

Introduction

In late October 2005, barely two months after I arrived in Spain with my suitcases and equipment to document the sociocultural and linguistic worlds of the Moroccan immigrant children of Vallenuevo, a small rural community in the central southwest of the country,¹ riots erupted in hundreds of immigrant housing estates in France, and spread temporarily into Germany and Belgium. The rioters were not newcomers, but rather second- and third-generation immigrant youth of North African descent who had been born and raised in Europe. Perhaps because Spain is now witnessing the solid emergence of a second generation of Moroccan immigrant youth, the conflicting sentiments aroused by the 2005 events in France found a strong echo in the Spanish media, as well as in Vallenuevo, where 38% to 40% of the population has a Moroccan immigrant background.

The string of editorials about the riots that filled the Spanish press during those days emphasized the discontent of marginalized Muslim youth in Europe, as well as how these youth often felt more discriminated against and excluded from the European countries where they were born/raised than their parents' generation.² In spite of the likely relationship between these events and the structural conditions of the daily existence of these youth, the French riots in fall 2005, along with the July 2005 London bombings and the March 2004 Madrid bombings, were portrayed as the main triggers of what soon became widely discussed in the political arena as a full-blown failure of immigrant integration in Europe, or “una crisis de los modelos de integración.” Although the actual promotion of coherent and systematic policies of inclusion prior to these events is highly debatable,³ the discourse that has indeed come to dominate contemporary political discussion surrounding immigration in Spain, and throughout Europe, is

that of a crisis of the politics of inclusion, especially when it comes to immigrants from North African or other Muslim backgrounds.

The feelings that the 2005 riots in France had generated in Spanish political and cultural circles also reverberated among the local, non-immigrant population of Valleneuve. I remember vividly the first time I actually saw live images of the pandemonium that had erupted in France. It must have been the third or fourth day of the riots, since I did not have television in the apartment I had rented. That morning I had gone to the local *churrería* – a bar serving the traditional Spanish breakfast of fried bread – to have coffee and *churros* with Álvaro, a local farmer and one of my research contacts, who was going to introduce me to some Moroccan families in the town. The television in the *churrería* was showing the early morning news, and when the riot images of the previous night came on the screen almost everybody stopped going about their business and focused on the small monitor hung high in one of the corners of the bar. My own sense of shock at the level of violence and destruction was compounded by the comments of a few vocal patrons, applauding the actions of the French police and agreeing with the opinions of the most conservative French politicians. As I was pondering over the despair evidenced by the actions of the young rioters, and simultaneously wondering about the complex interethnic dynamics of this rural community that I was by then only beginning to discover, one of the owners of the establishment, to whom Álvaro had just introduced me, looked at me directly and said: “Hay que echarlos a todos, porque esto – esto ahora está pasando en Francia, pero esto va a terminar pasando aquí con *los moros*” (**They must all be kicked out, because this – this is happening now in France, but this is going to end up happening here with *los moros*⁴**).

The chilling nature of this statement, suggesting an ominous inevitability of civil unrest, renders almost invisible a question that was neither adequately posed nor satisfactorily answered by the media, politicians, and the public: how do these youth come to develop such an insidious sense of exclusion and alienation from the European countries where they were born and raised? This was a question that I thought about more and more as the weeks went on, especially in the face of political and everyday discourses that seemed to be more concerned with the emergence of headscarves and other *Islamic symbols* among the younger generations than with the quality of these youths’ sociocultural lives.

This book is about how Moroccan immigrant children in Valleneuve negotiate everyday forms of difference and belonging in the contemporary sociopolitical climate of Spain and, to some extent, of Europe. While current

scholarship has increasingly focused on issues of belonging, identity formation, exclusion, and forms of citizenship for those whose lives are characterized by mobility and for those who have to navigate the liminality of geographical and ideological borders (Agamben 2005; Appadurai 1996; Brubaker 1992, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Clifford 1994; De Genova 2005; Ong 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006; Rosaldo 1994, 1999; Waldinger 2001, 2008, 2010), few studies have examined how these processes emerge and unfold through everyday discursive practices and social interaction. Even fewer have focused on how children who experience migration specifically are affected by and affect these processes through their everyday participation in the multiple communities and institutions that make up their socio-cultural milieus. This book attempts to provide a nuanced picture of Moroccan immigrant children's lifeworlds, by developing a holistic analysis of the constraints and affordances that this group of immigrant children routinely encounter and negotiate across the social contexts of their daily lives, including family, public school, religious institutions, medical clinics, and neighborhood peer groups.

In my examination of Moroccan children's social interactions in all these contexts, I have placed special emphasis on the multicultural politics of difference and belonging in a country, like Spain, increasingly characterized by multilingualism and cultural diversity. In showing how both social difference and commonality of belonging are products of everyday interaction, I have adopted an ethnopragmatically-informed approach, which involves the close study of everyday language use coupled with long periods of ethnographic research to investigate the ways in which speech is both constituted by and constitutive of sociocultural forms of interaction and social organization (Duranti 2007). With this approach, I examine not only the everyday ways in which Moroccan immigrant children become socially *marked* and discriminated against, but also how they actively and creatively respond to these practices of racialized exclusion and position themselves with respect to the multiple communities to which they can claim membership.

Spain, and Vallenuevo in particular, were interesting places to study Moroccan immigrant children's lives for several reasons. With increasing numbers of Moroccan immigrants into rural and urban Spanish centers over the last decades of the twentieth and the first decades of the twenty-first centuries, Spain has witnessed the emergence of strong North African and Muslim diasporic communities that are pushing taken-for-granted boundaries of social and institutional notions of membership and identity. The effects of these migratory trends on the demographic, ethnic, and linguistic make-up of Spanish society have generated a number of points of social and political contention.⁵ In Vallenuevo, a small rural community that in the span of a decade saw its population of immigrant origin increase from

zero to 37%, these points of contention have been particularly heart-felt by both Spanish and Moroccan communities. Indeed, Vallenuevo was among the growing number of small farming communities all over the country that were rapidly becoming important centers of settlement for migrants attracted to jobs in the agricultural sector.

Ironically, some of these rural communities, like Vallenuevo, had had a long history of emigration during the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1990s and 2000s, however, they had become a prime destination for immigrants and were absorbing a large percentage of the migration flow into the country. Even so, much of the literature on immigrant communities in Spain has continued to focus on the large industrialized centers, like the areas surrounding Madrid and Barcelona (Erickson 2011; Lucko 2007; Martín Rojo 2011; Mercado 2008, etc.), and other urban spaces (see Rogozen-Soltar 2012a, 2012b in Granada). This under-attention to immigration into rural areas is also characteristic of much of the ethnographic work on North African and other Muslim immigrant communities in Europe as a whole (e.g., Bowen 2007, 2010; Ewing 2008; Mandel 2008; P. A. Silverstein 2004).

Of course, there are many important reasons to pay attention to immigration into the hyper-diverse, cosmopolitan cities of the twenty-first century. But it is also crucial to study such processes in rural areas. There are also good reasons to think that immigrants' participation dynamics will be different in smaller places, where the receiving context is often more homogenous and where the history of immigration is shallow and fast-paced, rather than characterized by longer histories of immigration and by more sociocultural, economic, religious, and linguistic heterogeneity, as in cosmopolitan cities.

Vallenuevo was also a good place to investigate the social and ideological constraints and affordances Moroccan immigrant children experience because, while not immune to the growing problematization surrounding Muslim and North African immigration to Spain, this town's social services and education institutions had been heralded in the Spanish media for their active promotion of multicultural policies and integration programs. This made it possible for me to consider the extent to which these efforts to mitigate exclusion and promote tolerance and integration were actually experienced by the children in their everyday negotiations of difference and belonging.

