand, it improves the capability of affiliation and education, resulting in bonding with other Ecuadorians and Latinos in general and provides them with knowledge and skills. On the other hand, only a small proportion manages to complete the course and gain the certificate. Even for those who are awarded the certificate, the job prospects are extremely bleak.

Some of the experts interviewed in this study talked about the multicultural education attempts such as incorporating Ecuadorian references into the curriculum and adapting their pedagogy to the heterogeneity of the students' needs. These changes facilitate the mutual understanding of natives and migration background students which increases school progression, particularly for the latter group. However, at the moment, these are exceptional individual initiatives that depend on the voluntary disposition of the teacher who has to balance the requirements of an ethnocentric curriculum with the pressures of the native majority students and their families. More spread and effective promoting of social integration took place at some social activities elicited during the interviews such as playing in school and local football teams.

The intersectionality of age, ethnicity, class and gender

This research has analysed the participants' narratives under a constructivist structural perspective in which differences in education attainments and other functionings are not seen as purely individual but as the result of how advantages and disadvantages are structured along age, ethnic, class and gender lines. In this sense, racism, sexism, classism and ageism produce and sustain material inequalities and unequal power relations that lead to an inequality of capabilities, capability deprivation, poverty and social exclusion.

The participants' career aspirations often reflected adapted preferences in a society structured along gender, class and ethnic lines; some salient examples could be offered: Melanie wanting to work in beauty therapy, Bartolo wanting to work in the army or Javier as a wielder. These career aspirations are also shaped by their horizon of expectations in which their role models'

achievements expand or constrain their capability to aspire (Appadurai, 2004). A striking finding was that the participants' parents, rather than becoming career role models often became the opposite. Many of the participants narrated how they wanted to study in order to flee the exploitation endured by their parents. Some others recounted how the difficulties to convalidate their parents' university degrees made them unable to apply their knowledge in the right fields. The institutional discrimination evidenced by this disempowering mechanism in which knowledge, skills legitimised by Ecuador certificates, were devalued and disregarded in Spain. The job-education mismatch endured by their parents, together with the barriers encountered in school, discouraged the participants to pursue higher education. The economic crisis and rampant youth unemployment only served to lower their career expectations.

Their mothers' unconditional support and hard word was a recurrent theme in the participants' narratives, whereas the fathers tended to have a secondary role. Only one third of the participants reported living with their mother and father, the rest lived only with their mother or with another family member. The high rate of separation and divorce among the Ecuadorian population residing in Spain seems to be related to the conflicts brought on by the expanding power and independence gained by Ecuadorian women when they were working in Spain and sending money to their family in Ecuador. Often they would earn higher salaries than their husbands and the power relationship was altered. This situation brought conflicts with a traditional patriarchal Latino psyche and many parents broke up, under broader social pressures and systems of oppression.

Parents' separation, although it can be beneficial in terms of putting an end to constant domestic conflict and often physical and psychological abuse, has negative consequences for the children who see the family's financial resources diminished, as well as the time and energy for supervision, guidance, and discipline. That could explain the predominance of single-mothers-head-of-households among the participants who had dropped out of school and those who were serving sentences in young offender's institutions; as opposed to the traditional family structure of father and mother living in the same home for those who were at high school. However, the problem does not lie on the type of family, but on the failure of social institutions to compensate for the disadvantaged economic position of single parents, aggravated by the need to work extra hours in precarious jobs to make ends meet, at the expense of child caring time, which consequently affects the emotional and social development of their children.

