ARTICLE

Labor and educational trajectories of racialized youth in Catalonia. Reflections from an intersectional perspective

Trayectorias laborales y educativas de jóvenes racializados en Catalunya desde una perspectiva interseccional

Josselyn Urdiales Correa[1]
University of Barcelona, Spain.

Rosa Lázaro Castellanos
University of Barcelona, Spain.

95

How to cite

Abstract

Spanish immigration in the 1990s brought with it social, educational and labor transformations for the population in general and, in particular, challenges for the children of immigrant families. After three decades, it is generally held that the social, educational and labor integration of the children of immigrants is favorable, although different from that of autochthonous young people. This ar-

Keywords:
Intersectionality; young people; racialization; educational trajectories; labor trajectories

ticle will address these distinctions, assuming an intersectional perspective to analyze the educational and labor trajectories of young people of immigrant and racialized origin in Barcelona. Drawing upon qualitative research focused on the labor trajectories of these young people, we will show the restrictions that class, gender and origin have on their professional promotion in an increasingly competitive and precarious labor market.

Resumen

La inmigración española de la década de los noventa trajo consigo transformaciones sociales, educativas y laborales para la población en general y, en particular, retos para las y los hijos de familias inmigrantes. Después de tres décadas, se suele sostener que la integración social, educativa y laboral de los hijos de inmigrantes es favorable, aunque distinta a la de los jóvenes autóctonos. El presente artículo abordará estas distinciones, asumiendo una perspectiva interseccional para analizar las trayectorias educativas y laborales de jóvenes de origen inmigrante y racializados en Barcelona. A partir de una investigación cualitativa centrada en las trayectorias laborales de estos jóvenes mostraremos las restricciones que la clase, el género y el origen tienen en su promoción profesional dentro de un mercado laboral cada vez más competitivo y precario.

Introduction

The Spanish State has a population of foreign origin of 4.5 million, with Catalonia receiving the largest share. Of the total population, 30% is of Latin American origin (Mahía, 2018). It is a young profile, of working age and led by women (Pedone, 2010). In addition, in Spain, one in four young people under 18 years of age have non-EU parents (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2019).

Young people of immigrant and racialized origin are perceived as possible contributors to the economic and cultural advancement of destination countries, but also as generators of challenges. For families of immigrant origin, schooling also has an important weight; the social ascent of children born or raised in the host countries is projected on it (Portes et al., 2018, p. 150). Socially, the educational and labor insertion of young people is appealed to as a way towards positive integration.

Despite efforts, the educational and labor promotion of the children of immigrants is a pending task in most immigration-receiving countries. According to the Longitudinal Research on the "Second Generation" in Spain (Portes et al., 2018), the number of children of immigrants who reach university does not exceed 30%; in addition, a significant proportion of young people occupy precarious jobs. Therefore, successful educational and labor trajectories depend on a set of social, environmental or contextual structures, which can come to condition the trajectories.

We start from the assumption that immigrant and racialized youth, although they are nationals, share with their parents experiences of racism, discrimination and inequalities that are structural and historical. The purpose of this article is to learn about the perceptions of sexism, classism and racism identified by immigrant and racialized youth having completed higher education. In addition, we will identify the factors that limit or facilitate their educational and employment trajectories.

We will employ intersectionality as a perspective of analysis to make visible the inequalities and difficulties faced by migrant and racialized college-educated youth because it is a perspective that fosters an understanding of inequality based on interactions among diverse systems of oppression, recognizing that the factors that cause social exclusions rarely depend on a single factor (Hill and Bilge, 2019).

97

The article is divided into three sections. The first focuses on intersectionality as a useful tool to make visible the articulation of multiple oppressions and propitiate new reflexive frameworks that contribute to destabilizing power structures. The second section refers to the methodology employed in the research. A third section presents the results of the research; here we will see how the articulation of class, gender and racialization impair the labor and educational trajectories of migrant and racialized youth. And we end with some brief conclusions.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a concept developed by Kimberly Crenshaw (1989) to show that the articulation of class, gender and origin has material and subjective repercussions for black and Latina women. The author studies the case of General Motors, a company that was sued by a group of black women who claimed to be discriminated against by the company. However, the case was legally dismissed, since the company presumed

that there was no gender or racial discrimination because it had hired white women and black men. For Crenshaw (1989), there were two interrelated discriminations that were not experienced by black men and white women, i.e., it shows us concrete inequalities and violence experienced by black women, omitted by the legal norm. Therefore, intersectionality allows us to think of women as a heterogeneous group, to recognize the differences between women and the impact of different systems of oppression, difficult to observe for white middle-class feminists (Davis, 2005), whose class and racial privilege has led them to focus on gender oppression.

The imbrication of violence experienced by different individuals and collectives has been denounced since the 1970s by black feminists (Brah, 2011; Davis, 2005). They pointed out that the feminist struggle could not focus on a single axis of inequality, because it left out women excluded by different systems of oppression (Hill and Bilge, 2019), for example, black, impoverished class, indigenous, gypsy and immigrant women: women placed in a status of social, political and economic inferiority.

