PROMISE: Promoting Youth Involvement and Social Engagement: Opportunities and challenges for conflicted young people across Europe.

WP6: From Conflict to Innovation: Ethnographic Case Studies

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No NEETS

Spain

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Executive summary: The economic crisis in Spain has led to a significant increase in the youth unemployment rate, meaning that many Spanish young people could not find a job (around 59.2% in 2012). The Spanish media in 2014 used for the first time the label 'NEET' to refer to those young people who neither studied nor worked, implying that they were the only agents responsible for their situation since they were too idle to get a job.

We wanted to explore the concept 'NEET' and see how young people from vulnerable backgrounds with irregular trajectories cope with their lives and socially participate through youth organisations. We conducted 21 interviews with young people participating in 4 youth organisations. All of them have had irregular trajectories in the past 2 years but at the present moment they were actively participating and taking responsibilities in a youth organisation. This stigma, as well as others we have detected ('too alternative' for young people fighting the system and 'migrants' for immigrants), made them feel like they were outsiders and, sometimes, led them to drug use. However, the young informants declared they have learnt a lot (either technical skills such as how to lead a meeting, or personal and social skills such as getting to know themselves or improving their social interactions) after getting involved in those organisations. These acquired skills empowered them to build their own projects. They also identified another key element in facilitating their involvement; the opportunity of build a relationship with someone else (whether that be a youth worker, a friend or a relative) helped them overcome difficult situations.

The results obtained led us to propose the concept "No NEET" when referring to young people with irregular trajectories in order to avoid the stigma associated with the NEET label and to emphasize young people's active role in society. The informants were not apathetic and passive but actively committed to contributing to society through the organisations they are part of.

1. Introduction

The present report presents the findings obtained after seven months fieldwork with young people in vulnerable situations, marked by their poor access to the labour market as well as the stigmatisation they experience for being either 'immigrants,' 'too alternative' or 'NEETS.'

The research is based on an inductive approach rooted in a critical adaption of the grounded research approach (see Introduction to D6.1 for further details).Below, we discuss the main topics of interest emerging from the fieldwork: young people and the labour market, marginalisation, and youth subcultures. We also present the research question that guided all the research.

1.1 Young people and the labour market

The economic crisis starting in 2008 has affected the entire Spanish society, but most significantly young people, worsening their already initially disadvantaged economic circumstances. Spanish youth (aged <25) unemployment has doubled from around 20% in the 2000-2007 years to above 40% since 2008, clearly deviating from the EU-27 average (21%) (Eurostat, 2018), and exceeding 50% in 2012, only behind Greece in Europe. Below, we show a table that compares data on the Spanish youth population, youth employment and participation in formal and non-formal education. As we can see, youth unemployment and participation in formal and non-formal education have increased since the beginning of the economic crisis, which is consistent with Rahona's (2009) theory that participation in education increases in times of high youth unemployment but decreases in times of general unemployment.

Table 1. Youth unemployment and participation in education 2007-2016

	Youth population (15-29 years old) (1)	% unemployed (15-29 years old) (2)	% self-employed (15-29 years old) (3)	Formal/non-formal education (15-24 years old) (4)
2007	8,864,390	18.1	3.87	58.82
2008	8,819,170	24.5	3.61	58.99
2009	8,620,383	37.7	2.81	60.74
2010	8,320,653	41.5	2.50	63.63
2011	8,022,276	46.2	2.38	65.25
2012	7,769,138	59.2	2.47	67.53
2013	7,508,878	55.5	2.49	68.90
2014	7,264,495	53.2	2.62	70.94
2015	7,112,935	48.3	2.65	72.06
2016	7,030,427	44.4	2.43	73.00

Sources: (1): Data from Eurostat 'Population on 1 January by age group, sex and NUTS 2 region' [demo_r_pjangroup] Extracted on 21.07.17, SEX Total, AGE From 15 to 19 years + From 20 to 24 years + From 25 to 29 years (the sum was calculated by the authors), UNIT Number, TIME 2007–2016. (2): Data from Eurostat 'Unemployment rates by sex, age and

NUTS 2 regions (%)' [lfst_r_lfu3rt] Extracted on 21.07.17; AGE From 15 to 24 years, SEX Total, UNIT Percentage, TIME 2007–2016. (3): Data from Eurostat 'Youth self-employment by sex, age and educational attainment level' [yth_empl_040] Extracted on 21.07.17, SEX total, AGE 15–29 years, GEO Spain, UNIT: thousand) converted into percentages by the authors using the total youth population from source 1. (4): Data from Eurostat 'Population by sex, age and participation in education and training (last 4 weeks) (1 000)' [lfsq_pgaied] Extracted on 21.07.17, SEX Total, AGE From 15 to 24 years, TYPTRAI Formal and non-formal education and training, UNIT % (calculated by the authors using the total population 15–24 years from source 1 and the yearly averaging of the four given quartals), TIME 2007–2016

The number of Spanish youth (16-29) who became unemployed during the hard years of the crisis, between 2008 and 2012, constituted the clear majority of all those who lost their jobs in Spain during that time (Rocha, 2012). Avalot (2015), the youth organisation of the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) syndicate, shows that 90% of the work contracts made with people under 30 were temporary, while 6 out of 10 were for less than a month. In this context, Avalot calls this phenomenon 'youngster from month to month,' stating that young people in Catalonia cannot make plans further than one month into the future due to their lack of stability. The same is true in the rest of Spain. Serracant (2012) identified different structural forces such as globalisation, the economic crisis and labour market flexibilisation as causes of this situation and highlights how this precariousness has a strong effect on youth transitions into adulthood. Beyond the average percentages, young people belonging to more vulnerable groups suffer much more from difficult scenarios, and the cuts in main welfare policies are badly affecting vulnerable young people in Spain. For example, young people in Spain are the age cohort with the highest probability of living in a household where no one has a job (European Commission, 2016).

In 2011, 21.7% of young people in Spain aged 15-24 were not in employment, education or training, a rate that decreased in 2016 to 14-17%[1] (Eurofound, 2012, 2016). They were labelled NEETs ('Not in Education, Employment, or Training'), being the first time that the term was used in Spain. The media contributed to stereotyping and stigmatising these young people as passive. For instance, Carmen Pérez, an El País reporter, labelled José Luis Flores *apathetic*, describing him as a 23 year old young man who has 'spent the last three years either in his bedroom or the living room' (Pérez, 2014). The political discourse in Europe is marked by a tendency to adapt young people to a labour market that is perceived as a fait accompli and to construe employability, activation and labour market mobility as the solution for youth unemployment (Lahusen, Schulz, and Graziano, 2013). All three terms clearly ascribe the responsibility for unemployment to the young people who have to be employable, active and mobile, resulting in the stigmatisation of young people who did not meet these criteria. However, subsequent research found a different situation when assessing this category and revising the statistics criteria, with actual NEETs being below 2% of the youth population, depending on how they are defined (Navarrete 2011; Soler, Planas and Feixa, 2014). Therefore, there is some statistical inaccuracy in the label 'NEET', since

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[1] The last study made on European NEET was conducted by Eurofound in 2012, since then there is no specific data on NEET youngsters are in Europe, only approximations.

young people on a gap year or engaged in child care technically would count as NEET but would not match its definition.