The narratives point at the constraining effect on capabilities of the intersections of age, ethnicity, class and gender was particularly salient for young boys of Ecuadorian background

who lived in dangerous neighbourhoods and whose parents had economic difficulties and /or long working hours. They were at higher risk of skipping classes, repeating grades and school attrition; as well as of being victims of police profiling and of joining ethnically based violent gangs. Girls presented higher academic achievement, as a result of higher capabilities to participate in education (Vaughan, 2007, Walker, 2007), facilitated by the ascribed gender role of docility, more formal behaviour and being more studious, teachers' expectations, and a closer relation with school staff. This higher academic achievement becomes a fertile functioning (Wolff and De Shalit, 2007) because of the capabilities gained through education (Vaughan, 2007). The pattern of girls outperforming boys academically is also common for the native majority, but only marginally, unlike in the case of Ecuadorian background students where this pattern is exacerbated. Yet, the female participants seem to be at higher risk of sexual stereotyping, fostered by the ascribed gender role in popular Ecuadorian music such as Reggaetton, other Latin music and Spanish media. This risk was signalled here and there in the participants' accounts of their desire to be with girls, the role played by girls in Latin gangs, sexual harassment, pregnancies and rapes.

The analysis of the male participants serving sentences in juvenile detention institutions corroborate Connell's concept of 'marginalised masculinities' (1995), where strength, dominance, risk-taking behaviours and violence are valued in contexts where they become practically the only way to gain respect, to obtain status and economic resources. Marginalised masculinities point at low capability sets where individual and social conversion factors fail to transform formal opportunities to study and obtain well-paid meaningful jobs. Instead, these participants chose dangerous strategies to secure belonging, affiliation and self-respect at the expense of their physical integrity, freedom (particularly when they were in detention), living with fear and under threat. That is the reason why these types of marginalised masculinities can be seen both as a resistance mechanism to contest the exclusion rooted in structural racism; and as an adaptive preference, for it leads to lower levels of objective well-being. The role ascribed to girls in these types of marginalised groups usually describes them as potential sexual partners, girlfriends or as fragile possessions to protect; constraining their agency and freedom which subjectifies girls (Butler, 2004; Althusser, 1971) by creating a dependency to the agentic male. However, some of the narratives related to Latin Queens, could be considered marginalised femininities that shared many characteristics with the aforementioned marginalised masculinities, signalling 'gender crossing' (Miller, 2002). Because of behaving like the men in the gang, they commanded their respect and also the fear from their victims. Although these

practices reproduce social structures they also reveal agency in the reinterpretation and resistance towards legitimised native mainstream, middle class femininities.

Jealousy was a recurrent theme in the participants' narratives. This jealousy, whilst being a powerful manifestation of gender power relations, can also be explained by the need for affection and stability, especially intensified for those individuals with a lower self-esteem. The masculine desire to control and the gender role ascribed to girls as being docile and easily controlled is at the basis of these behaviours. The insecurity related to adolescence increased by not fitting into the host society's beauty stereotypes, together with the changes and instabilities brought on by migration, linked to the lack of affection resulting from parents' long working hours – i.e. the intersecting systems of oppression on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity and class – make these young people seek an impossible control of their partners that generates frustrations, conflicts, and sometimes ends up in violence.

The police practice of ethnic profiling suffered by some of the male participants demonstrated the usefulness of intersectionality as an analytical tool to complement the CA. The intersection of age, ethnicity, class and gender is behind this ethnic or racial profiling, where police rarely stop and search Andean looking girls, young Spanish looking males, or even old Andean looking men, or when these young Andean looking men wear posh clothes indicating a higher class status. The restrictions placed on the capability to move freely are highly increased when these four structuring social positions work simultaneously. The constraining effect of this police ethnic profiling on the participants' capability set was exacerbated in the case of Javier who did not possess a legal residence permit and lived with the fear of being detained and deported. These institutional practices that systematically discriminate against working and lower class migrants and their descendants clash with the discourse of equality before the law and diminish young people of migration background's social capital and trust in public institutions.