Therefore, the intertwined violence and discrimination experienced by women has been named in different contexts, without calling it intersectionality. For example, multiple oppressions appear in the Combahee-River-Collective statement; Hill (2012) calls it a matrix of domination; Anzaldúa (1987) speaks of Bordenlans to make explicit the interconnectedness of race, class, gender and sexuality as systems of power linked to social (in)justice.

Intersectionality as an analytical tool allows us to observe the multiple oppressions experienced by people and reproduced by state institutions, including laws. From this perspective, norms and customs produce power relations, discriminations, differences and inequalities between people. Therefore, intersectionality is key to identifying the specific needs of people in vulnerable situations, ethnic minorities and immigrants, because they are the most prone to unemployment, impoverishment and exclusion, especially migrant and racialized women and youth.

The transnational perspective (Portes and Böröcz, 1998), by focusing on the person of migrant origin, manages to show their heterogeneity and resistance, the way they connect spaces, act in power structures and develop transnational social networks (Pedone, 2010). However, transnationalism is not necessarily interested in the everyday dimension of people, their constraints or adaptations. For example, it does not explain why during the economic crisis and the deterioration of employment, rejection, stigmatiza-

tion and xenophobia against so-called ethnic minorities appear. This rejection is fertile ground for receiving states to promote anti-immigrant laws and legislation, produces segregation between people who are native and those who are foreign (Lazaro, 2018); it also generates social hierarchies and symbolic boundaries that institute new stigmatized and racialized communities, as may occur with the children of immigrants.

Although racism is a reality in Catalonia and Spain, it has received little attention. We believe that racism is difficult to name because the discourse has been constructed in such a way that racism belongs to another time, another space and is read as an individual act. Indeed, "race" has been replaced by ethnicity, and racial problems appear as a synonym of difference or a cultural problem, "discrimination", stereotype or prejudice (Delgado, 1998).

Segato (2012) argues that there is a relationship between racism, prejudice and discrimination, since prejudice is an attitude of personal convictions and discrimination is the effect of those convictions in the public sphere. Both terms can be seen operating, for example, in the world of work, when white people are given access to certain professions, which happen to be the best paid. The example shows that exclusion is the other side of privilege. In this article, race is understood as a system of domination that distributes the global population in positions, places and social roles (Lugones, 2008). We seek to avoid thinking of racialization as a matter of "pigmentation", expressed in skin tones or ethnic-racial traits.

The rejection of non-EU immigration in Spain, on the part of the population, is found in language oriented towards the defense of the national and against those who put the welfare state at risk. These discourses generate processes of otherness and divide citizens and non-citizens. Examples of this are the basic rights denied to people of immigrant origin or the difficult access to education and formal jobs, as discussed below.

Racialized and/or immigrant-origin youths in Spain

The children of non-EU immigrants are referred to as "second generations". If an immigrant is a person who is the protagonist of a migration, then it is a term that does not always apply to young people of second generations, as they have not necessarily experienced international mobility.

99

Second generation also has a certain racist content, because it refers to the children of immigrants from "third world" or "ethnicized" countries. For Delgado (1988, p. 115), the social imaginary attributes ethnicity to the pre-modern, something that is inferior. Thus, when we speak of "ethnic minorities" we refer to "moros", "negros", "Filipinos", "Peruvians", that is, impoverished migrants or migrants of "gypsy" origin. Therefore, we use the expression racialized or immigrant to refer to those young people who were born or socialized in Spain.

Various studies (García, 2003; Labrador and Blanco, 2007; Montcusí, 2007) argue that the children of immigrants inherit their migratory status; they are classified as non-native, even though they have never lived outside Spain. In addition, they carry all the racist stereotypes of migration, as they are read as suspicious, threatening or bearers of "inappropriate cultural practices" and are placed in an inferior position. National states allude to early schooling as a device for assimilation (García, 2003, p. 9), and social integration. However, remaining in the educational system or successfully overcoming it will depend on the educational, family and contextual environment.

Although the family is often blamed for school failure, the truth is that there is a negative view of foreign students; they are read as undesirable (García and Olmos, 2012). School segregation policies disguised as residential ascription have been documented (Cutillas and Moraes, 2018), which produce educational disadvantages for racialized students (Cebolla and Garrido, 2011). Ballestín (2015), explains that teachers find it difficult to attend to student diversity.

Stereotypes and racist practices are also found in the labor market. It is usually pointed out that in the selection of hired personnel, the quality of the resumes takes precedence; however, the project "Growth, equal opportunities, migration & markets" (University of Essex, 2018) has shown that employment discrimination does exist. The results show that candidates from ethnic minority groups are discriminated against, despite having the same training and motivation as nationals. Group-based discrimination occurs mostly in the first phase of the recruitment process. Research shows that stigmatization can trigger discriminatory behavior and bias the evaluation of job candidates.