1.1 About this Introduction

Attempting to integrate different levels of analysis – macro and micro, global and local, public and private, social and individual forces – that shape the

experience of growing up in immigration contexts is a daunting task. Certainly it is one that defies the artificial boundaries of traditional disciplines and the parameters of single theoretical paradigms or theoretical models. For this reason, this book project draws from theoretical approaches in anthropology, ethnomethodology, sociology, and philosophy to address the lives of immigrant children growing up in a multilingual, multicultural community undergoing rapid social change. The body of theories framing this book illuminate the situated and processual nature of culture, socialization, belonging, inclusion/exclusion, and identity formation within the migration context of contemporary Spain.

For clarity and ease of exposition, my discussion of these framing theoretical ideas and bodies of literature will unfold in the next four sections. I begin by discussing the ideological and geopolitical backdrop of North African and Muslim immigration in contemporary Europe, emphasizing how a new *Orientalism qua security* is the unacknowledged elephant in the room affecting Moroccan immigrant children's everyday negotiations of difference and belonging. I then discuss the theoretical importance of examining immigrant children's everyday lives holistically in a variety of social settings, particularly immigrant children from heavily scrutinized and racialized communities. This holistic perspective is important so that we can obtain a balanced view of both how immigrant children are affected by these larger geopolitical forces, but also of how they actively negotiate these forces and other structural constraints. In the section that follows, I address some contemporary theories of sociopolitical *markedness* and membership that frame my understandings of how Moroccan immigrant children negotiate the micropolitics of belonging. The introduction closes with a discussion of how ethnomethodologically informed linguistic anthropology provides a particularly helpful set of theoretical and analytical tools to investigate Moroccan immigrant children's daily constraints and affordances in negotiating belonging and participation in their multiple communities.

1.2 Orientalism Revisited: North African and Muslim Immigrant Communities in Europe

Although the figure of the immigrant has often been constructed as a problem of integration into national polities both in lay and academic discourses,⁶ the experience of Muslim immigrant groups in contemporary Europe falls into a distinctive racialized category of exclusion regardless of country of origin and settlement and other contextual differences.⁷ Indeed, the widespread debate about *la crisis de los modelos de integración*, or failure of integration, in Spain, as well as in the rest of Europe, must be understood

against the backdrop of growing levels of problematization regarding immigrants from North Africa and the Muslim world. In the last three decades, European nations have witnessed how Muslim diasporic communities have taken visible and strong roots in their countries due to both an increase of immigration and of policies of family reunification. The concerns expressed about this taking of roots have significantly gone hand-in-hand with a feeling of exclusion experienced by many members of Muslim immigrant communities.

The feelings of anxiety, mistrust, and suspicion that the presence of Muslim immigrant communities generate among local populations of different European nations have been partly explained by a deeply rooted historical attribution of *Otherness* to Islamic culture that stems from Orientalist interpretations of the Muslim world (e.g., Asad 2000; Bowen 2004a; Cesari 2004; Said 1978; Werbner 2002). Asad (2000), in exploring the role of historical narratives in the formation of European identity, traced how Muslims since the early Middle Ages have consistently been positioned in historical accounts and other forms of cultural representation as the primary violent and uncivilized *Other* to Christians; this positioning has been critical to the construction of the modern notion of the cultural and historical unity of Western European civilization.

This historical Orientalist perspective alone, however, cannot explain the current revival of hostilities towards Muslim immigrant communities in Europe. Many scholars have argued that the Orientalist discourse has found renewed prominence in the wake of the September 2001 terrorist attack in the United States, the March 2004 train bombings in Madrid, the July 2005 London bombings, and the ensuing War on Terror.⁸ The high profile nature of these international events have intensified the focus on Muslim immigrant communities in Europe, putting entire communities under suspicion and surveillance.

As a result, Muslims are seen not only as a threat to European security, but to European identity itself. This combined problematization has made possible the emergence of a new kind of *Orientalism* that has found its maximum expression in theses closely aligned with Huntington's (1992) controversial analysis of the *clash of civilizations*. A significant amount of attention has indeed been paid to the processes of *othering* of Muslim populations brought about by new anti-terrorism laws and by the hotly contested issue of racial profiling, which singles out this specific ethnic group as being dangerous for the rest of the society. Since 9/11, much has been written about how immigrants from the Muslim world are viewed from a security paradigm and are subjected to special scrutiny by the state, as well as to potentially discriminatory treatment under the law.⁹ With regard to Muslims as a threat to European identity, the construction of Muslims as intrinsically

incompatible with principles of European democracies has become the flagship of a culturalist brand of racism that highlights cultural differences, such as religion, language, dress and so on, and that has also found resonance in state policies targeting Muslims, such as the *headscarf law* in France (Balibar 1991; and Bowen 2004b, 2006).

In Spain, more specifically, it is also easy to identify the conflation of perceived unbridgeable cultural differences in way of life and religious views with a security paradigm that positions the Moroccan community under suspicion in the eyes of the majority of the population. There are several particularities of the Spanish context, however, that deserve separate attention and that will be addressed at length in Chapter 2. Two that I will mention briefly here are the pervasive cultural representations of Moroccan immigrants as *los inasimilables* (the “unassimilable”) (Bravo López 2004) and the many studies suggesting that Moroccan children are the most racialized and most socially marked immigrant group in Spanish public schools (e.g., Mijares 2004a and Martín Rojo 2010). This positioning as the ultimate *Other* that Moroccan immigrant communities are confronted with must not only be understood within the more general European reaction against the increasing immigration of the last 60 years from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, but also against the background of a Spanish-specific kind of *Orientalism* that has historically constructed Spain as the last fortress protecting Europe from Islamic invasions (Martín Rojo 2000; van Dijk 2005; Flesler 2008). Undoubtedly, this deeply ingrained historical consciousness differentiates to a large extent the prejudice and mistrust faced by Moroccan immigrant communities in Spain from other brands of anti-immigrant sentiment directed at other groups.

Specific immigration policies undertaken by successive Spanish governments in the 1990s are of crucial importance as the most immediate socio-political context of contemporary representations of Moroccans as the “unassimilable.” During the mid- to late 1990s, the immigration policies in Spain promoted the idea that there were immigrant groups more compatible with the Spanish way of life and, therefore, more easily assimilable to the fabric of Spanish society. Immigration policies during these years blatantly favored the arrival of Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans who were seen as more desirable for cultural and linguistic reasons, as opposed to other immigrant groups, such as Moroccans, whose language, religion, and culture were regarded as more distant and alien (Bravo López 2004).

These ideas, and the ways in which they resonated with international and national political events,¹⁰ have furthered the association of Moroccan and Muslim immigration with insecurity and have amplified the cultural and historical representations of Moroccans in Spain as *the Other*, not only different from *us*, but also dangerous to *us*. This increased problematization

resonated particularly forcefully during the period I was conducting my primary fieldwork, from early fall 2005 to the end of summer 2007. Just before the beginning of my fieldwork, two events put the Moroccan immigrant community under a brighter spotlight than ever before in its history of immigration into Spain: (1) the Madrid train bombings of March 11, 2004, many of whose perpetrators were Moroccan nationals, and (2) the 2005 “extraordinary regularization process” (*proceso de regularización extraordinaria*) of thousands of undocumented immigrants approved by the then newly elected government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero on December 30, 2004. This was a legal measure that was opposed by the conservative opposition and hotly debated in all spheres of politics, from local town hall and union offices of small rural communities, like Vallénuevo, to the highest seats of European Union policy-making institutions.¹¹ The convergence of greater surveillance and suspicion, brought about by the March 2004 terrorist attacks, and the higher visibility of the actual size and proportions of the Moroccan immigrant community, engendered by the process of regularization, is a pivotal historical moment. This is true for both its more negative aspects of how this confluence of factors made the environment in Spain less hospitable for the Moroccan immigrant community, but also for its more positive aspects of renewed hopes for fuller membership and a more permanent future in the country.