All in all, it seems that male participants were at higher risk of school failure, racist abuse and physical aggression than the female participants. The Ecuadorian background girls who participated in this research, presented different vulnerabilities related to gender roles, usually linked to sexual stereotypes. Both sexes experienced higher levels of poverty than the average native youth in Spain, situating them in a lower class extract, such a working class, working poor or underclass (Wilson, 1987, Gans, 1990, Zhou, 1997). The perceived unwelcoming context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) together with experiences of discrimination on the basis of age, ethnicity, class and gender, plus the fear of physical, verbal and psychological violence

become stressors that hamper young people of migration background's academic achievement, making them vulnerable to school attrition and social exclusion.

Capability deprivation and resistance mechanisms

The bleak statistics regarding Ecuadorian achievement in Spanish schools cannot be ignored. Nor can they be attributed to the language or cultural differences than often justify the low performance of students with other migration backgrounds. Their higher levels of school attrition, concentration in remedial short vocational courses and disproportionate presence in juvenile detention centres are not the cause but the symptoms that the integration policies in Spain are not working.

The structural disadvantages that the young people of Ecuadorian background interviewed for this research have to face leave them with a lower opportunity structure that often results in capability deprivation. The research findings show that the barriers for successful integration and adequate levels of wellbeing are manifold. Firstly, the migration journey entailed leaving friends and relatives behind, often very close family members, and starting a new life in a strange country. In most cases, they were separated from at least one of their parents who migrated previously to gain enough economic resources for the family reunification in the host country. This separation often lasted several months, even years; consequently, the development that took place during the parents' absence was often difficult to accommodate after the reunification. Alterations in authority patterns were the result of these changes naturally linked to adolescence and the search for identity in the new country, often reinforced by the long working hours that parents have to undergo to get by in low skilled positions that are seldom fairly paid. This source of capability deprivation is linked to the legal barriers to family reunification and the law lacunae typical of care, catering and construction industries where migrants concentrate.

Secondly, the cultural similarities between Ecuador and Spain were overshadowed by a hostile context of reception, where Spanish as a common language did not translate into school attainment. Their accent and expressions became distinctive markers both to be accepted by other Latin peers and to be excluded by the native majority. Likewise the knowledge they brought from Ecuador was not considered valid and was always looked at as a deficiency blamed on the perceived curricular gap. Practices aiming to include knowledge from other cultures into the curriculum tend to make students more engaged and increase the multicultural knowledge.

Thirdly, in order to fulfil their need for affiliation, certain participants joined ethnically based violent gangs. They portrayed themselves as rescuers of those whose parents were constantly absent and protectors of those excluded by their school peers, calling themselves their new

'family'. However, this affiliation came at a price; violence between and within gangs is not uncommon and is often used to gain respect, in initiation rites, as control mechanisms, as punishment both inside the gang and amongst gangs and in order to escalate the hierarchy. Likewise, those who were serving sentences in juvenile detention institutions frequently lamented the desolating experience of being forgotten by those who called themselves their family and for whom they have risked their lives. New strategies to encourage bridging between natives and children of migrants could avoid defence mechanisms such as these gangs. Similarly, welfare policies should address situations where parents' long working hours jeopardise the love and attention that children need to properly develop.

Fourthly, because of the selection process of this research most of the participants had dropped out of school and were pursuing remedial courses. Nevertheless, the statistics show a bleak picture for students of Ecuadorian background. They are often enrolled in schools with a disproportionate representation of students with a migration background, where teachers' expectations tend to be lower and disruptive behaviour is not exceptional. The attractiveness of school decreases during the years of middle school, with a high concentration of course repetitions and school attrition. For those who manage to succeed, their will to continue studying seems to weaken with the progression to the following academic years and with the dwindling presence of their compatriots. Hence, it seems that additional attention and encouragement from educational institutions aiming at ensuring children of migrants' embeddeness in school would help.