The above is a sign that racism, sexism and classism have been naturalized in the social body, which makes it difficult to identify them beyond discrimination. For this reason, an analysis from the perspective of intersectionality is necessary in order to see the impact on the educational and labor trajectories of racialized youth living in Barcelona. First, we will point out the methodology used.

Methods

The results of the present work derive from the research entitled "Hesitant horizons: perceptions of discrimination in the educational trajectories of young children of immigrants with higher education", developed between November 2019 and September 2020. With the objective of exploring the perceptions of discrimination in migrant and racialized youth, the study was based on a qualitative methodology. In order to approach the subjectivity of the young people, describing and understanding their everyday life, the in-depth interview technique was used (Parra and Briceño, 2013). This approach allowed the interviews to develop in a flexible and dynamic way, creating an atmosphere for the participants to express themselves freely (Taylor and Bogdan, 1990).

Although we initially planned to have as many young people as possible, due to the effects of Covid-19, we were only able to conduct nine interviews (six women and three men). The selection criteria for the participants were that they were young people between 22 and 35 years of age, residents of Barcelona, with completed university studies or higher and that they were the children of parents of immigrant origin. The young people interviewed are graduates in a variety of disciplines within the social sciences, Social Work, computer science, anatomy and technical vocational training.

101

The interviews were conducted through the Zoom virtual platform and lasted approximately 60 minutes each. The virtual interview format, by eliminating the use of tape recorders, allows the interviewees to express their opinions with greater flexibility and freedom. However, this format has the disadvantage of not allowing the recording of non-verbal communication, spontaneity, gestures, emotions or reactions when dealing with sensitive topics such as discrimination and racism.

The information produced was analyzed using the thematic analysis method. This method recognizes the significant structures that define social complexity, in which a schematic ordering and a rigorous analysis of the results can be carried out (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Once the transcription work was completed, the data were organized according to the following themes: family/migration trajectories, educational trajectories and labor trajectories. The analysis focused on the participants' lived experiences of discrimination through understanding and interpretation (Shutz, 1967). The software used to carry out this process was Atlas.ti.

ARTICLE

The nine interviews make up a non-probabilistic sample sufficient to capture the perception young people hold about their social, educational and labor reality. The profile of the young people represents the described heterogeneity of the subject studied, maintaining the variables of class, gender and origin. The sample follows the criteria of qualitative research, intensive on a small scale, where the relevance is the cases studied rather than the number of informants (Ragin et al., 2004).

In this research, the ethical component is fundamental; therefore, each participant was given informed consent, validated by members of the Ethics Committee of the Hospital Sant Joan de Déu. The names of the informants that appear throughout the article have been changed to respect anonymity.

Results and discussion

It was the processes of regularization and family reunification, initiated in the 1990s and 2000s, that led to the increase of foreign minors in Spanish schools and institutes (Mahía, 2018). Most of those interviewed were reunited by the father and only in two cases by the mother. The fathers first regrouped the mother and, years later, the children. The young people, who emigrated between the ages of three and ten, are from Morocco, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Argentina. In addition, we found two cases of young women of Moroccan descent born in Spain.

102

The weight of immigrant status, exclusion and stigmatization are factors that can limit the educational aspirations of migrant and racialized youth. The young participants point out that their parents' migratory dreams are linked to obtaining better employment, economic and educational opportunities for the benefit of the family. However, upon arrival, the parents will find a socioeconomic order that excludes them from occupations, housing, residence permits or citizenship. As Gil Araujo (2004) argues, Spanish immigration regulations produce classifying and qualifying effects among the different groups. Depending on the origin or provenance of the immigrant, they will face different requirements to obtain residence, nationality or access to social welfare.

The time it takes for the parents of the young people to regularize their stay or to obtain family reunification procedures, reformulates the migration project and alters family life. For example, half of those interviewed indicated that they had not grown up in two-parent families, either due to the dissolution of the couple, the death of one of the parents or the formation of new families, as shown below.

> *When I arrived at the age of 12, my mother was here with another partner, with my little brother's father. (…) When I arrived she was already pregnant again.*
> *(Marta, 29 years old, Dominican Republic)*

Another important factor that has an impact on children's education is the prolonged absence of parents due to long working hours. It is often pointed out that the lack of family support leads to school dropout, especially because the lack of attention is due to the hard working conditions of parents and family members (García, 2011). These conditions are not unrelated to the category of race. Racialization has an important weight for groups of human beings to be inserted into a social, labor and political hierarchy (García, 2003).

In the work experience of people of immigrant origin we can observe how gender, race and class are interrelated. The labor market makes use of categories to classify and distribute people according to work, origin and sex-gender. In the Spanish context we can see women of immigrant origin employed in domestic and care service, a job that, although regulated, does not have pension contributions or access to unemployment insurance.