The historically-constituted ideologies for “understanding the problem” of Muslims in Europe, as well as the sociopolitical landscape through which their *Otherness* has been constituted, have received much scholarly attention. Less attention, however, has been paid to how these policies, surveillance, and general suspicion have affected immigrant groups’ ordinary lives and everyday experiences. Yet, examining how the newer generations of North African and Muslim immigrants in Europe, in this case Moroccan immigrant children in Spain, are able to negotiate membership on the ground amidst these complex cultural politics of belonging is particularly important if we want to understand how the immigrant second generation may grow up to develop a sense of commonality of belonging, or conversely, a feeling of not-belonging and alienation, like the young French rioters in 2005.

This book attempts to refocus scholarly attention on the everyday experiences of racialized immigrant groups by focusing on how Moroccan immigrant children in Vallénuevo navigate (and are affected by) both local and national politics of inclusion/exclusion. I emphasize the timing of my study because the dramatic bombings of 2004 (Madrid) and 2005 (London), on the one hand, and the 2005 *proceso de regularización extraordinaria* were the macro sociopolitical backdrop to the daily social encounters of Moroccan immigrant children in Vallénuevo during the period of my study (2005–

2007). In this sense, I want to emphasize, more generally, the importance of studying immigrant children's everyday lives and discursive practices to trace how forces at play in transnational, diasporic settings impact these children's emerging sense of belonging and processes of identification in the most immediate contexts of their daily existence.

1.3 The Everyday Landscapes of Immigrant Childhoods

In the last few years, a growing number of ethnographic studies have considered issues of identity and community identification in the lives of transnational migrant youth (e.g., Baquedano-López 1998, 2000; Hall 2002; Klein 2009; LaBennet 2011; Lee 2005; Maira 2002; Mendoza-Denton 2008), as well as how children's everyday lives are shaped by sociopolitical forces, including the attitudes, stereotypes, and ideologies of the receiving community towards specific immigrant, diasporic groups (e.g., Hall 1995; Orellana 2009; Sarroub 2005; Shankar 2008; Reyes 2007). In spite of these important studies, the dominant tendency is still to consider the different spheres of immigrant children's everyday lives in relative isolation from one another. One of the most important goals of this book is to consider the social contexts of immigrant childhoods integrally in order to construct a holistic understanding of the sociocultural and linguistic matrix of Moroccan immigrant children's everyday lives. Documenting immigrant children's experiences and across contexts, and studying family, educational, institutional, religious, community, and peer practices, highlights both the constraints and affordances that Moroccan immigrant children face in and negotiating membership and belonging in different realms of their social relationships.

Each of the following chapters presents how Moroccan immigrant children negotiate participation in different but concurrent spheres of their lives. Taken together, the chapters allow us to examine integrally the (co-)occurrence of features of both communicative and social practices. Building on a strong tradition of scholarship that has already established that immigrant children, the world over, have the daunting task of coping with the sociocultural expectations of their immigrant and receiving communities,¹² this book aspires to trace the landscapes of Moroccan immigrant children's worlds in a way that allows us to capture and appreciate holistically the social complexity of immigrant childhoods.¹³ Understanding the sociocultural and linguistic lifeworlds of immigrant children is ever more important now, with children and youth being the fastest growing sector of the more

than 214 million transnational migrants found throughout the world (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011).

In accounting for how Moroccan immigrant children in Vallénuevo manage the local and global forces that impinge upon their lives and upon their emerging sense of belonging and identification, I have tried to avoid two common traps that characterize the study of immigrant and minority children: either romanticizing the affordances and agency that these children are sometimes able to exercise, or, conversely, highlighting social, political, and economic constraints to the point of abnormalizing their childhoods. Documenting different arenas of the children's social lives has helped me with this difficult task. Being able to examine a wide variety of contexts has allowed me to present the interplay between the constraints and affordances children experience in different settings. Another way in which I have tried to avoid these pitfalls is by capturing as faithfully as possible the perspectives of the children themselves. Listening to children's ongoing reflections on their lives has been the main compass I have used when I felt I was being pulled too far in one of those two directions.

Throughout the writing of this book, I often found myself drawn to a series of interviews and *lifemaps* (see Chapter 3) that I collected from some of the children featured in the study. The drawings always reminded me of the exceptional but also of the more commonplace circumstances of immigrant childhoods. They struck me as powerfully illuminating perhaps because, as forms of self-presentation and narration, they function as *tours* in De Certeau's (1984) sense of the term – Moroccan immigrant children's everyday narrations of movement through their lives as subjectively experienced by them. In these pictorial narrations, children casually traverse national boundaries, lived-in spaces, temporal boundaries, linguistic codes, and cultural and imaginative domains. In the lifemap reproduced in Figure 1.1, Worda, age 9, represents with drawings and text captions significant events in her life, from her birth in Morocco to her current life in Spain, as well as favorite activities and her future dreams. At first glance, this lifemap may not seem very different from one that any Spanish girl of Worda's age could have produced, and, in many ways, it is quite similar: the prominence of school and play in her life, her love for sports and physical activities, such as swimming and running in the track-and-field team, and her aspirations to become a computer science teacher and to have a family when she grows up.

A closer look, however, reveals a more complex picture. As illustrated in the three subsections of Worda's map featured in Figure 1.2 below, we see the intrinsic hybrid nature of her daily life, as well as the situated negotiation of languages and practices that children like her must perform on a daily basis. For example, in Worda's own representation of her favorite play activities, she seamlessly transcends linguistic boundaries and displays her

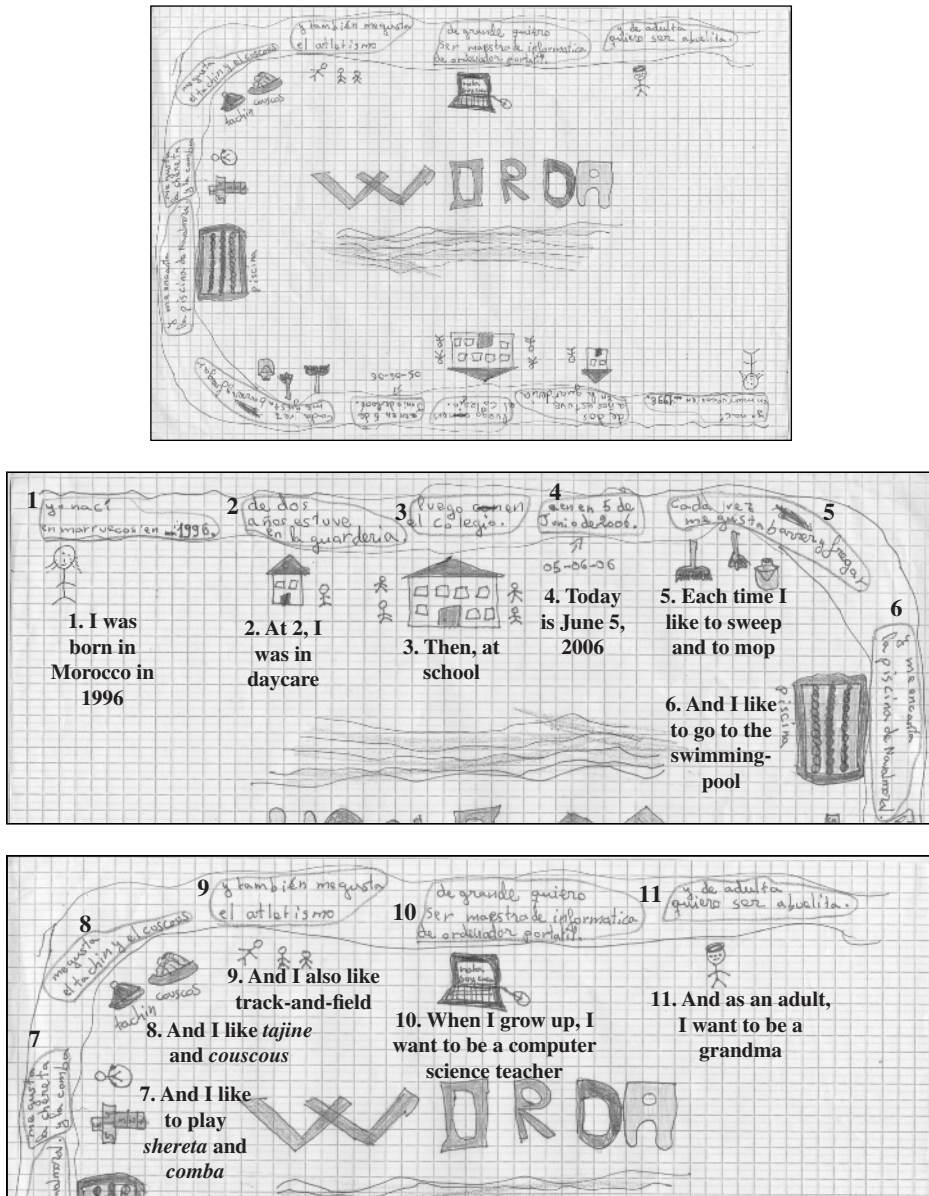


Figure 1.1 Worda's life map.

bicultural repertoire, by describing these children's games as *chereta* (šereta)¹⁴ – Moroccan Arabic word for “hopscotch”) and *comba* (Spanish word for “jump-rope”) in the same sentence.