1.2 Youth at the margins

Young people became an object of study after the Second World War, when consumer society consolidated youth as a market niche to target policies and marketing campaigns (Sánchez and Hakim, 2014). Since then, states have designed specific policies for young people, but they often are peripheral and do not have a real impact on the main problems affecting young people (education, labour market and housing). Walther (2006) analysed the balance between public policies and family and observed that, among Mediterranean countries, families tend to be responsible for compensating for the lack of public policies. In times of economic crisis, differences in young people's economic status are wider; their welfare depends on what their families can do for them to make a difference in their present (as being part of society or being at the margins) and their future (according to the educational opportunities they can have in their youth). Therefore, young people from more vulnerable family backgrounds will have a specific socialisation process that might lead them into fewer opportunities than young people from more affluent family backgrounds.

When talking about the socialisation process, it is important to mention Durkheim's (2001) concept of 'anomie'; an individual state of not being fully developed because the person has not accepted and integrated the rules that society has created in order to regulate collective and individual behaviour. Merton (1957) links this concept to a broader approach that includes cultural traditions and relations among means and purposes. Merton proposed five different categories of individuals in terms of their relationship with societal norms. The first category is 'conformists,' individuals who respect the established means to achieve their own goals, contributing to social stability. The second, 'innovators,' accept the ends but not the means, transgressing the accepted means in order to achieve their goals. The third, 'ritualists,' are individuals who reconsider what is success according to their own purposes and happiness, but still engage in ritual practices society deems important to pursuing success (e.g. attending college). The fourth, 'retreatists,' are individuals who refuse both social means and purposes and isolate themselves from society. Finally, 'rebels' are people who both refuse social means and purposes and try to push society towards new ones.

Traditionally, social change has been linked to youth. This association has its origins in the early 20th century, when Mannheim (1991) proposed the theory of generations. He argued that youth, as a generation, represents values of social change and progress, while adults, particularly the elderly, represent traditional values. The implication is that young people from each generation are the leaders of social change at any given time. Since then, agency, social change and innovation have been topics of deep interest in youth studies, being conceived as one of the main branches of knowledge. However, as Durkheim and Merton had pointed out, there have always been some young people who get involved in innovative organisations and others who do not. Some of the most recent studies on the topic have detected two important variables affecting the reasons why a youngster would be more or less willing to take part in organisations for social change. The first one is family: those parents who are more present at children's schools and are socially active (getting involved in neighbourhood activities, in social clubs, etc.) have a positive influence on young people's

social participation since parents' social involvement is a source of social capital for their children (Chan and Elder, 2001; Matthews *et al.*, 2010). In this way, family and home-related aspects have an influence on how young people become integrated into the central spaces of social life and awaken their interest in society and politics (Benedicto and Moran, 2007). The second influence is youth policies; the social space that young people have within society (which is determined by youth transition regimes) shapes their practices and constructs a cultural model that frames young people's psychological orientation (Walther, 2006). Therefore, the context in which young people live plays an important role in defining the opportunities young people have to socially participate (Solé-i-Martí and Ferrer, 2015).

1.3 Youth subcultures

Youth subculture is one of the three main topics of research in youth studies (Johansson, 2016). The study of youth subculture examines how young people contribute to social change by devising new ways of socially organising themselves. In some cases, this innovation implies an intergenerational conflict between young people and adults:

> 'Youths' socially transgressive actions may be understood not simply as culture-specific manifestations of psychological distress but more importantly as critical cultural practices through which young people display agency' (Bucholtz, 2002: 531).

Young people use different symbols and cultural manifestations in order to identify themselves as a specific youth group, usually called an 'urban tribe.' These everyday expressions are a way that they have to express their ideas, to shape their symbolic power and create a communication space (Mead, 1973: 47), and it is also a 'strategic action that seeks distinction from other youth groups' (Bourdieu, 1985: 267). However, there are more implications of the urban tribe analysis. Hall and Jefferson (1993) approach urban tribes as a power war between the 'parent culture' (represented by adults) and the subordinated class (represented by young people). Young people wish to resist class oppression by distinguishing themselves from adults and their system but, in fact, they are often stigmatised by adults, which ends up reinforcing that class-based oppression (Willis, 1981).

1.4 Research question

Those young people who do not find their place or cannot access either in formal employment nor formal education, or less prescriptive trajectories might be part of the solution to their social engagement. This can be through access to different mixes of intermediate structures such as family, ethnic communities, and local and youth associations (Eseverri Mayer, 2015). These alternatives involve a broad understanding of human and social capital, following authors such as Coleman (1990), according to whom, human capital includes skills and capacities acquired through education or experience, but is not limited to formal academic education.

This article aims to explore the importance those intermediate structures (especially soft institutions) have for young people with irregular trajectories. We focused our fieldwork on understanding how young people labelled as NEET satisfy their basic needs as well as their need for belonging and participating within society. To do so, we interviewed 21 young

people from vulnerable backgrounds (including young immigrants as well as young people born in Spain) who participate in youth organisations.

The research aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- Describe how young people from vulnerable backgrounds cope with their lives
- Describe what stigmas or discrimination young people experience
- Identify the key elements that help young people from vulnerable backgrounds overcome their situations

2. Methods

The paper is based on qualitative information obtained from seven months of ethnographic fieldwork (from June to December 2017). During this period of time, we gathered data using three different research methods: participant observation; semi-structured interviews; and collection of written and visual material.

Following the PROMISE guidelines, in the beginning, we looked for organisations founded and run by young people in a vulnerable social situation that associate themselves in order to cope with their situation and find a way to transition into adulthood. However, after four months of not being able to find a group that matched the initial guidelines, we decided to look for organisations that, although they were not founded and run by young people in a vulnerable situation, were set up to help such young people. Therefore, we made a call to all Spain National Policy and Practice Network (NPPN) members as well as searched for Internet organisations made by and for young people that share the objective of improving their social situations (for instance, by helping them to get work permits or by helping them to build a leisure program in the neighbourhood). It is important to note the intention we had when we chose our sample—we chose youth in vulnerable situations regardless of whether they were native-born. Consequently, 14 members of the sample were not born in Spain and have had problems acquiring work permits and accessing the labour market; and seven were young people born in Spain who live in a vulnerable context and are part of organisations that aim to offer leisure alternatives to young people.