It is illustrative to observe how the parents of the young people interviewed in Spain have inserted themselves in occupations (pre)established for people of immigrant origin. The mothers of the interviewees have been employed in caregiving, house cleaning, factories or nursing; while the fathers have worked in construction, services, commerce, electricity and transportation. The occupations show a sexual and racial division of labor; they are temporary, precarious and with long working hours, conditions that sometimes prevent parents from having time to accompany their children's formal education.

Difficulties in obtaining residence and work permits and mastering the language are factors that lead people to think of immigrants as "uneducated" or unqualified, who "accept" all kinds of jobs (Labrador and Blanco, 2007, p. 79). But this is not the case. There is a social order where racism and patriarchy are indissoluble, and to maintain it it is necessary to use legal mechanisms to differentiate between nationals and non-nationals. The intertwining of categories, class, gender and origin are those that enclose people in the immigrant category to fulfill different functions such as labor, socioeconomic or cohesion of the population.

103

In the case of the young people interviewed, the parents of three of them had work experience in skilled jobs, but their experience was not recognized at destination. For both qualified and unqualified parents, employment will be experienced as a "start from zero", as they do not have support networks, making labor market insertion difficult and leading them to irregular, poorly paid and low-skilled occupations.

The reproduction of inequalities is carried out through a bureaucratic and legal labyrinth to exclude and cover up the structural racism with which institutions operate. In the case of Spain, the legal mechanisms will make the homologation of university or postgraduate degrees unfeasible. This is how the young people interviewed explain it.

> *My mother was a primary school teacher, once in Spain she started working as a caregiver for the elderly and as a cleaner.*
>
> *(Joana, 30 years old, Ecuador)*

The non-recognition of studies serves as a device to produce subordinate, disposable, exploitable bodies, thrown into precariousness. As expressed by one of the young people interviewed.

104

> *For example, my parents when they came to Spain could not choose and say, well, I don't want to work in the fields or in the factory.*
>
> *(Martin, 24 years old, Agentina)*

At their destination, the parents of the young people are faced with the difficulty of combining work, studies and care. This situation reduces their possibilities to dedicate time to supervising homework, which can demotivate young people and lead them to drop out of school, or to undertake vocational training (Cano et al., 2016). This is one of the reasons why the children of immigrant families interrupt their studies.

Social inequalities and inequalities of origin are reflected in the educational sphere, although the dream of families is social mobility through education, expressed as "being someone". The truth is that the descendants of migrants are at an educational disadvantage, both due to socioeconomic conditions and to the segregation produced by the Spanish educational system itself.

Carrasco et al. (2011), explain that in the Catalan context, segregation concentrates infants and adolescents of non-EU origin in public schools, due to the difficulty for families to afford the costs and extracurricular courses. Therefore, inequalities of class or origin cannot be read as "cultural" or linguistic immersion problems.

In their educational trajectories, young people will constantly be read as foreigners and racialized. The interviewees, despite being born or socialized as Spanish/Catalan and speaking the language, will be read from the perspective of otherness. The interviewees constantly have to listen to the question "Where are you from?" or answer questions about their country of origin, which is sometimes a distant reference. As Fatima explains

> *On many occasions, native people find it exotic or curious to have a foreign classmate or a classmate labeled as a foreigner. Even if they know that we have been educated and socialized here, they ask all kinds of questions about the country we come from.*
>
> *(Fatima, 22 years old, Morocco)*

The insistence on continually asking about origin and "exoticizing", as Fatima calls the act of racializing, and the surprise expressed by the students lead us to think that, for many local youth, it is not common to find immigrant or racialized people with an academic trajectory beyond the basic compulsory education.

105

Perceptions of Discrimination in Educational Trajectories

The young people who have managed to get to university find that other diplomas must be added to the university degree, thus lengthening the educational stage of the young people. The people interviewed are at different educational stages; although they all have completed higher education, most of them are pursuing master's degrees or other studies.

Despite the fact that the young people interviewed are pursuing postgraduate studies, the results of this research show trajectories strongly marked by stigmatizations linked to their origin and immigrant status. The negative discourses, most repeated by the young people, are the low expectations that teachers usually have for their academic future, even when they have a good profile.

> *I remember the orientation classes in the 4th year of ESO[2] in which we decided what to study in the following year. At that time, the guidance counselor "advised" me not to go to high school or to opt for a university degree, even though I had a good academic record.*
>
> *(Fatima, 22 years old, Morocco)*

[2] Obligatory Secondary Education.

Students of foreign origin coming from disadvantaged social sectors and cultural minorities are constantly projected with a supposed deficit in learning, motivation and work. This perception of the teacher constructs students of non-EU foreign origin as the "other", as lacking, without taking into account their situation of vulnerability, as García (2003) points out, always alluding to the supposed deficit theory. Therefore, the relationship that the school establishes with students of immigrant origin is one of differentiation, in such a way that there is little incentive for non-EU students to study university careers.