The enduring importance of the practices of her immigrant diaspora community are represented in culinary traditions, such as Moroccan *tažine*

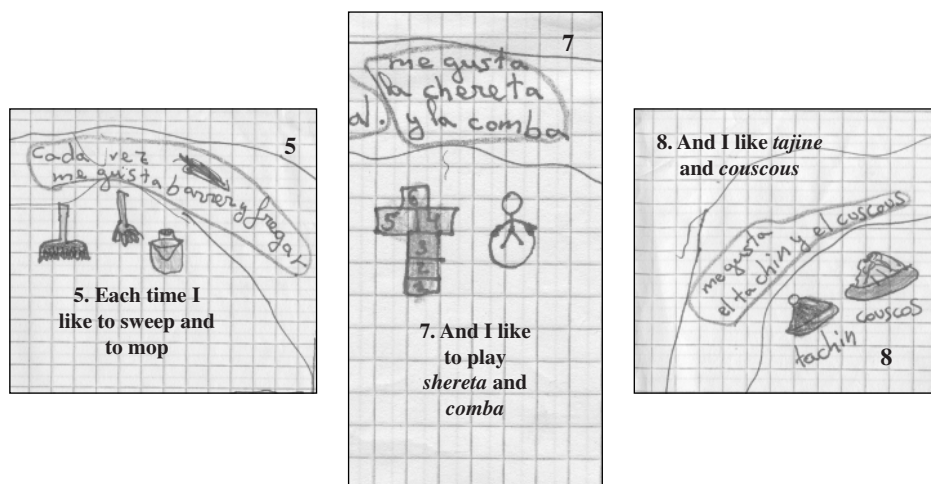


Figure 1.2 From Worda's lifemap.

and couscous. These meals are not only presented as Worda's favorites, but from further conversations I learned that these are dishes that she routinely helps her elder sister prepare when their mother is working (see Chapter 4). In many Vallenuovo Moroccan households, children are expected to undertake significant household responsibilities from an early age as part of an ethos of generational interdependence and appropriate development. Moroccan immigrant children's contributions to the sustainability of their communities, through the responsibilities expected of girls like Worda, are also prominently represented in the depiction of the household chores that Worda enjoys doing, that is, sweeping and mopping. These tasks, which would be rare in lifemaps produced by Spanish children of her same age,¹⁵ are even represented before Worda depicts her favorite games and pastimes.

Thinking seriously about Moroccan immigrant children's critical role and active participation in important sociocultural processes of settlement and transformation, such as when they help in their homes or when they translate for families and doctors in institutional contexts, may seem paradoxical, given forms of social exclusion and discrimination that Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuovo face and that this book also describes. It is precisely this nuanced complexity in Moroccan immigrant children's lives, however, that this book attempts to capture. Yes, Moroccan immigrant children's dreams and aspirations for the future, like Worda and Wafiya's illustrated in Figure 1.3, may be challenged by social exclusion and discrimination, structural economic disparities, community expectations, and differential access to (and distribution of) resources. Yet, Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuovo are not passive subjects in these processes of inclusion/

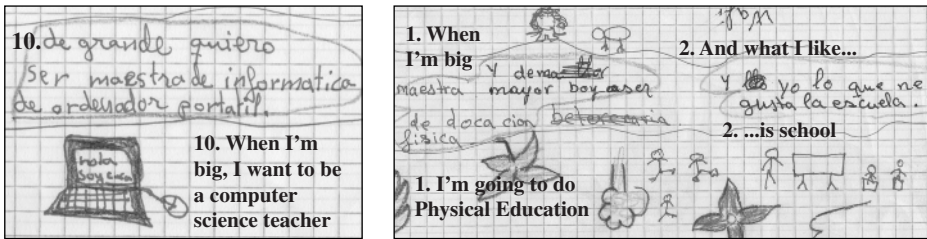


Figure 1.3 “When I’m big . . .” from Worda’s and Wafiya’s lifemaps.

exclusion through which belonging (or lack thereof) is negotiated. One of the most important things that this book shows is how this group of children actively try to negotiate their positions in their social worlds from a very early age, even in the midst of social relations that are clearly asymmetrical, and involving large power differentials. Yes, Moroccan immigrant children act contextually against a number of adverse constraints due to their subordinate positions as *children* and as *immigrants* from a particularly undesirable group (*los moros*). Yet, social actors are never wholly drained of agency, even those who occupy subaltern positions or are on the margins of power (Ortner 2006). As the new second immigrant generation in the making, Moroccan immigrant children in Vallénuevo often find themselves at the forefront of the negotiation of some of these sociocultural processes, and are able to exercise different degrees of agency against these constraints in different contexts of their lives.

Their socio-culturally mediated capacity to engage in everyday *tactics*¹⁶ (De Certeau 1984), however, varies in the different social settings where these children negotiate their emerging sense of belonging. A crucial focus of this book is how Moroccan immigrant children negotiate belonging and difference through everyday discursive and interactional practices, as these practices are differentially configured through the structural constraints and affordances of different social fields. To capture this, I draw inspiration from the children’s lifemaps and offer the reader a *tour* (De Certeau 1984) of the everyday landscapes of Moroccan immigrant childhoods in Vallénuevo.

1.4 Theoretical Paradigms for Understanding Difference and Belonging

As debates about the failure of integration gained momentum in Spain, as well as in many other European countries,¹⁷ notions of *acculturation* and

assimilation of immigrants into dominant society polities have been one of the leading heuristics through which institutions and politicians, increasingly concerned about national integrity and cultural cohesion, have attempted to address the dynamics of immigrants' processes of settlement. The dominance of these assimilationist constructs, such as *integración social*, is particularly visible in the area of public policy, in spite of competing discourses of *interculturalidad* (inter-culturality) and of a new *convivencia* (living-together).¹⁸ It may be surprising how older models of immigrant incorporation have persisted and resurfaced¹⁹ in European discourse, given the ways in which these paradigms have been critiqued in the last few decades in academic discourse.²⁰ This assimilationist tendency has become more prominent in debates over membership after 9/11 and after the attacks in Madrid, 2004, and in London, 2005 (Brubaker 2010).

In this book, I consider how Muslim and North African immigrants in Spain have come to be viewed as *unassimilable*, focusing on how this affects Moroccan immigrant children's opportunities to develop commonality of belonging to their multiple communities in the immediate contexts that constitute their everyday existence. I am concerned with the politics of difference and belonging and how it is negotiated, contested, and politicized in quotidian sites of social life. Therefore, while the book offers a multi-layered account, attempting to integrate local histories, discourses, debates in the public sphere, and the globalizing forces of late capitalism that brought Moroccans to Vallenuevo in the early 1990s, the focus is on how Moroccan immigrant children in this rural community navigate the politics of difference and belonging in their daily interactions with teachers, peers, family members, friends, doctors, coaches, and religious figures. This book emphasizes the importance and the complexity of what have been called "the informal aspects of the politics of belonging" (Brubaker 2010, pp. 65–66). I outline the dynamics of processes of categorization and identification and of practices of inclusion/exclusion in everyday, seemingly innocuous and mundane encounters. I focus especially on these dynamics as refracted through the lenses of ethnopragmatically-informed linguistic anthropology.