Fifthly, the instrumental and positional value of education reveals structural disadvantages particularly related to migration and ethnicity but often intertwined with age, social class and gender. Their parents' human capital is seldom absorbed in the Spanish society where they often carry out low skilled positions regardless of their qualifications. Their parents' lack of human capital conversion consequently declines their social capital and networking; fading any aspirations to white collar positions. Thus, despite their parents' encouragement to study a university degree to break the cycle of relative poverty, their capability to aspire is lower than that of their native counterparts. Their expectations can only become gloomier when immersed in the current economic crisis with rampant youth unemployment and a precarisation of the labour market. Consequently, as well as focusing on reducing the huge unemployment rates and protecting workers rights, the validation of foreign degrees and titles should be simpler. Likewise, mentorship programs aiming at migration and working class background students may be successful strategies to increase school completion.

Sixthly, the ethnic profiling used by police forces curtails the participants' capabilities to move freely, to bodily integrity in the cases where abuses take place, among other constraints. It also reinforces the negative image of Ecuadorians as delinquents in the eyes of those who pass-by, feeding the stereotype of threat particularly associated with young males of migration background. This stereotype is occasionally internalised and becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as exemplified by Javier's narrative of distrust of other Latin young people.

Seventhly, poverty results in capability deprivation due to the debts incurred to cover the cost of the family migration journeys, to pay for rent and for those more settled to foot the mortgage bill or just, generally, make ends meet. Absorbed by a consumerist society where certain goods command respect, define the owner's personality and heavily construct adolescent identity, the lack of resources to afford those goods translates into relative poverty. Many of the participants longed for being economically independent from their parents; several yearn to relieve their parents' precarious situation by obtaining a job that would enable them to send them money as well as having their own desired life style. Often they were eager to miss school to work in casual jobs such as construction or catering, where the economic reward proved too attractive. A few others obtained the money through criminal activities such as drug dealing, theft, etc. For those accustomed to make a living out of these profitable unlawful doings, reforming, working hard at learning a vocation to carry out a manual job where they would be poorly paid for their hard work was too long a stick for such a small carrot. Yet, the instability, the threat to their bodily integrity, their parents' disappointment and a new incentive such as a stable partner or a child often make them want to change and rehabilitate. Nevertheless, the increasing precarisation of the labour market that feeds on migrants and low skilled workers, condemning them to intergenerational poverty, could be addressed and resolved by strengthening workers' rights and through welfare programs.

In a nutshell, the participants' narratives reflect the complexity of the factors behind school attrition and criminality. It is crucial to move beyond the individual characteristics and address the role of the school together with the wider socio-political environment in depriving some individuals of genuine opportunities to attain high levels of well-being and reach their aspirations. The complexity of the situation responds to the influence of; 1) macro-level factors such as international relations and colonial legacies, as well as regional and national economic, social and political context; 2) meso-level factors, such as neighbourhood context and school environment; 3) micro-level factors such as classroom environment, family structure and socioeconomic status, and individual characteristics.

What emerges from the analysis of the participants' narratives is that the factors that facilitate or hinder the conversion of formal opportunities into valuable doings and beings are deeply influenced by the availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability (Tomasevski, 2001) of social, economic and political institutions. In such a way, the risk of social exclusion endured by some of the participants is only the result of their country of origin insofar as the Spanish labour market, education system, police forces and the broader social welfare state discriminate against immigrants originating from poorer countries condemning them to low-paid, unstable positions that require long working hours in order to make ends meet, lower career aspirations, discrimination and police abuse. The time and energy employed in these precarious jobs is taken away from their children, which has an impact on their psychological and social development, restricting their capabilities for affiliation and self-esteem. Outside the family, the second most important institution for socialisation is the school. As a piece of a wide and complex system of allocation of advantages and disadvantages, the configuration of education institutions as gatekeepers of valuable opportunities in the short, medium and long term, reflects socio-economics inequalities in the wider society. These dynamics of discrimination permeate the relations between teachers, teachers and students, teachers and families, students and students in a subtle and occasionally explicit manner. Representing the monopoly of valid knowledge, schools reinforce the oppression of vulnerable groups legitimising the symbolic violence of rewarding only knowledge, practices and habitus, from an ethnocentric hegemonic perspective.

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