The study is based on information obtained through participant observation and through interviewing young people involved in four organisations. (Below is a brief description of the organisations. We have deleted the organisation and participants' names in order to preserve the anonymity of the informants, instead we have assigned them numbers). All of these organisations are based in Barcelona.

1. **Organisation 1:** Its purpose is to enable people without work permits to take a course to become waiters or cooks. The organisation also allows them to do an internship where some of them end up being employed. We had access to the organisation through a member of the NPPN, and interviewed five young people involved in this organisation.
2. **Organisation 2:** Its purpose is to help young people in a vulnerable situation. They have different programmes but we focused on the youth centre and the supported housing for young peoplethey have. We interviewed nine young people involved in this organisation (seven from the youth centre and two from the supported housing for young people). We had access to the organisation through a researcher from our institution, IGOP.
3. **Organisation 3:** This is a consolidated self-managed youth club where young people decide on the youth workers they employ, the activities they do for the young people, and the activities they do to engage with the neighbourhood. We obtained access to the organisation by searching online for self-managed youth clubs in Barcelona and contacted them. We interviewed three young people associated with this organisation.

4. **Organisation 4:** This is an emerging self-managed youth club. They are completing all the bureaucratic paperwork to consolidate themselves as a youth organisation with some help from the Council. We had access to the organisation through a worker at the Youth Services department at the Barcelona Council who is working with self-managed youth organisations. We interviewed four young people from this organisation.

It is important to note that access to the informants has not been easy. On the one hand, we had some issues constructing the sample; as a result, 75% of the informants in this sample were male. Despite extensive fieldwork, it has been very difficult to gain access to more females. In Organisation 4, there were no females, and sometimes they were involved in organisations that did not fit with the sample criteria of having irregular trajectories. On the other hand, we needed several days of fieldwork with different organisations in order to negotiate conducting interviews. We believe that this is because the studied group has been researched intensively in recent years in Spain, when academia became interested in knowing how people from vulnerable neighbourhoods were coping with the economic crisis and in understanding why self-management grows in importance in those contexts. In other contexts in which young people in a vulnerable situation used the services of an organisation (either because they did not have work permits or because they suffered from domestic abuse), we have found that often workers, aiming to protect young people, have hindered us from contacting them directly. However, after several meetings with them and after intense fieldwork, they finally agreed to give us permission to interview young people.

After building trust with the organisations and the young people involved, we were able to carry out the fieldwork and utilise three research methods to gather data: participant observation, semi-structured interviews and collection of written and visual material. Details of these methods are found below.

2.1 Participant observation

We conducted participant observations - a total of 120 hours - in all the organisations. The activities we have observed vary for each organisation. For Organisation 1, we participated in the open café they have where young people enrolled in the waiter course do their internship, and where some of them end up working after finishing the course. For Organisation 2, we participated in a youth summer camp in the Pyrenees, and participated in everyday life of the youth club. For Organisation 3, we sat in the open room the youth club has where anyone can go and hang out with other young people. For Organisation 4, we were unable to do any participant observation since they did not have a place to do their activities.

2.2 Semi-structured interviews

We conducted 21 in depth interviews with young people from the four above mentioned organisations (see Appendix 1 to see more information about the informants' sociodemographic profiles). The interviews were structured by five topics of interest: socio-economic background; how, why and when did the young person get involved in the

organisation; information about the organisation and the young person's role; how the organisation has impacted him or her and t wider society; and the main problems young people are facing nowadays in Spain. The interviewer shaped the interviews according to the interviewee responses. Therefore, although all the interviews share the same structure, the information obtained varies between the interviewees depending on what she or he emphasised and the resulting differences in the interviewer's questions.

The interviews are, on average, 1 hour 15 minutes long and took place at the location of the organisations they are involved in, except for participants in Organisation 4. Since the latter did not have a place to meet, we conducted the interviews in a café in the neighbourhood where they live. We gave information about our research to all the informants. They also were aware of the data management process and all of them gave consent to be recorded by the interviewer. Three informants were under 18 at the moment of the interview so we asked for, and gained, parental consent before interviewing them.

We also conducted peer-to-peer interviews (see Introduction to D6.1 for details of this method) at Organisation 1. Some of the young people attending the organisation were interviewing other youngsters, becoming researcher assistants to the investigation. These interviews are still ongoing and have not been analysed for the purposes of this report. They will be analysed in the following months and be incorporated into the dissemination stage of research.

2.3 Written and visual material

We held a competition open to any young person from 15 to 30 years old living in Spain to tell us about the problems they face as young people and how they cope with them in their everyday life. The competition was open from the 6th to the 28th of February 2018 and welcomed videos, photos, texts or audios. We received four contributions that have been included in the data collected and have been analysed in this report. There is going to be a second call for contributions during summer 2018.

All data collected from these three research methods have been analysed using software Nvivo 11 following a standardised skeleton coding tree shared by all the PROMISE researchers (see Introduction to D6.1 for more details). We did not need to include any extra nodes from the standardised coding tree.

3. Key Findings

We have structured the findings obtained in the fieldwork around five themes. First, empowerment and organisations, where we analysed the correlation between how empowered the youngsters are and the level of agency they have in the organisations. Second, stigmatisation, where we show what young people feel society thinks of them. This leads to the third theme, outsiders and drugs, which shows how stigmatisation makes them feel somewhat outside of society and how this feeling sometimes leads to drug use. Fourth, how some youngsters—especially those born abroad—reproduce the hegemonic discourse as a strategy to become more integrated into Spanish society. And finally, we discuss an element that has been key for most of the informants in order to overcome their vulnerable situation: relationships (a relationship with either someone who has experienced the same as them before and becomes their mentor, or a youth worker who becomes a positive influence on them).

3.1 Empowerment and organisations

From April to September 2017, we were actively looking for organisations created and led by young people from vulnerable backgrounds that aimed to improve their situations. However, it was not easy. We finally found four organisations that matched PROMISE guidelines, but only two of them (Organisation 3 and Organisation 4) were fully created and led by young people; the other two organisations (Organisation 1 and Organisation 2) were created and led by adults but offered services to young people in vulnerable situations.