In providing theoretical and ethnographic specificity to these *informal aspects of the politics of belonging*, this work attempts to complement the body of contemporary scholarship that has been devoted in the last few years to *formal aspects of the politics of belonging*, such as forms of citizenship and political rights for immigrants and other transnational populations (e.g., Brubaker 1989, 1992; De Genova 2005; Ong 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006; Rosaldo 1994, 1999). After all, the ways in which immigrant groups are treated, accepted, and recognized (or not) in their daily social life, can often belie and be at odds with codified forms of membership. In this sense, everyday social relationships can be as important and consequential for the wellbeing of

individuals and communities as the more formal aspects of the politics of belonging, at the very least phenomenologically and experientially.

A key dimension of the informal aspects of the politics of difference and belonging are the notions of *identification* and *commonality*, insofar as they represent the emergent and historically-situated nature of processes through which individuals categorize themselves and others (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Identification refers to the processes through which people come to experience a sense of commonality or difference. Identification involves acts carried out by agentive subjects, as well as people and objects who undergo the act of being identified. Commonality refers to the affective sense of belonging or to the affiliative feeling of being connected to a group. This perspective is complementary to my analytic lens focusing on Moroccan immigrant children's situated negotiation of belonging and difference because this paradigm captures the contingent, emergent quality of how processes of categorization, similarity, membership, and difference are made relevant in everyday social interactions and practices.

Thinking about how Moroccan immigrant children navigate the informal aspects of the politics of belonging, brings me to address one of the most popular exegetic keys to interpret the experience of immigrant children and youth: the metaphor of *in-betweenness*. Tropes of *caught in between two cultures* or *existing in between two worlds* have been commonly used to explain the sociocultural, psychological, and educational lives of immigrant children of the so-called 1.5 (brought to the receiving country at an early age) and second (already born in the receiving country) immigrant generations. The more I became involved in the children's lives and the more I have thought about my observations of them and our interactions and conversations together over the last few years, the less helpful I have found these tropes from both an ethnographic and a theoretical point of view, at least to capture the lifeworlds of the Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuevo.

Theoretically, as an enduring legacy of acculturation and assimilation models, these metaphors contain the residue of linear and teleological developmental narratives by which immigrants will integrate themselves into the "mainstream" culture over the course of the generations. Ethnographically speaking, I believe that these analogies privilege excessively the perspective of adult researchers, like me, who arrive in a community to study immigrant children, and recognizing areas of discontinuities between practices and expectations across contexts, map the analytic experience of their own discernments onto the lived experiences of immigrant children. While understanding that all academic metaphors have limitations and that complete identification with an emic perspective is an impossibility, it seems to me, however, that children do not experience these differences with the same

sense of rupture and disjuncture than outside observers do, but rather within the situational fabric of their daily lives.

More resonant with the contradictory positionalities that Moroccan immigrant children often inhabit, especially when it comes to negotiating difference and commonality of belonging, is having to navigate these politics from the position of being both *insider* and *outsider* at the same time. That is in some ways children are positioned by others (or position themselves) as more or less outsiders or insiders in given social domains, but very often they have to contend with both poles of the membership/marginality continuum simultaneously. In thinking about this framework, I have been influenced by concepts emanating from contemporary political philosophy, particularly that of Agamben's zone of *indistinction* or *indifference* (1998, 2005), as it intersects with Deleuze's notion of *zone of indiscernibility* (1981, and Deleuze and Guattari 1980). Although there are clear differences between these two notions,²¹ what I find powerful about them is how both of these types of *zones* are considered to be ontological realms in which dichotomies that have come to be understood not only as distinct but also as opposites are seen to coincide or overlap – for my purposes here, dichotomies about membership, such as sameness/difference and exclusion/inclusion. Most evocatively, Deleuze discusses these zones as primordial domains for becoming. Also, both Deleuze and Agamben think of these zones as the underlying ontological logic that persist beneath fields that we have ordered around relational opposites, including, I think it is safe to assume, those systematic taxonomies that are produced around the identification, categorization, and social sorting of individuals, in this case immigrant children.

Although these notions have been helpful to me in thinking through these issues, there are some crucial differences between the ways in which I describe children's lives and participation in ontological-social domains of simultaneous exclusion and inclusion and Deleuze's *zone of indiscernibility* and Agamben's *zones of indistinction*, particularly the latter. Agamben (1998) developed the notion of "a zone of indistinction, between outside and inside, exception and rule, licit and illicit . . ." (pp. 170–171) around extreme cases where exceptional sociopolitical relations have become rule and individuals are almost devoid of power, such as prisoners in concentration camps or refugees in contemporary nation-states. Even if it is possible to say that some aspects of the problematization of Muslim and North African immigrants in contemporary Spain are reminiscent of sociopolitical *abnormalization* as discussed in Agamben's (2005) analysis of post-9/11 events, clearly, Vallenuevo is a far cry from any of the draconian sociopolitical conditions found in concentration camps or in places like Guantánamo. Moroccan immigrant children in Spain today obviously do not suffer the indignities

of such extreme human conditions. Yes, Moroccan immigrant children experience historically-informed discrimination and everyday *microaggressions*, but even in the settings where they encounter most constraints, they are sometimes able to assert themselves and counteract how they are being characterized.

In spite of these important and significant differences, I want to suggest that this idea of being both outsider and insider at the same time, experiencing both exclusion and inclusion simultaneously (Agamben 1998, p. 181) might be very fruitful in understanding people's everyday lives in less extreme, contemporary sociopolitical conditions like of Moroccan immigrants in communities such as Vallenuevo, or, more generally, of (un)documented immigrants and their families, permanent-resident card holders, and other denizens of modern nation-states whose *de facto* status and rights are often uncertain and imprecise.

Across the social contexts of immigrant children's everyday lives, I explore what negotiating participation and belonging may mean in contexts where Moroccan immigrant children experience themselves as being both insiders and outsiders to varying degrees. In proposing that the development of immigrant children's sense of membership is dependent on having to negotiate the boundaries of their simultaneous inclusion/exclusion in the social spheres of their everyday life, what I am trying to capture is how this group of children bargains for commonality of belonging within domains where sameness and difference are sometimes muted, but are sometimes *marked* and made socially distinctive.

Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuevo, who are either born in Spain or brought to the country by their parents when they are toddlers, cannot be considered as Spanish citizens, according to Article 17 of the Spanish Civil Code, by which only children of Spanish nationals are considered citizens by origin (*españoles de origen*). Moroccan immigrant children can only become citizens by residence, or *españoles por residencia*, through a process that requires one to 10 years of legal residence in the country (depending on whether they were born in Spain) and that can only be initiated by them when they reach 18 years of age, or by their immigrant parents after they reach 14. Yet, educational laws in Spain recognize the right to a free public education and provide for the full inclusion of immigrant children until the age of 16, regardless of their parents' legal status. Other social policy follows this same reasoning, providing medical and social services to immigrant children, who for most purposes are accorded the same rights as their native-born peers at least until their late teens. The enormous contradictions of being institutionally treated like insiders, but being legally and ideologically considered outsiders reverberate throughout the social interactions I analyze

in subsequent chapters of this book, as children make sense of different aspects of membership and belonging to their multiple communities.