The low expectations towards students of non-EU origin cause a minority to continue their education. In the case of the young people interviewed, who are part of the successful minority, they argue that they achieved their university degree because they found support and motivation in reference to their parents. Three young people mentioned teachers as elements that encouraged their educational trajectories. It should be noted that the Spanish educational system prioritizes the early schooling of immigrant children, so that their social integration is faster, as can be seen in the following account:

106

> *When we arrived, I could not enter the school. Because at that time I had to attend the 2nd year of ESO. We arrived in May and classes ended in June. And since I was already going to ESO, at that time the director said that it was not necessary, that I could join the following year in September. On the other hand, my brother did go, because he was going to primary school and they said that it would be better for him to integrate.*
>
> *(Marta, 29 years old, Dominican Republic)*

The insistent allusion made to young people about their "origins or culture", which continually emphasizes their "otherness", their non-belonging, produces in students the perception of being on the margins (Carrasco et al., 2011), since they almost always start from a position of socioeconomic disadvantage. Therefore, the supposed pretension of inclusion or equality cannot occur in such circumstances. Educational policies aimed at promoting or encouraging social inclusion do not address an essential part of the material, economic and legal problem that affects adolescents and their families, which consists of sentencing them to precariousness, exclusion and impoverishment.

Undoubtedly, we highlight the educational work as a tool that transmits critical thinking, employability skills and skills against adversity. However, the perception of young people regarding their educational trajectories is mostly negative. They identify school as

a means to obtain qualifications, but it does not always allow access to an increasingly competitive and exclusive labor market.

> *And although I didn't know what I wanted at that moment, what I did know was that I didn't want to stay only in the ESO. Well, and in terms of employment, only with the ESO, many doors are closed to you, but I did want to have the option of having it there, even if I didn't work at it later on.*
>
> (Andrea, 23 years old, Ecuador)

Perceptions of discrimination and racism in labor market insertion

The fact that the young people have completed higher education in the host country positions them with a higher social and educational capital compared to their parents. In this sense, the interviewees confirm what the literature points out (Heath et al., 2008), that they have a certain advantage over their parents due to their command of the language, academic itinerary and social immersion.

107

The young people interviewed present different labor market insertion problems. For example, they share with the natives the precariousness of employment, part-time work and the mismatch between studies and occupation. This situation derives from the labor reforms of 2012, aimed at eroding labor protection, establishing a permanent precariousness that particularly affects youth and impoverished groups (Moreno, 2015) and producing greater labor segmentation, hierarchized by gender, age, origin, educational level.

At the same time, they have two elements in common: having combined higher and/or university studies with salaried work, and the conviction to continue training. The young men and women indicate that since the age of 16 they have been employed in greengrocers, restaurants, hotels, clothing stores, cleaning and caring for the elderly. The fact that their parents are their first network of contacts leads the young people to be employed for the first time in unskilled jobs.

Once they have obtained a university or professional degree, the young people say that their main sources for finding employment are websites, job search applications (Infojobs or LinkedIn), social networks, official schools: a minority have turned to friends and relatives. The results of the research indicate that the "plug-in" resource disappears when looking for qualified employment.

Young people share with the native youth the precariousness of employment, but they do not compete on equal terms. Once again, the intertwining of sex, gender, race and origin can be observed in the experience of young people, in the division of labor, in access to qualified positions and in the selection of personnel.

The young people use the term "discrimination" to express everyday racism; they have all gone through job interviews where they have been asked about their origin. Therefore, origin or "culture" is a factor that companies take into account when selecting personnel. Even if some young people downplay its importance and consider it as a simple "curiosity" of the interviewer, the truth is that origin, racialization and gender are interrelated and are important filters in the selection of personnel, as Jasmine has experienced:

> *I remember that at the Casa Tarradellas factory, a place where young people work in the summer and earn a lot of money, my sister sent her CV together with a friend of hers. The friend was taken and she wasn't. She was surprised, she didn't understand why. When her friend asked at work, she was told that as a pork company, they didn't want Muslim people. They assumed that since we don't eat it, we can't work with pork.*
>
> *(Jasmine, 25 years old, Morocco)*

108

To approach educational and labor trajectories from an intersectional perspective is to explore the way in which immigrant and racialized youth see, internalize, act and reproduce a set of values that contribute to perpetuating situations of inequality. Half of the people interviewed indicated that they had not felt discriminated against in the workplace. However, they describe differences in treatment and constant comparisons between people of the same origin. Differential treatment and racism in the social context is usually understood as something individual and not as a structural system:

> *(Have you felt discrimination?) No, at least not in my case, I have seen it in other colleagues' experiences. And not long ago, recently, in a fellow countrywoman of mine. But I still think that everything is in the person because look, we are both from the same country, and my colleagues said 'Wow, what a difference there is between one person and the other, in the way of working'. It's all in the person.*
> *(Marta, 29 years old, Dominican Republic)*

In the Spanish and Catalan context we find an egalitarian rhetoric that thinks of inequalities as "cultural" problems, and seeks to remove barriers to the interaction of people by dismantling stereotypes and discrimination. This declaration of intentions clashes

with the categorization of immigrants, who are considered problematic and dependent on social services.