The main difference between the two types of organisations was the young people's profile. While young people from Organisations 3 and 4 were born in Spain and had some life security (lived with their parents and had the opportunity to study), young people from Organisations 1 and 2 were born abroad (outside the European Union) and did not have the same level of life security as youngsters from Organisations 3 and 4 (either because they did not have work permits and could not study or work or because they were alone). This difference might be the reason why some of the young people decided to start an organisation on their own and others decided to join an existing organisation. Young people with a lower level of life security are more worried about how they can satisfy their basic needs, such as a place to stay or a job that pays the bills, than their participation and social involvement needs, tending to engage in organisations that help them overcome their vulnerable situations rather than building one on their own. Therefore, the reasons why young people became involved in the organisations differ. People from Organisations 1 and 2 tend to learn about the organisations through social services, through other NGOs working with migrants or through word of mouth from other young people involved in the past:

> [young people] arrive channelled by other social entities such as [name of an NGO] and others in the neighbourhood, we always work within this network. There are also people who come through social workers; we also try to welcome them little by little. (102)

On the other hand, people from Organisations 3 and 4 tend to be more active in the organisation. Subject 106, from Organisation 4, explained how the organisation was born and the role they had in it:

> We were in a play centre. Since we were under 16 years old, we were in a play centre that belongs to the town hall but is managed by a private company. It's a public facility but… what happens? Once you turn 16, you cannot do activities anywhere.
> **Interviewer:** There is no youth centre in the neighbourhood?
> There is nothing in [name of the neighbourhood]. So… we did not have anything in the neighbourhood and we said 'okay, we are going to set up an association!' (106)

Therefore, young people's profile links into their level of empowerment. Those who are not worried about their everyday life because they have a minimum level of life security tend to be more empowered than those with lower levels of life security. This difference also has an impact on the way young people participate in the organisations. Young people from Organisations 3 and 4 tend to be managers of the organisation and even bosses of the adult youth workers who work there:

> If now a guy who is very motivated with rap arrives then… hey, let's put on something, you know? Well, [the activities we organise are] up to the people [attending the organisation]. When we were organising activities, we were doing a lot of make-up workshops … now that it is mainly boys coming there are more foosball tournaments, you know? […] It depends on the people, it depends on the demand. But what is really cool about 'espai de trobada' [meeting room] is that if it can be done, it is done, you know? Here you can fulfil your dreams about activities you want to do. They also teach you how to take care of a bar in a concert, to contact musicians... it's cool! It gives you ... well, total self-management! (119)

> We are the bosses! For instance, if the management committee one day, obviously with a justification, but if it decides that [youth worker name] should not continue working at the organisation, then she should leave … you know? These decisions are not taken by the Town Hall or anyone else but us. (119)

And young people from Organisations 1 and 2 tend to be recipients of services offered by the organisation. However, when they feel stable at the organisation, they usually want to be part of it and start getting involved in the organisation's management. Young people from Organisation 1 start proposing dishes or drinks from their country of origin to add to the restaurant menu, and young people from Organisation 2 start proposing activities or discussing ways to improve the organisation. For instance, youth workers from Organisation 2 designed an activity where young people involved in the organisation had to make groups and create a political party; then they ran elections and the winning party helped youth workers run the organisation during the following academic year. Subject 116, one of the youngsters from the winning party, explains how important it was for him to be part of the winning party:

> We got along together really well, we made trips to discuss things about the Organisation and we controlled a bit the Organisation since we organised activities in order to help [youth worker's name]. (116)

In addition, young people from Organisation 2, who were living in supported housing for young people, had to coordinate themselves with other flatmates and take responsibility for domestic tasks, which enabled them to become more independent than young people living with their parents. They gained competencies such as organisational or social abilities that empowered them in ways that young people from safer contexts would not be.

Young people involved in Organisation 2 got involved in two other activities: football; and creating a short video. All of these activities helped young people develop capacities for autonomy, responsibility or commitment, which made them feel more capable, increased their self-esteem and made them feel part of something bigger.

3.2 Stigmatisation

All young people interviewed have been stigmatised at some point in their life, although for different reasons: being immigrants; being part of an urban tribe; or taking part in an alternative youth club.

3.2.1 Immigrants

Some of the informants explained how society has stigmatised them for being immigrants (linked to a different colour of skin, difficulty in speaking Spanish or even a different Spanish accent), and discriminating them on the labour market for not having work permits, which sometimes led them to work in illegal businesses such as street vending or selling drugs:

> I have a colleague, I get along very well with him, and the other day, he confessed to being an illegal street vendor. In his country he was a French teacher, a language teacher! And I say how could it be that he came here and he is doing that! He has degrees, he can find a way! And he says, 'it is very hard when you arrive without permits, without knowing how things work. There are many people and I do not speak Spanish well,' he said… so what should he have done? When you are in this situation you just do what your friends do, because you need money to survive! Otherwise, what do you do? (104)

> Spanish people see you are Latino and then they start to … you know? They want to introduce you into that world because they know your situation, and they take advantage of people, and many young people arrive here and they have no other way to make money but to resort to … quick means, sell drugs or do other things, you know? (111)

Young people with an immigrant background also experienced racism in Spain, where people call them names or even ask them to leave the country, implying they are not welcome in Spain:

> 'As I was new, I knew nothing. They laughed at me and said: you [uses insulting diminutive of his nationality of origin] here, you [uses diminutive of his nationality of origin] see. And sometimes, when there is a fight between [uses diminutive of his nationality of origin] and someone else, they say, 'get out of here, what are you doing here, if you do not like it here then go to your country!'(114)

We also found two stigmas applied to those born in Spain. The first one, created and applied by young people: 'urban tribes,' related to cultural manifestations such as music or clothing; and the second one, 'alternative youngsters' created by society and applied to young people involved in alternative organisations such as Organisation 3.

3.2.2 Urban Tribes

Urban tribes are an internal mechanism that young people use in order to classify other young people, going further than ethnicity. It is, in fact, a system that adults are rarely aware of or, if they do, usually, it is because media and publicity have popularised them. Maffesoli was the first academic to coin the term in 1985, describing it as a group of people that congregate together and share interests, style of dress and behaviours (Maffesoli, 1996).

We have found that urban tribes are present in young people's life and are a way to socially construct 'the other' following stigmas based on the way young people dress and the music they listen to, which leads into a specific urban tribe that gives information about the persons' social class (linked to educational level, cultural capital or purchasing power).

Some of the urban tribes detected by young people interviewed are chavs (*chonis* in Spanish)[2], posh, hippies and punks.