1.5 A Linguistic Anthropological Lens on Negotiating Difference and Belonging

Linguistic anthropology is helpful in understanding the everyday politics of Moroccan immigrant childhoods in Vallenuevo because of its focus on how the variety of cultural- and group-specific subject positions that people enact or attribute to others inheres in social interaction and is an “outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, p. 382). Within linguistic anthropology, along with related disciplines, such as sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, much scholarship has been devoted to theorizing how social actors enact and construct categories for themselves and others in the midst of social activities, and otherwise position themselves as interactions unfold (e.g., Agha 2007a; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Goffman 1981; Gumperz 1982; Mendoza-Denton 2002; Ochs 1992, 1993, 2002; Sacks 1992; Schegloff 1991, 1992). Such work has also demonstrated how everyday micro-level interactions, like the ones with which this book is mostly concerned, are consequential for the subject positions individuals come to occupy in the world and for larger social and political issues related to collective identifications, distribution of power, and representation (e.g., Baquedano-López 2000; Bucholtz 2001; Chun 2001; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1995; Klein 2009; Mehan 1996; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Reyes 2007; Rymes 2001; Shankar 2008).

In trying to understand how Moroccan immigrant children make sense of their lives and negotiate their social relations, I take an ethnopragmatic and ethnomethodological-informed approach that privileges the analysis of everyday language use and interactions in both its most immediate communicative and its larger sociocultural contexts (Duranti 2007; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, 2012). This book draws heavily from these approaches in linguistic anthropology to delineate the micro-genesis of membership and belonging for Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuevo, paying particular attention to how difference, (mis-/non-) recognition, and inclusion/exclusion are discursively constructed in quotidian social encounters. The analysis in this book underscores, on the one hand, how difference and commonality of belonging are, at its most primordial level, products of everyday practices and interactions. On the other hand, it also emphasizes how immigrant children’s everyday social encounters involve

micro-discursive and interactional aspects of participation and membership as they intersect with larger sociocultural categories of identity and belonging.

A particularly helpful paradigm for this study is the body of work by scholars of language socialization, who for the last 25 years have been documenting and theorizing children's daily lives and participation in communities and institutions, including attention to children's language use in their own peer cultures (e.g., Goodwin 1990a; Heath 1983; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 1986b; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990), and to children's everyday interactions within the historical, economic, and sociopolitical contexts of families and communities (e.g., Kulick 1992; Zentella 1997). Language socialization researchers have also been paying increasing attention to how contested sociopolitical histories shape childhoods in contexts where children grow up having to negotiate multiple languages and/or the consequences of rapid language and culture shift, such as among formerly colonized nations and populations (e.g., Garrett 2005; Meek 2011; Minks 2013; Moore 2006; Paugh 2012; Reynolds 2008; Riley 2007), as well as in immigrant and diasporic communities (e.g., Baquedano-López 2004; Ek 2005; Fader 2009; García-Sánchez and Orellana 2006; He 2000; Klein 2009; Lo 2009; Mangual Figueroa 2011; Zentella 2005a). Indeed, research conducted in contexts that have undergone or are undergoing large-scale language and culture contact is one of the most vital strands of contemporary studies of language socialization.

This book builds on and elaborates a number of important foci in this rich body of scholarship, namely how children and youth in these contact areas negotiate sometimes disconnected familial and institutional settings, cope with conflicts in religious and secular social identities, manage their multilingual subjectivities, deal with differential forms of citizenship and belonging across and within immigrant generations, and learn the subtle but politically important indexicality involved in the use of different linguistic codes. The language socialization paradigm offers a nuanced and flexible to approach to the complexities of Moroccan immigrant childhoods at multiple levels of analytic scale and across different social contexts because of its attention to "the tensions between macro-political and micro-interactional social phenomena" (Baquedano-López and Mangual Figueroa 2012, p. 541) and because of its integrated, cross-context ethnographic perspective (Garrett 2006).

A second body of scholarship that I draw upon in this book is devoted to how language is involved in *racialization*, or "the processes through which any diacritic of social personhood—including class, ethnicity, generation, kinship/affinity, and the position within fields of power—comes to be essentialized, naturalized, and/or biologized" (P. A. Silverstein 2005, p. 364).²²

Since the earliest studies on discrimination,²³ language has always been considered central to the processes by which immigrants and other minorities are racialized as *outgroups* and excluded from participation in many areas of social life. Certain forms of discourse have been deemed to play a pivotal role in symbolic means of domination, (re)production of racial/ethnic prejudice, as well as (non-) recognition and articulation of *otherness*.²⁴ In contemporary scholarship, the linguistic production of social *markedness* or difference is viewed as a form of symbolic violence, and perhaps one of the most insidious varieties of the processes “by which people become marked as exemplars of racial imaginaries” (Urciuoli 2011, p. E113).

An important focus of theoretical elaboration has been everyday and institutional ways of talking about and representing immigrants as racialized *Others* in a variety of ethnographic contexts and social settings. Although political and policy discourse has undoubtedly received the most systematic attention (e.g., Dick 2011; Martín-Rojo 2000; Mehan 1997; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Wodak and van Dijk 2000; Wiley and Lukes 1996; Woolard 1989, 1990; Wright 2005), other kinds of public discourse, such as media-tized forms and artistic performances, have also figured prominently (e.g., Reyes 2011; Santa Ana 1999, 2002; van Dijk 1991, 1993, 2000; Wirtz 2011). This work has established the interdiscursive relations between overt forms of racialized discourse, namely slurs, and covert forms, namely mock varieties and code words, and has outlined how representations of immigrants and minorities move across social space and time (e.g., Alim 2005; Bucholtz 1999; Chun 2009; Hill 1998, 2009; Rokin and Karn 1999; Wortham, Mortimer, and Allard 2009). The investigation of racialization processes in ordinary conversation and educational talk has been less common, however (but see Edwards 2003; Myers 2005; Pagliai 2009, 2011; Urciuoli 2009; van Dijk 1984; Verkuyten 1998, 2001).

A major contribution of this body of scholarship has been the systematic description of the ideological tenets and discursive strategies of the so-called *new*, *neo*-, *modern*, or *symbolic* racism, which is characterized by a discourse of denial of prejudice and a focus on cultural differences as the basis for abnormalization and rejection (Balibar 1991; Barker 1981; Bonilla-Silva 2003). Since racism has increasingly become associated with political extremism and cultural backwardness, those expressing negative views about immigrants or other minorities face a threat to their presentation of self. In delineating the anatomy of the denial of prejudice, social psychologists, critical discourse analysts, and linguistic anthropologists have repeatedly shown how speakers legitimize their negative views about immigrant and minorities, while still managing to convey a positive self-image and avoid charges of racism, by either presenting their views as reasonable or by pre-

senting them as harmless jokes (Billig 1988; Billig et al. 1998; Hill 2008, 2009). By identifying a range of ideological practices (Hill 2008) and discourse strategies (see Augoustinos and Every 2007 for review) used to accomplish the naturalization of modern racism, this work has also shown that language does not have to be visceral or overtly racist to (re)produce conditions of discrimination and social exclusion.²⁵

This book contributes to this body of work on language and racialization by addressing an aspect that has been very little explored to date: how daily situated talk in interaction between members from majority-dominant groups and members from immigrant minority groups is a primordial semiotic locus for the production of *social markedness*. Surprisingly, most previous scholarship has centered on racialized institutional, political, and everyday ways of talking *about* the *Other* – an *Other* that is rarely a participant, or even present, in these interactions being examined. And yet many minority and immigrant groups have reported experiencing feelings of exclusion and discrimination not only by how they are represented or (mis-/non-)recognized, but also by how they are differentially *treated* in everyday ways, or what critical race theorists have called *microaggressions of race* (Solórzano 1998; Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso 2000; Solórzano, Allen, and Carroll 2002). My intent is to contribute to this body of work on language and racialization by uncovering the semiotic architecture of these microaggressions and the micro-genesis of racialized exclusion in the everyday practices of individuals as situated within historically-constituted cultural ideologies and social structures.