On the other hand, young people are aware of their social disadvantages: they know they are read as foreigners; however, growing up or being born in Spain allows them to function as local people. This situation sometimes protects them from racist aggressions. For this reason, half of the young people are reluctant to acknowledge racial discrimination, although they recognize that they have felt inferiorized in the world of work.

> *I don't think it's something from the company or the human resources team, I think it's more from experience. My company, before hiring me, had bad experiences with Moroccan girls, and they felt rejection when hiring someone from the same country. Yes, when I started working, I was the second choice, because another national rejected the position, and that's when they called me. When I started working, they told me that I had surprised them because they expected less from me.*
>
> *(Jasmin, 25 years old, Morocco)*

109

Hierarchization and stigmatization have an impact on the subjectivity of young people, who try to flee from those negative elements with which they are identified. For this reason, the young people interviewed find it difficult to talk about racism; yes, they suffer from it and detect it, but they try to escape from it. But they cannot always escape from the countless looks, different treatment, inferiorization and daily expressions that place them in otherness.

Although associated with discrimination, what young people experience on a daily basis are expressions of racism, which is explicitly attributed to people based on the color, physical traits or ethnic group to which the person belongs (Segato, 2012). This set of attributes reduces young people's chances of finding employment.

> *In telephone interviews in which I have been asked about my origin, I have been negatively affected, hanging up on me [the phone] from the moment they knew my origin, or continuing the interview with little interest.*
>
> *(Fatima, 22 years old, Morocco)*

According to the results, the young people who have fewer employment opportunities are those who have physical traits associated with minorities, those who do not have Spanish nationality, those who do not speak the local language, and those who have a

religion other than Christianity. The interviewees also mentioned being less discriminated against compared to their parents. They handle the local language, they know the cultural codes or they are Catalan/Spanish; however, they are not recognized as Westerners.

Without the tool of intersectionality it would be difficult to detect discriminatory practices against these young people and their families. But the most relevant thing is that it allows us to see how, in the social body, there are perceptions and representations projected on people, which have an economic, political and legal impact (Crenshaw, 1989).

Racism operates from the State, because legislation identifies, defines and classifies subjects into citizens and non-citizens. In this classification, young people "inherit the immigrant condition"; for example, two young women interviewed mentioned the impossibility of accessing formal employment because they do not have a residence card. And those who do not have Spanish nationality face the limitation of not being able to become civil servants.

110

The racism experienced daily by young people in the work environment is usually negative comments towards people of immigrant origin, and is one of the examples most often repeated by those interviewed.

> *In my first job I had, when I was 18 years old, my coworkers would always say racist comments towards me, or about other immigrants in front of me.*
>
> *(Fatima, 22 years old, Morocco)*

Young women of Moroccan origin are evidence of the racialization of gender. The racist idea that Moroccan men are suspicious, criminal and macho is widely spread, and the proof of such oppression is the use of the hijab. The reality is that Muslim women often point out that if they are not in the labor market it is because they are not hired. As the following quote suggests

> *Two of my closest friends, one of them a receptionist at ROCA   where she got in through contacts, she does wear hijab, but she does not wear it to work. And I have another one, who studied a degree, she has two masters. In the interview they told her that if she had worn the hijab, they would not have taken her, but as she already knew it, she did not wear it and they took her.*
>
> *(Jasmine, 25, Morocco)*

In addition to racism in the labor market, young people have to contend with the mistrust that associates youth with inexperience, and with the clichés linked to the immigrant condition. For example, some of the young people interviewed with positions in the social sector, indicated that they had been chosen for the position because of their knowledge of the Arabic language and culture in sectors where they work with a non-EU population. However, this demand is directly related to the scarcity of national profiles not possessing such knowledge. Therefore, these are niche markets for certain "ethnic" profiles.

> *Yes, in hospitals it is good to have someone who speaks the language; in case there were misunderstandings or other obvious issues, they had to work with "Moors".*
> *(Hakim, 29 years old, Morocco)*

Conclusions

The use of intersectionality as a perspective of analysis allowed us to observe that although Catalonia and Spain have a heterogeneous population, there is a tendency to think of diversity as a "problem", and as a problem associated only with non-EU populations. Although social institutions have incorporated the discourse of inclusion and interculturality, their policies on diversity tend to fail, precisely because the State implements a series of devices that limit, segregate, stigmatize and divide people into locals and non-EU citizens.

111

As the research shows, both in the educational system and in the labor market, far from facing the challenges of interculturality in terms of equality, students of immigrant and racialized origin are treated with otherness. Young people are classified, identified and ordered negatively, based on preconceived ideas that construct them in such a way that they find ways to justify discriminatory practices, both in educational centers and in the labor market.