> **Interviewer**: What would be the difference between a young man from [neighbourhood 1] and one from [neighbourhood 2]?
>
> **Interviewee:** The way of dressing mainly, there they are more posh and here we are more chavs [...]
>
> **Interviewer**: How do you, chavs, dress?
>
> **Interviewee:** With skinny, with a cap ... skinny trousers are essential!

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[2] According to the Oxford English Dictionary: 'a young lower-class person who displays brash and loutish behaviour and wears real or imitation designer clothes'.

Interviewer: Are they more important than wearing a cap?

Interviewee: The skinny... they are a must!

Interviewer: But the posh people also dress like that, huh?

Interviewee: But the posh people wear shirts, and they act like posh people, and they talk like posh.

Interviewer: And how is to act posh and talk posh?

Interviewee: Eh... someone who acts posh is always trying to make a good impression. For instance, throw something on the floor and try to pick it up to make a good impression! We throw something on the ground and it depends on what we have thrown whether we pick it up or not! [...]

Interviewer: And would you say you are a chav?

Interviewee: No ... I do not like to be told that I am a chav! But ... we act like... I mean, I am a more like a *swag*[3], you know? I just do not like to say I'm a chav, you know?

Interviewer: Ah okay...

Interviewee: Because chavs... there was a time in 2012 when chav were shaved, playing loud music while driving, they listened to *rapstead* [style of electronic music], electronic music. That's the reason I say that chavs have already evolved...

Interviewer: And how have they evolved?

Interviewee: To study! Now they study... Before they were NEETS and now ... we do not all work, but we study. (107)

3.2.3 Alternative youngsters[4]

The last stigma we found in the fieldwork is related to 'alternative youngsters.' Young people from Organisation 3 explained what they feel their neighbours think of them as: smoking marijuana all the time; outsiders; and doing nothing in their life. This makes them think that the people in the organisation are seen as too 'alternative' and, somehow,

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[3] According to the Urban Dictionary: 'The new generation originally used swag to describe anyone thought to carry themselves in a way considered by some to be sexy / cool'

[4]   The term 'alternative youngsters' is a translation from Spanish term of 'jóvenes alternativos,' It is a name used by the informants to refer to young people who share the same desire to build an alternative to neoliberal society. Alternative youngsters are sometimes identified as part of specific urban tribes, such as punks, but in this case it refers just to a shared will to build a different social organisation, regardless of the cultural manifestations the young person shows.

dangerous (but mostly unknown and strange). This is the reason why women, whose children are studying at the school next door to the organisation, ask them to hurry up when passing by the organisation. It is also the reason why some other young people refuse to take part in the organisation, as the informants explain below.

> Here there is a school called [name], and there are some mothers who pass by here and say to their children: *run, run, run*! They are a bit afraid their kids could see this or that, you know? So… well! If they really knew what we do here and the work we do with young people, because it really is cool work, but people from outside just see graffiti, sometimes they smell marijuana, and that's it! Then they all say that young people do nothing and think that this centre was built to put all these youngsters together… At least this is what my parents see.' (118)

> I have got friends that do not come here; they would not even set foot in it! Because we are hippies! Then I say to them, 'hey, come, there is a cool concert here…' And they say, 'what a stink! I am not going there!'
>
> **Interviewer**: Stink for… joint or sweat?
>
> Sweat, because we are all hippies… I know there are youngsters that think this but… (119)

> In these ladies' eyes [referring to women shopping in the supermarket next to the youth club] we are junkies! People that only smoke joints … (119)

3.3 Outsiders and drugs

As we have seen, the vulnerable situation young people live in and the stigma they feel from others have an influence on their position within society. Most of them have problems accessing the labour market (either because of their work permit limitations or because of their social position), which makes them feel they are in a disadvantaged situation. However, there are other variables that are important in understanding young people's situation, especially family and belonging, which have an influence on a topic we discuss in this section: drug use.

3.3.1 Family

All young people interviewed have seen or even experienced family breakdown, either because one of their parents has left or they have divorced, because of drug or alcohol problems, or because of abuse. In these situations, the informants point out how young people tend to rely more on friends than family:

> Now we are much dislocated, both adults and children, we as adults pass it on to children and they grow up in this context. Where would a child from a broken family

go? He does not have anything stable to go to, he does not have anything stable to follow ... a 4 year old boy suddenly stops living with mum and dad and then has to go some days with dad and some days with mum; dad says one thing and mum something completely different… in the end his school friends, where he spends long hours, say something different… so he will trust his friends because it is going to be something he likes! […] Here, school influences children more […] children only stay at home for eating and sleeping, you try to talk to them, end up arguing with them and then they just go to bed! […] they absorb a lot of the world, and the world corrupts a lot. I think that all these young people's behaviours come from there. What is the origin of an 11 year old boy smoking? Where did he learn it if his parents do not smoke? We really have to check what children learn at high school. (104)

Family disintegration is also related to violent behaviours. One of the informants explained how he has repeatedly seen young people with family problems getting involved in fights, being himself one of them:

When you talk to them you realise they have a lot of traumas. The father has left his mother; the father beat his mother... [...] And they end up looking for problems. When you talk to them you realise and there's always something ... sometimes they are absent-minded, they end up crazy due to their mental dislocation.(109)

3.3.2 Belonging

Belonging is a human need, but it becomes even more important in adolescence when young people construct their identities. Some of the young people interviewed had problems finding a space where they were fully accepted, regardless of their sexual orientation or ethnicity. Subject 118, for instance, considered himself to be an outsider both at home and at school because of his sexual orientation. At home, his parents were 'ashamed of him,' at school, he did not have any friends or receive support from teachers.

She [his mother] is always telling me to not use makeup, not to talk this way, not to run like I do... she's ashamed of me, she's ashamed that I use lipstick, that I could fall in love with a boy older than me, she is even embarrassed that a neighbour could see me using stockings ... Then, of course, I cannot live in a place like that, right? (118)

The situation changed when he was 16 years old, when he found a group of three other youngsters that had similar issues as him at school because of their sexual orientation.