Understanding the interactional and discursive architecture of everyday racializing encounters is of critical importance, given the serious sociopolitical consequences for how immigrant children are able to negotiate membership and commonality of belonging. Through an examination of daily naturally-occurring social encounters of young Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuevo, I trace how a racialized *Other* is effectively created in everyday, seemingly mundane interactions by focusing on how social actors make value-laden distinctions between different subjectivities and ways of being in the world. As an important counterpoint, however, I also analyze how Moroccan immigrant children are able to negotiate, counteract, and contest the different subject positions to which they are sometimes relegated. In this sense, my ethnography of Moroccan immigrant children in Vallenuevo also contributes to the burgeoning literature in linguistic anthropology that explores minority responses to forms of racism, as well as to ethnic youth's creative use of their multiple linguistic repertoires to resist racialization and to create their own local forms of identification (e.g., Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009; Chun 2012; Mendoza-Denton 1999, 2008;

García-Sánchez 2013; Tetreault 2008, 2010; Rampton 1999, 2009; Reyes 2007; Reynolds and Orellana 2009; Roth-Gordon 2007; Shankar 2009; Zentella 2005b).

1.6 The Chapters in this Book

Following the introduction, this book consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 starts by reviewing the literature on Moroccan immigration into Spain, in general, and into the area of Valleneuve, in particular. The second part of the chapter illuminates how contemporary discourses about Moroccan immigration in Spain are produced at the juncture among anti-immigrant sentiment and contemporary anxieties about religious fanaticism and security in relation to Muslim immigrants as they intersect with historical, racialized images of the dangerous Moor invaders, *los moros*, of centuries past. I also elaborate on the analysis of these discourses by showing the vitality of the processes of entextualization by which the figure of *los moros* has permeated mytho-historical narratives, contemporary political discourse about Muslim and North African immigrants, and even everyday discourse about Moroccan immigration in Valleneuve.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of the sites and methods of data collection in relation to how I negotiated my positionality in these contexts. In so doing, I consider details of research implementation as they intersect with the human and ethical dimensions of ethnographic research with Moroccan immigrant children in Valleneuve. I focus on aspects of ethnographic reflexivity and examine some of the issues I faced as a Southern Spanish woman, perceived by locals as having turned foreign expatriate, doing research with Moroccan participants in a Southern Spanish town. I also reflect on how the specific linguistic ethnography I was conducting, heavy in technical gear, confronted me early on with the sensitive local politics of a town that increasingly resented outsiders' focus on Moroccan immigration.

Chapter 4 provides a panoramic view of Moroccan immigrant childhoods in Valleneuve. I first present portraits of the children with whom I had the privilege to work more closely. I hope that these portraits will help readers get a better sense of the individuals that will appear in many of the interactions that are analyzed in subsequent chapters. In a second part of Chapter 4, bringing together my own observations with interview data, I discuss how different sociocultural domains shape, and are shaped by, Moroccan immigrant childhoods in Valleneuve, placing special emphasis on how the children themselves understand and discuss their lives in these different social spheres.

Chapters 5 through 8 delve into individual social contexts of the children's lives and comprise the linguistic and ethnomethodological section of the book, where children's communicative practices and social interactions are analyzed. These four chapters are organized relative to the degree of autonomy for action that the children have in different contexts, moving from social spheres where children have less autonomy, such as in the public school and in Arabic language classes at the oratory-mosque, to those with more opportunities for action, such as in the clinic where they act as language brokers and in their neighborhood play groups.

Chapter 5 examines the subtle practices of exclusion that were a constitutive part of the relational fabric of Moroccan immigrant children's social life at school, in spite of the public discourse of inclusion, interculturality, and respect for diversity that constituted the school's official curriculum. Through detailed analysis of the daily interactions between Moroccan immigrant children with their Spanish peers and teachers at school, the chapter describes the micro-genesis of *social markedness* and racialized exclusion as the product of everyday practice and as it is constructed in social interaction.

In Chapter 6, I consider how notions of what it means to be a Moroccan and a Muslim are played out in the teaching of the Arabic language to younger generations of Moroccans in Vallenuevo. Because these children attend Arabic language classes at the public school and after-school religious classes at a small oratory run by a Islamic cultural association, I pay particular attention to the internal dynamism of the Moroccan immigrant community and address similarities and differences between these two contexts in the manufacturing of ethnoreligious identifications for the younger generations of Moroccans. Across both contexts, however, I highlight the crucial role of linguistic and literacy practices in the production of diaspora identities.

Chapter 7 discusses the sociocultural, ethical, and interactional paradoxes that Moroccan immigrant children manage when they act as linguistic brokers and sociocultural mediators between their families and members of Spanish institutions. I emphasize how children manage these varied paradoxes through the translation filters and subtle modifications they use. In mediating institutional encounters, the children exhibit a discerning ethical sophistication about their dual roles as agents of the institution and as representatives of the families, successfully building constructive bridges among their families and healthcare professionals.

In Chapter 8, through an investigation of Moroccan immigrant children's codeswitching practices in play, I focus on how children themselves are making sense of various aspects of the politics of belonging. In pretend-play, Moroccan immigrant girls explore some of the meanings and implications of the barriers they encounter in their present life and in their potential

futures. As they imagine possible selves and futures, the girls' actions-in-play, particularly in their subversive, tactical nature, involve both the reproduction and change of some of the sociocultural formations with which they contend on a daily basis. Chapter 9, the conclusion, ties together the central themes of the book. The book's main concern – how Moroccan immigrant children negotiate the politics of difference and belonging in the quotidian sites of their social life at a time of heightened problematization of Muslim and North African immigrants – is revisited in light of the data presented in Chapters 4 to 8.

Notes

- 1 The name of the town, as well as the names of all the people, are pseudonyms to protect as much as possible the privacy and the anonymity of the people who, directly or indirectly, participated in this study and are featured here.
- 2 In the months that followed these events, several Spanish newspaper articles actually echoed these grim reports of alienation among North African and Muslim immigrant youth in several European countries. For example, in a March 2006 article (*El País*), the writer discussed how, according to a 2006 Official Report by the Dutch Central Office of Statistics, second generation Turkish and Moroccan Immigrants (born and raised in the Netherlands) felt less at home there than their own parents, who immigrated to the country as adults. Similarly, in an August 13, 2006 article (*El País*), a commentary by the prestigious British journalist Timothy Garton Ash was fully translated and expanded upon. The focus of this piece was the growing irritation of British Muslims, particularly young British Muslims, who, again, according to the latest statistics released in the United Kingdom, felt more distanced and excluded than their parents' generation; a feeling, the article continued to say, that is more acute and pervasive than that of the French youth who had so violently rioted in the housing estates outside France's major cities in fall 2005.
- 3 For a fuller critique of this idea, see Y. Samad and S. Kasturi (2007).
- 4 Literally *Moors*. The sociocultural and historical meaning of this expression in contemporary Spain will be taken up more fully in Chapter 2 of this book.
- 5 These points of contention have been well documented by Spanish scholars. See Arango Vila-Belda (2002); Barbolla Camarero (2001); Carrasco (2003) Castaño Madroñal (1997); Chacón Rodríguez (2003); Checa (1998); Checa et al. (2001); López García and Berriane (2004); Goytisolo and Nair (2000); Martín Muñoz et al. (2003).
- 6 See V. R. Dominguez (1994) for a general discussion of how immigrant groups have increasingly become anthropology's exotic *Other* and P. A. Silverstein (2005) for a more specific discussion of how immigrants have come to occupy racialized subject positions within the academic history of European migration studies.
- 7 In addition to P. A. Silverstein (2005), see the volumes Prum et al (2007); Samad and Kasturi (2007).
- 8 See, for example, Alexander (2007); Levidow (2007); Samad and Kasturi (2007); Turner (2007); Werbner (2005).