The differentiating treatment that young people receive often fosters a negative identity construction, for example, about their abilities, damaging their expectations in terms of continuing and extending their studies beyond the compulsory ones. In the case of those who have managed to continue their university studies, like the young people in this study, they face different challenges.

In the labor market, young people in general face precarious and unstable working conditions, marked by temporary and part-time jobs. This reality is shared by young people

who are the children of immigrants, who are also affected by the negative effects of the labor market.

The results have shown that the labor trajectories of the young children of immigrants are conditioned by the social hierarchies of people, an issue that begins at an early age with the differentiated treatment they receive in the classroom, the low expectations that teachers have of them, which can lead them to drop out of school and to develop precarious and low-skilled jobs.

Despite the fact that young people are positioned with a higher educational capital than their parents, structural racism is strongly manifested in the Spanish labor market. Here they will encounter various adversities such as the impossibility of being hired because they do not have the nationality/residence permit; being discarded in the selection process for sharing cultural traits of "third world" countries; the attribution of job skills linked to the stigmas of origin; or the disqualification and inferiorization through racist words, looks and expressions.

112

Intersectionality warns us that the social divisions of class, gender and origin, determined by each society, do not function as separate entities, but are constructed and act together. In the case of the young people interviewed, we were able to see how origin, gender and racialization are filters used by companies when hiring, since all the young people mentioned that they were asked about their origin at the time of the interview. Having a foreign name and showing a photograph with non-white features can be exclusionary elements when it comes to being selected for a job.

We also found that some young people are aware of their disadvantages in the racial hierarchy, they know that they are read as foreigners; but the fact of having grown up or been born in Spain has allowed them to protect themselves, not to receive direct physical or verbal racist aggressions. Although they recognize that they have felt inferiorized in the labor market, half of the young people are reluctant to recognize structural racism. It is worth noting that despite the fact that the young people interviewed encounter difficulties when it comes to finding a job, they continue to invest in improving their professional curriculum. Therefore, they are young people who have high expectations regarding their future, highlighting in all cases their continuous training and search for better jobs.

Although the results of this study are not generalizable, they suggest the need to implement measures to prevent and combat business discrimination against these young people, reducing their risk of labor marginalization and social exclusion and the uncertainty about their personal situation and future in Catalonia.

References

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Spinster/Aunt Lute.

Brah, A. (2011). *Cartografías de la diáspora Identidades en cuestión*. Editorial Traficantes de sueños.

Braun, V. y Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Ballestín, B. (2015). De "su cultura es muy fuerte" a "no se adapta a la escuela": alumnado de origen inmigrante, evaluación y efecto Pigmalión en primaria. *Revista de la Asociación de Sociología de la Educación, 8*(3), 361- 379. https://ojs3.uv.es/index.php/RASE/article/view/8390

Cano Hila, A. B., Sánchez, A. y Massot, M. I. (2016). Factores de riesgo y protección de las trayectorias académicas: voces y miradas del alumnado inmigrante en el contexto del área metropolitana de Barcelona, España. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud, 14*(2), 1371-1387.

Carrasco, S., Pàmies J., Ponferrada, M., Ballestín, B. y Bertrám, M. (2011). Segregación escola e inmigración en Cataluña: Aproximaciones Etnográficas. En J. García Castaño y S. Carrasco Pons (Eds.), *Población Inmigrante y escuela: Conocimientos y saberes de investigación* (pp. 367-402). Colección Estudios Create Nº 8 Ministerio de Educación.

Cebolla, H. y Garrido, L. (2011). The Impact of Immigrant Concentration in Spanish Schools: School, Class, and Composition Effects. *European Sociological Review, 27*(5), 606-623. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq024

Cutillas, I. y Moraes, N. (2018). Hijos de familias migrantes en espacios rurales agroindustriales de la región de Murcia: Trayectorias, pertenencias y percepciones de discriminación y rechazo. *Gazeta de Antropología, 34*(1).
http://www.gazeta-antropologia.es/?p=5077

113

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Race, Reform and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Anti Discrimination Law. *Harvard Law Review, 101,* 1.331-1.387.

Davis, A. (2005). *Mujer, raza y clase*. Editorial Akal.

Delgado, M. (1998). *Diversitat i integració. Lògica i dinàmica de les identitats a Catalunya*. Empúries.

García, I. (2003). Los hijos de inmigrantes como tema sociológico: la cuestión de la "segunda generación". *Anduli: revista andaluza de ciencias sociales, 3,* 27-46.

García, I. (2011). La difícil reproducción de las familias inmigrantes. ¿Hacia la formación de un proletariado étnico español? *Papers: Revista de sociología, 96,* 55-76. https://papers.uab.cat/article/view/v96-n1-garcia/280

García, F. J. y Olmos, A. (2012). *Segregaciones y construcción de la diferencia en la escuela*. Trotta.

Gil Araujo, S. (2004). *Construyendo otras. Normas, discursos y representaciones en torno a la presencia de mujeres inmigrantes no comunitarias en la Unión Europea* (ponencia). VI Jornadas de Sociología, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires.