We were a group of people that did not usually fit into any other group, either in the classroom group or in any other urban tribe. We did not fit ... we all did the baccalaureate in arts and ... I've never had friends at school, to be honest, until then I never had a group to go for a coffee, to go to the movies or even to go and just play to their homes. (118)

Nevertheless, the impossibility of belonging at home and at school had a deep influence on his self-esteem:

> I was afraid of the youth club. I was afraid of the people going there... it was too much for me just their saying hello. Since everyone had been a pain in the ass to me, I was a bit afraid, of course! I was afraid of what they would say about me, you know? (118)

However, the opportunity of being part of an organisation has a great influence on them. Although they might have felt like outsiders before, after getting involved in the organisation, being around people like them and taking part in the activities, they started feeling that they belonged to something bigger and they started feeling part of it. This is especially important in Organisation 1, where all the people involved are immigrants and have problems getting work permits; and Organisation 2 that offer services to young people no matter their origin, which creates a very heterogeneous group. The following quote is from a girl from Organisation 2, which illustrates what she had gained so frar from the organisation:

> [being here] helps people a lot, you know? They open their doors to immigrants and non-immigrants, they do workshops, they do waiters courses, and they help a lot. And, as I say, I did not expect to find a place like this, a place that would open its doors and give me the opportunity to work! I thought: I am going to do the course here and afterwards I am not sure where I am going to end up, if it is going to be a good place or if they are going to treat me badly, anything could happen! But here it is a very nice place and the colleagues are really good, they treat me very well... it is a beautiful experience! (105)

3.3.3 Drug use

Both family disintegration and the impossibility of finding a group to belong to have an influence on young people's drug use. Young people interviewed point out how living in a broken family and having a tough childhood could drive young people to drug use:

> 'It's a long story, it is very, very, very long to tell but well, my childhood was not easy, but despite everything I decided to stop it. The situation in this country is very complicated, for instance, anyone could get lost here, it is way too easy to get involved in drugs, vices, alcohol... it is very easy to get lost there!' (112)

In this sense, the informants also point out how easy is to find drugs in the neighbourhoods they live in, and that being involved with drugs is more common than people think. They have seen young people using hard drugs such as cocaine, and the informants relate this trend to the effect the drug has on them – they feel more powerful than they think they are in real life.

People usually consider this problem to be marginal, but be really careful with drugs! Because there are many young people who are hooked. It's not that they just use drugs; I use drugs at parties even or...

Interviewer: But harder drugs…

No, marijuana, mushrooms or even a line, you know? If I feel like it, I do it and I do not have to justify myself, you know? I have to establish my own limits, you know? But I do see many people hooked to blow, and very young people! I think that using blow is linked to personal insecurities that you do not feel good about yourself.

Interviewer: Why? How do you feel when you do a line?

I'm not much into coke for this reason, because it makes you feel like an asshole!

Interviewer: Like you are super cool?

Yes, like, 'what do you want? Let's do it!' You know? It's a bit like: I can do anything, you know? I see a lot of people hooked because of that. If I dig a bit in these people's lives, all of them have lots of family problems, identity problems… even people who dress normally and have a permanent job are people with lots of emotional deprivation from their families! [...] I believe that one of the main problems is that people do not love themselves enough and turn to this substance in order to escape from reality, and then younger people see them using it and behaving in a phony manner and then they want the same shit, you know?

Interviewer: And what is the age of people using coke?

I don't know, maybe 15 or 16 years old, 17... I've seen people 16 years old doing lines... and of course, these people do not do it because they have seen it in a movie, these people must have seen it somewhere [...] in this neighbourhood, this is a very serious issue. (118)

Therefore, drug use is usually linked to tough childhoods, becoming a way out of tough present situations (such as the impossibility of finding supportive friends or family). This is the case of subject 118, who started using drugs as way out of the discrimination he felt because of his sexual orientation:

So maybe I was looking for a way to escape, as well as my friend [due to their sexual orientation]. Smoking, sitting on a bench was our way to escape from reality at 15 or 16 years old. (118)

Although he admits he had an addiction and is now feeling the consequences in his mental health (some hallucinations and slow thinking), he explains how he has reduced his drug use to a level of only using them for pleasure. After finding a place where he can be himself (the youth club), he has been able to change the reasons why he uses drugs; he stopped looking

for a way out of his reality and is now just seeking pleasure. His drug use is now more sporadic than before and it is less intense as well:

> I smoke them while saying, 'I'm going to do this!' You know? I smoke but I'm doing something else, it's not like I'm sitting at the bench saying, 'life sucks', or 'what revolutionaries we are!' No ... now it is like, 'wake yourself up!' I am still very revolutionary, my ideas are still a bit crazy but I have a job now! Otherwise, you end up being what the system wants you to be - a guy that's sitting on the bench all day, you know? (118)

Therefore, the turning point in his drug use was meeting a youth worker that would listen to him and help him find meaning in life. The youth worker, by asking what he liked most and proposing activities according to his taste, got to know him better and helped him realise what he was really passionate about. Then, little by little, Subject 118 started facing his problems instead of smoking to avoid them, which allowed him reduce the amount of marijuana to one joint a day.

3.4 Reproducing hegemonic discourse

There are some discourses about immigration that emphasise how good it is for the receiving country since it will bring cultural diversity and it will enrich society. These discourses (framed in the multiculturalism paradigm) sometimes forget the social reality in which most of these immigrants are found: vulnerability, poverty and lack of human rights (such as housing, health care or jobs).

Most of the informants with an immigrant background come from this vulnerable situation where they did not have access to the labour market due to their irregular situation and, therefore, had difficulties having all their needs (housing, health, security, etc.) met. However, when talking about immigration as a social phenomenon, they often integrate the multiculturalism idea into their discourse by focusing on the basic human right to freedom of movement and to choose their place of residence, while paying less attention to the actual socioeconomic conditions immigrants experience in Spain.

This situation is more common among those young people who had access to the labour market (although not all of them had a permanent work visa), while those in a more irregular situation were more critical of the social aspects of immigration and the discrimination they experience. This is illustrated by the statement below, by subject 102, who holds a position of responsibility in Organisation 1. This position of power position, may have had an influence on the way he is able to mobilise the discourse of multiculturalism positively:

> My African mind most likely thinks as any other European mind, right? The only thing that has to be done is to live together and find the balance between us all. There are things we have in common among what we eat, right? We have the rice in common, for instance. In other words, the way paella is cooked here is similar to the way the rice is cooked in Senegal; there are a few things that change but the results are often almost the same. All these things are what we have to keep enjoying, right? (102)

Young immigrants also reproduced in their discourses the names Spanish society uses to refer to them. Below, we cite how a young person from Africa who refers to himself as a 'brown,' a term Spanish society uses to refer to a black person intending it to be more respectful than saying 'black' but with a clear intention of emphasising Africans' condition as immigrants.