- 9 See, for example, Barrett (2007); Gandy (2006); Levidow (2007); Turner (2007); Prum et al. (2007).
- 10 In addition to 9/11, the London 2005 subway bombings, and the March 2004 train bombings in Madrid (the largest-scale terrorist attack to date on Spanish soil), it is important to add other local events that although less well-known outside of Spain have, nonetheless, affected perceptions of Moroccan immigrants, such as the January 2000 pogrom-like attack on the Moroccan population of the southeastern Spanish town of El Ejido. This attack that was legitimated and rationalized as the inevitable consequence of the irreconcilable cultural differences between the Moroccan and Spanish populations of the town.
- 11 For a more extended treatment of the implications of this regularization process, please see, María P. López (2007) "Immigration Law Spanish-Style: A Study of the Regularización of Undocumented Workers in Spain."
- 12 For some prime examples of this scholarship see the work of Hall (1995) among Sikh youth in Great Britain and the work of Lee (2005) and Pease-Álvarez and Vásquez (1994) among Hmong youth and Latino children in the United States, respectively.
- 13 Much recent work has emphasized the importance of scholarship devoted to providing this holistic understanding, see, for example, Gutiérrez (2008); López (2003); Orellana (2009); Portes and Rumbaut (2006); Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008); Valenzuela (1999).
- 14 See Appendix 2 for Arabic Transliteration Symbols used in transcription.
- 15 Although I did not collect lifemaps from Spanish children in the town, my own observations, as well as scholarship documenting the role of children in contemporary Spanish families, indicate that most Spanish children have very few responsibilities, if any, in their households. The notion of childhood in Spain has changed dramatically over the last 50 years. This change has been well-documented by American anthropologist Jane Collier (1997) and by Spanish sociologist Amando de Miguel (2000). Both Collier and de Miguel discuss how Spanish families have increasingly become child-centered; family life revolves around children's needs and education. One of the consequences of this shift is that children's involvement in family responsibilities has declined significantly. Primacy is given to children's responsibilities in school to the point where parents now do most things for their children in the household.
- 16 De Certeau's (1984) examination of the operational logics of the adaptations performed by individuals caught in the nets of structured forms of power illuminates the multitude of clandestine, creative everyday practices of resistance to dominant culture, economy, and politics. In discussing people's everyday practices, De Certeau has distinguished between strategies and tactics. *Strategies* are practices or everyday ways of acting that proceed in accordance with the power-legitimized order of things. These normative practices organize institutions and structured-power, and implicate authority and relations of power. *Tactics* are everyday ways of acting through which individuals transform and subvert technocratic structures to fit their own needs and interests. They involve individuals' manipulations of the system and are organized outside the gaze of power and authority. While tactics tend to remain minor and concealed, they are integral to the fabric of society.
- 17 See for instance P.A. Silverstein's description of tropes of immigrant assimilation in France (2004), and in general within European migration studies (2005).
- 18 *Convivencia*, "living-together," is also a historical ideology that emphasizes how Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities in Medieval Spain were supposedly able to live together harmoniously. This point of view also highlights how this peaceful coexistence yielded a

productive syncretism that, in turn, produced some of the most positive and uniquely-Spanish cultural achievements of this period. *Nueva Convivencia* ("New Living-Together") has been used as a trope in both general discourses about immigration in Spain, as well as in scholarly analysis (see e.g., Erickson 2011 and Suárez-Navaz 2004).

- 19 The terms *acculturation* and *assimilation* emerged in the fields of anthropology and psychology through the work of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) and Graves (1967) as analytic concepts to explain the patterns of cultural change that occur when groups of individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into continuous first-hand contact with one another. Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) focused on group-level phenomena, while Graves (1967) concentrated on individual-level processes. The concepts soon found their way into descriptive paradigms of the immigrant experience, such as Gordon's (1964) model of assimilation of immigrants into American life. Contemporary sociological reframings of immigrant incorporation emphasize the dialectic interaction of multiple scale factors (e.g., Portes and Zhou 1993). One of the most useful and influential theoretical paradigms of immigrant assimilation has been the segmented assimilation model (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). This model has addressed many of the criticisms leveled at previous models of assimilation in that it stresses the interplay of multiple factors and the internal variability within both the immigrant population and the dominant society itself.
- 20 For an extended review of anthropological critiques of acculturation/assimilation models, see, for example K. Hall (2002, and particularly, 2004). On the one hand, assimilationist paradigms have been problematized for failing to address the ideological tenets that position immigrants as specific kinds of subjects, often as abject subjects, against symbolic representations of the nation as an *imagined community*; and, on the other hand, these models have also been critiqued for leaving unquestioned how the cultural logics of these forms of classification organize social practice and structural relations as well as forms of cultural domination, misrecognition, and social exclusion.
- 21 See Gilson (2007) for a thorough exposition of the differences between these two concepts, as well as areas of complementarity, in Agamben and Deleuze's philosophy.
- 22 In most contemporary scholarship of language and racialization, race is viewed as a cultural category of difference that is locally produced as naturalized and commonsensical against a normalized and normative field. Therefore, most definitions of racialization, in addition to P. Silverstein's above, emphasize constructed distinctiveness. See for instance, Urciuoli's definition: "racialization can be understood as one of many linked processes of social marking, including processes of gender, ethnic, class and other modes of markedness, all operating against an unmarked background of what social actors perceive as normative" (2011, p. E113), or Wodak and Reisigl's "the dynamic, and dialectical representational processes of categorization and meaning construction in which specific meanings are ascribed to real or fictitious somatic features" (1999, p. 180).
- 23 Allport's (1954) seminal study of prejudice and interethnic relations was one of the first to focus our attention on the importance of language in the stigmatization and exclusion of minority groups. He identified five categories of behavior associated with prejudice that naturalize the positioning of minorities as outgroups and legitimize acts of discrimination and violence as ethically acceptable: antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination. Antilocution is perhaps the most critical for the present discussion. Allport defined antilocution as the use of language to articulate antagonism and "otherness." In his view, extreme and/or socially-organized forms of discrimination and violence against

minority groups need to be understood alongside softer forms of rejection and exclusion in which language plays a crucial role.

- 24 See e.g., Blommaert and Verschueren (1998); Hill (1998); Mehan (1997); Santa Ana (1999); M. Silverstein (2003); Urciuoli (1996); van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1993); Verkuyten (1998, 2001); Zentella (1996); Wodak and Reisigl (1999).
- 25 The ideological and discourse practices that have been identified in this literature can be grouped in four broad categories: first, arguments, that are inherently discriminatory, are organized and justified around democratic and liberal principles, such as freedom, equality, national legal codes, and individual rights (e.g., Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Martin Rojo 2010; van Dijk 1993; Verkuyten 1998; Woolard 1990). Second, in Hill's (2008) *folk theory of racism*, she traces how individuals of the majority group perpetuate the idea that the racism that persists is just the remnants of bygone times upheld by small fringe and radical groups, rather than a more pervasive and contemporary structural practice upheld by all members of society. This is accomplished through two types of language ideologies, that of personalism and referentialism. *Personalism* is deployed to cast speakers as *intentionally* racist, whereas *referentialism* is invoked to argue that even though speakers might have sounded racist because the words they used have racist connotations, they are not really racist because this was not intentionally done, such as in commonly called *gaffes* and *slips of the tongue*. Third, forms of negative categorization have been documented to play an important part in discursive processes of *othering*. Negative descriptors of minority groups are, for example, accompanied by positive characterizations of the majority group. Contrast structures in the deictic field, such as "us vs. them," accentuate inter-group differences. Additionally, explicit racial/ethnic categories tend to be attenuated or simply eliminated in favor of categories such as dress code, alien traditions, and culture (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 2002; Mehan 1997; Pollock 2004; Urciuoli 2009; van Dijk 1987, 2005). Finally, story-telling is a primordial means of creating distant, different, and distorted models of personhood for immigrant groups, as well as a powerful means for the circulation of these models across communicative networks and discursive chains (e.g., Bucholtz 1999; van Dijk 1984; Verkuyten 2001; Wortham, Allard, Lee, and Mortimer 2011). In telling stories about immigrants and ethnic minority groups, speakers present events as factual and common rather than as subjective and individual narratives of personal experience. The use of details, vivid description, and reported speech are common devices endowing events with a halo of objectivity.