Heath, A., Rothon, C. y Kilpi, E. (2008). The second generation in Western Europe: Education, unemployment, and occupational attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology, 34,* 211-235.

Hill, C. P. (2012). Rasgos distintivos del pensamiento feminista negro. En M. Jabardo (Ed.), *Feminismos negros. Una antología* (pp. 99-131). Editorial Traficante de Sueños.

Hill, C. P. y Bilge, S. (2019). *Interseccionalidad* (Roc Filella, trad.). Ediciones Morata.

Labrador, J. y Blanco, M. R. (2007). Trayectorias educativas y laborales de los jóvenes hijos de inmigrantes en España. *Migraciones. Publicación Del Instituto Universitario De Estudios Sobre Migraciones, 22,* 79-112. https://revistas.comillas.edu/index.php/revistamigraciones/article/view/1513

Lázaro, R. (2018). Migración circular de trabajadoras mexicanas hacia Estados Unidos: desplazamientos territoriales y subjetivos. *Iberoamérica Social: revista-red de estudios sociales, IX,* 55-76.

114

Lugones, M. (2008). Colonialidad y Género. *Revista Tabula Rasa, 9*, 73-101.

Mahía, R. (2018). Población extranjera residente en España. Evolución, características, e integración económica. *Anuario CIDOB de la inmigración, 11*, 88-113. https://www.cidob.org/es/articulos/anuario_cidob_de_la_inmigracion/2018/poblacion_extranjera_residente_en_espana_evolucion_caracteristicas_e_integracion_economica

Monstcusí, A. (2007). "Segundas Generaciones" ¿La inmigración como condición hereditaria? *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana, 2*(3), 459-487. ISSN: 1695-9752.

Moreno, A. (2015). La empleabilidad de los jóvenes en España: Explicando el elevado desempleo juvenil durante la recesión económica. *Revista de investigación en Ciencias Sociales, 11*(1), 3-20. SSN (Impresa) 2225-5117.

Ragin, C. C., Nagel, J. y White, P. (2004). *The Workshop on Scientific Foundations of Qualitative Research*. National Science Foundation. http://bit.ly/3XEND3

Parra, M. y Briceño, I. (2013). Aspectos éticos de la investigación cualitativa. *Enfermería Neurológica, 12*(3), 118-121.

Pedone, C. (2010). Cadenas y redes migratorias: propuesta metodológica para el análisis diacrónico-temporal de los procesos migratorios. *EMPIRIA, Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales,19*, 101-132. ISSN: 1139-5737.

Portes, A., Aparicio, R. y Haller, W. (2018). Hacerse adulto en España: La integración de los hijos de inmigrantes. En E. Mañé (Ed.), *Inmigración y asilo, en el centro de la arena política* (pp. 149-181). CIDOB.

Portes, A. y Böröcz, J. (1998). Migración contemporánea. Perspectivas teóricas sobre sus determinantes y sus modalidades de incorporación. En Graciela Malgessini (Ed.), *Cruzando fronteras. Migraciones en el sistema mundial* (pp. 43-73). Icaria-Fundación Hogar del empleado..

Segato, R. (2012). Racismo, discriminación y acciones afirmativas: Herramientas conceptuales. *Observatorio Jurídico Constitucional, 5*, 1-16. https://portal.idp.emnuvens.com.br/observatorio/article/view/686

Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world* (G. Walsh y F. Lehnert, trad.). North Western University Press (original publicado en 1932).

115

Taylor, S. J. y Bogdan, R. (1990). *Introducción a los métodos cualitativos de investigación*. Paidós.
http://mastor.cl/blog/wpcontent/uploads/2011/12/Introduccion-a-metodos-cualitativos-de-in-vestigación-Taylor-y-Bogdan.-344-pags-pdf.pdf

Universidad Carlos II de Madrid. (2019). *Un estudio analiza la discriminación laboral a nivel europeo*.
https://www.uc3m.es/ss/Satellite/UC3MInstitucional/es/Detalle/Comunicacion _C/1371270248618/1371216001705/Un_estudio_analiza_la_discriminacion_laboral_a_ni-vel_europeo

University of Essex and The European Union's Horizon 2020. (2018). *Grow, Equal Opportunities, Migration and Markets: GEMM PROJECT in Focus 2015-2018*.
https://gemm2020.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/GEMM-Project_In_Focus.pdf

About the authors

116

Josselyn Urdiales Correa is Graduated in Social Work from the University of Barcelona, Master in Advanced Studies in Social Exclusion at the University of Barcelona, Spain.
E-mail: josselynurdiales@coltscat.cat
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0242-529494

Rosa Lázaro Castellanos holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Barcelona, she also holds a Master's degree in Development Studies from the Colegio de Postgraduados and a Bachelor's degree in Economics from the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. She is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Barcelona.
E-mail: rosylazaro@ub.edu
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2969-3958