> There I took a bus to go to [name of a city]. I stayed two weeks in a square waiting to get employment, there were many brown people there as well.
>
> **Interviewer**: What are they [brown people]?
>
> I am brown. (103)

3.5. The key factor: relationships

The informants agreed that what helped them to overcome their situation has been establishing a relationship with someone who has supported them. The informants said adolescence is a stage of life in which they need a lot of support but it is not easy to find someone they can fully trust:

> 'I think that when you are 16, 17 and even 18 sometimes, you have problems but you keep them to yourself. You do not really want to rely on anyone who could help you either because you are afraid or because you think they will not understand you. It is complicated but when you finally find someone to count on, you feel more comfortable releasing everything you had inside. (116)

However, most of the informants have been able to connect with someone who has helped them. The person who they have established a relationship differs in each case (a youth worker, a family member, someone from an NGO) but all of them have in common that the supportive person listens to them without judging, suggests solutions without imposing anything and provides a space where they feel important:

> In fact, something I really liked about [name of an NGO] is that it gives you a lot of freedom, there is no constant control... as there is no constant control this gives you space to do what you want. On the other hand, when there are institutions that keep controlling you, controlling, controlling... and they think that through this control […] well, they do not give you room to do things, it causes other problems, right? Because they are breaking with individual´s rhythm, you know?'(111)

Some of the informants point out that the supportive person must be someone who has experienced the same as them (especially among those young people who have arrived in Spain by dinghy):

Now, if I tell you that I have come to Spain in a dinghy, you might not understand what you experience in there, right? But if I meet a colleague of mine who has arrived here by dinghy I can feel him, because at least 50% of the feelings that he has felt I have lived the same at a certain moment of my journey, so I can understand him better. I can tell him, 'now this is over, activate yourself, you are in a new stage of your life, enjoy it, do your best to meet your goals, otherwise you will be dragging with the past and not moving forward.'(102)

Others point out that they felt supported by other young people involved in the organisation:

It helped me to be here, in this environment of young people meeting up, having fun, playing… it is something that moves you and makes you get more involved with people around you and makes you think differently too: to lose fear, to have confidence with people, to relate to others... And this learning will be useful later on in your professional career. (111)

To establish a friendship with colleagues helps you a lot to overcome the problem, more than anything. (112)

However, the youth worker is a key person for most of them; a person that will hear you no matter what and will give you advice without imposing:

[the youth worker is important to me because of the] love she gives, for being there all my life, and for the advice she gives me [...] she is my model, someone who listens to me, someone who would give me advice if you have a question to ask, who gives me orientation. (113)

[name of the youth worker] is not going to judge you. She gives you her opinion but she never puts her opinion above yours. In other words, if you have to make a mistake, she will let you make mistakes. She will warn you that you might be wrong with it but she won't… she won't scorn your previous idea, she would make you think about it and make you finally say, 'oh, okay, well, this will be good for me or not'. Her way of guiding suits me really well. (115)

All the organisations we have analysed have been spaces where young people have been able to develop positive relationships with others. The shared points we have found as facilitators for establishing a positive relationship are:

- *Place:* the organisation has a specific place assigned, which allows people to meet regularly, know that if they go there most likely they will find the same people, and have somewhere to hang out when needed.

- *Activity:* the organisation develops a specific activity (for instance, Organisation 1 is a school/restaurant, while Organisations 2, 3 and 4 are youth clubs). This means that the people attending most likely share similar profiles and/or have similar tastes. Both elements are important in order to find potential friends, since people will have more things in common and it could make them get along better.
- *New people:* all the organisations allow people attending to meet people outside their normal circles. When they get involved in the different organisations, usually, they do not know anyone (or know just one or two people), which lets them build new relations.
- *People from different level of responsibilities:* in all organisations (except for Organisation 4), there are people leading the organisation, usually the youth workers or teachers. These people usually become mentors for young people and have a great impact on them. However, in order to be 'their'[5] youth worker they must have the following characteristics: listen without judging; be empathic; and get involved in their life.

4. Conclusions

The present research has contributed to youth studies by showing how young people in vulnerable situations in Spain cope with their lives while also satisfying their need to belong and participate in society. We have seen how the informants from more vulnerable situations (mainly those from broken families and those born outside Spain) are less empowered than people from safer contexts. Youngsters from more vulnerable backgrounds, who seek to overcome their situations while socially participating in an organisation, tend to engage in organisations that already exist—often run by adults—instead of creating something on their own as youngsters from safer contexts do. However, once they are part of a youth organisation, they tend to adopt an active role by proposing activities and changes to improve it. This involvement, whether it is self-managing a youth club for those young people from a safer background or just proposing an activity for young people from more vulnerable backgrounds, empowers and helps them develop competences that will help in their future (Coleman, 1990).

Stigmatisation has been experienced by all young people interviewed, no matter what their origin, age or backgrounds are. We have detected three main stigmas: their ethnicity; belonging to an urban tribe; and being 'too alternative.' Ethnicity is a stigma that society applies to them but they also apply it to other youngsters with different colour of skin or accent. The stigma of being 'too alternative' is also applied by both, society and other young people to other youngsters. However, the stigma of 'urban tribes' is usually more applied by

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[5]   An informant said during the interview that young people tend to have 'a youth worker' in their life, and it is only one. She was implying that there is always one important youth worker (or mentor) in young people´s lives who gives them support in their most difficult times and to whom they will be grateful and love forever. She said that this person is never replaceable; they might have other good youth workers in their life but no one would be ever as again 'the' youth worker.

youngsters than by adults, since adults are not always aware of all the urban tribes existing at the present moment.

Some of the young people were *at the margins of society*, either because they did not have work permits or because they considered themselves to be outsiders. According to Durkheim (2001), because they do not follow the rules that society has created in order to regulate collective and individual behaviour, they would not be considered 'full' individuals. However, Garfinkel (1967) argues that the concept of anomie is irrelevant because we cannot establish fixed rules since societies are in permanent change and the rules change according to everyday practices. Therefore, individuals would decide what rules apply to themselves in each situation they are in, but in any case, they would determine their conduct. Following Garfinkel, anomie would be irrelevant, and it would be more accurate to analyse how young people establish their own rules in order to solve everyday problems they face, never regulating their conduct, only adapting their means in order to achieve their purposes. Therefore, we cannot talk about anomie when approaching the problem marginal young people face since it proposes a socialisation process that never was effective; we should talk of ways of coping with life or surviving (Tijoux, 1995). Young people in vulnerable situations could never have gone through the socialisation process as it is established by anomie theory since in many cases, they have been excluded from the labour market or their families have neglected them. Therefore, we should focus our analysis on how they cope with their life and the mechanisms they use in order to adapt themselves within society and to naturalise their marginality.The *stigma* of being 'too alternative' relates to Merton's (1957) perspective of 'rebellion' since those labelled this way aim to overthrow capitalism and create a fairer system (greener and more equal). The stigma of being 'too alternative' has historically been linked to subcultures such as punk, which has always been considered to be destructive and threatening. This is the reason why some neighbours of Organisation 3 were afraid of participating in any activity organised by them or even walking past the centre. In this sense, although young people from Organisation 3 sought to change the system through specific cultural strategies for coping with oppression, they might succeed only in reproducing it; confirming Paul Willis thesis (Willis, 1981). The other three organisations would fit with what Merton considered 'conformist' since they use established means to achieve their aims but with some sense of 'innovation' since although they all use legal means, their objective are not shared by mainstream society. Organisations 1 and 2 do work for irregular young immigrants in getting their work permits (something the public sector is not doing), and Organisation 4 is working to build a youth club in a neighbourhood where there is not any public service for young people.

All young people agree that what really helped them to *overcome their situation* of vulnerability (even marginality) and *become integrated into society* was having someone close to share their feelings with and ask for advice. This person is different in each case, but youth workers and mentors (older people who have experienced the same as them in the past) are the most common. What young people ask of them is: to hear them; to give support; to give advice without imposing; and to be honest. As we have shown above, drugs are a big issue for young people in vulnerable situations for three reasons: young people have easy access to drugs; they see other people using drugs in their contexts; and drugs are a way for many of them to escape from their realities. However, when talking about drugs,

young people point out how positive relationships are important to prevent them from using them or to re-educate the ones using them.

5. Future analysis

In this section, we will outline the themes encountered in the study and particular issues we have detected for the triangulation stage.

5.1 Main themes

This study has given some clues about how important relationships are in overcoming difficult situations for young people. The informants point out some difficulties they experience during adolescence (creating their own identity, having to choose their studies) as well as other personal difficulties (abuse, neglect from the family or irregular situations). In all the situations, they consider that having someone close to them—a youth worker, a social worker, a friend, a mentor or even someone from the family—has helped them a lot. What they ask of this person is to listen, to not judge them and to give advice, always respecting their freedom to follow it or not, and letting them make a mistake and learn from it.

This main theme is a key finding for policy makers. Sometimes, youth policies focus on offering institutions, such as youth clubs, where young people can get involved but do not pay much attention to the youth workers they employ. The research has shown that what makes a real difference for young people is to have someone close to them, someone who can mentor them. This finding might suggest that youth policies should pay attention to both: creating spaces where young people can socially participate; and having youth workers who can accompany them.

Some immigrants have integrated the discourse of multiculturalism that emphasises the good part of mixing cultures but does not pay attention to the social inequalities immigrants experience in Spain. This is more common among those young immigrants who have obtained a job and have some life security, such as Subject 103, who calls himself a 'moreno' (brown), a name generally used in Spain for black people.This study has also given some information about how people from the margins incorporate the hegemonic discourse as a way to get integrated into society and stop being an outsider; this is especially important among youth migrants.

The study has also given some indication of the stigmas young people experience, which are channelled from different directions: stigmas from society towards them (being an immigrant or an alternative); and stigmas that apply amongst young people (related to urban tribes).

5.2 Issues of concern

After reviewing all the data gathered during the fieldwork, we would like to propose two research questions that might be of interest for the cluster analysis:

- How do young people, making an effort to become socially integrated, actively or passively relate to hegemonic discourses? Do they incorporate or co-opt it into their speech?

In the specific case of young migrants, we suggest that it might be interesting to analyse how, when and why young migrants might claim their right to mobility (a right promoted by liberalism) but forget social rights such work or housing? Our data collected suggest that this usually happens when the individual has their social rights guaranteed, being even more common among those who have jobs with responsibility (such as being the coordinator).

- What facilitates a positive relationship with a young person in a vulnerable situation? We have seen how important it is for young people in a vulnerable situation to have a positive relationship with someone else (who could be a youth worker, a friend or even a relative). In this sense, it might be interesting to know a bit more about what young people expect from this person, how they build the relationship and what the impact of having this positive relation is?

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Appendix: socio-demographic information

Subject number	Organisation	Age	Gender	Education[6]	Employment	Residential Status	Family Status	Country of origin
101	1	27	Male	Completed first general academic secondary education	Full-time employment	Lives at home with parents and partner	Married	Romania
102	1	32	Male	Completed first general academic secondary education	Full-time employment	Lives independently with own partner	Married	Senegal
103	1	32	Male	Completed post-secondary vocational training	Full-time employment	Lives independently with friends	Single	Senegal
104	1	27	Female	Completed first general academic secondary education	Full-time employment	Lives independently with own partner	Married	Dominican Republic
105	1	24	Female	Completed second general secondary education	Full-time employment	Lives independently with own partner	Married	El Salvador
106	3	18	Male	Completed first general academic secondary education	Part-time employment	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
107	3	16	Male	Completed first general academic secondary education	Occasional irregular employment	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
108	3	18	Male	Currently in second general academic secondary education	Full-time education	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
109	3	18	Male	Currently in post-secondary vocational training	Full-time education	Lives at home with parent	Single	Spain

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[6] There is two level of General Secondary Education in Spain. The first one ('ESO') is from 12 to 16 years old, is compulsory and gives general knowledge. The second one ('Bachillerato') is from 16 to 18 years old, is not compulsory and people attending have to choose between 5 branches of knowledge: science, technology, social sciences, art and humanities; the main goal is to prepare young people for 'Selectividad', an entrance exam to university-

110	2	20	Male	Completed post-secondary vocational training	Unemployed	Lives at supported housing for young people	Single	Argentina
111	2	27	Male	Completed post-secondary vocational training	Part-time employment	Lives at supported housing for young people	Single	Venezuela
112	2	22	Male	Completed second general academic secondary education	Unemployed	Lives at home with parents	Single	El Salvador
113	2	18	Female	Completed second general academic secondary education	Unemployed	Lives at home with parents	Single	Morocco
114	2	17	Female	Currently in post-secondary vocational training	Full-time education	Lives at home with parents	Single	Pakistan
115	2	20	Male	Currently in post-secondary vocational training	Full-time education	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
116	2	17	Male	Completed second general academic secondary education	Unemployed	Lives at home with parents	Single	Dominican Republic
117	2	18	Male	Currently in first general academic secondary education	Full-time education	Lives at supported housing for young people	Single	Morocco
118	4	21	Male	Completed first general academic secondary education	Part-time employment	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
119	4	19	Female	Currently in post-secondary vocational training	Full-time education	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
120	4	22	Male	Currently in post-secondary vocational training	Full-time education	Lives at home with parents	Single	Spain
121	2	20	Female	Completed second general academic secondary education	Unemployed	Lives at home with other relatives	Single	Spain