

Future Perspectives in Crisis

Spanish University Graduates'
Perceptions of
Structural Violence
in the Context of the Economic Crisis

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ABSTRACT

The economic crisis has hit the whole globe hard and Spain is no exception. The current unemployment rate of 25, 8% is alarming high and it has broken earlier unemployment records. The situation of youth is the worst, as youth unemployment has already reached over 50%. The crisis has eroded prospects of young people entering the labour market. The chances of Spanish university graduates might be better compared to those with no studies at all. However, their labour situation was not overwhelmingly good before the recession. In Spain, university graduates have, for the last twenty years, contended with precarious, temporary jobs for which they were over qualified.

This Master's Thesis concerns itself with effects of an economic crisis on the Spanish university graduates. Instead of economic facts, number and figures, it considers the human cost of the crisis by using qualitative methods. The data consists of six, semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Spanish university graduates and then was analysed by qualitative content analysis. To conceptualise the results of data analysis further, peace researcher Galtung's theory of structural violence was used. The theory takes into consideration both the individual and social context. It also analyses the circumstances at which structural violence turns into direct violence. For example can mass youth unemployment turn into a violent conflict?

Structural violence is present in lives of the interviewees as in general in the Spanish society. The inequality and injustice have increased during the economic crisis. Due to the budget cuts and reforms, people have unequal access to society's resources such as employment, pension schemes, education and health care. Educated young people are either unemployed or employed in jobs that do not correspond their educational level, and in precarious labour conditions. Structural violence causes frustration, fear and insecurity among the interviewees. They feel mistrust towards politicians and the political system in general.

Frustration among the interviewees was overwhelming. Collective frustration caused by unemployment and low future prospects might have severe social, economic, and political consequences in the future. These consequences can be seen in regions such as North Africa and the Middle East, where unemployment rates among young people have reached 20% during the past 20 years. Massive youth unemployment is a risk to social cohesion on the other side of Mediterranean. It should be questioned, whether the Spanish government and European Union do not have any other options to handle the economic crisis by impoverishing the younger generations? Losing a generation can have surprisingly high cost in the future.

Keywords: economic crisis, university graduates, Spain, structural violence

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1. Introduction

The ongoing economic crisis of 2008 affected the entire globe and Europe is no exception. Yet Spain has been hit especially hard as the Spanish labour market was particularly vulnerable to market fluctuations. Notably that the Spanish system is characterised by rigid and dual labour markets with high proportion of temporary contracts (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchon, 2011). The current unemployment rate of 25,8% is alarming high and it has broken earlier unemployment records (Eurostat). However, the youth situation is the worst. In some regions, youth unemployment has already reached over 50%. Although youth unemployment tends to be most vulnerable to economic recession, during this particular economic crisis youth unemployment has increased at an exponential rate in many countries.

The report from the International Labour Organisation regarding Youth Employment in 2010, expresses concern about the limited prospects of young people entering the labour market during the current recession. This mixture of high unemployment, rising economic inactivity and precarious labour conditions amongst young people has the potential to scar a generation. The organisation highlights the social, economic, and political consequences that collective frustration caused by unemployment and low future prospects might have in the future. According to the report, these consequences can be seen in regions such as North Africa and the Middle East, where the unemployment rates among young people have reached 20% during the past 20 years. In Spain, youth unemployment has already grown at an alarming rate and there are feelings of frustration and a lack of hope in the future. Whilst there are other important factors that have encouraged people to protest in North Africa, collective frustration among the young should not be neglected on the other side of the Mediterranean. Youth unemployment is a conflict *per se* but it can also lead to a wider social conflict and a lack of social cohesion. Losing a generation has serious consequences on the society as whole, especially in the future. Already, the situation is acutely concerning, especially in Europe, where the young people will comprise the largest part of the working population, due to the problem of an aging workforce (Bell & Blanchflower 2010, 9).

The recession, banking bailouts, and statistics have been thoroughly discussed in the media. However, the crisis is often portrayed in terms of numbers and figures and the human cost of the crisis and its wider social consequences have gained less public attention. This is not to say that the press lacks coverage with stories about peoples who have lost their homes, their inability to find work or the problem of many generations living in the same household. However, the analytic studies, the articles about the possible human consequences of this crisis are rare. This Masters Thesis concerns itself with exploring the effects of such a severe crisis on Spanish university graduates. To approach the consequences, peace researcher Johan Galtung's theory on structural violence is used. The concept of structural violence refers to indirect violence in the structures of the society that is shown as social injustice and an inequality of opportunities. The theory also helps to understand the link between social unrest and direct violence. As numbers and figures have been well-studied, this study assesses crisis by qualitative methods and in that way, aims to go behind the official statistics and bring the personal back in.

The study is interested in Spanish university graduates during the recession. Whilst a recession affects society as a whole, and only a few are immune from any impact, behind the statistics there is a very heterogeneous group and the extent with which the crisis affects them varies significantly. Thus, in order to truly understand the reality in which people live in, the study will focus on a certain group; university graduates in the Andalusia region. The Spanish government, European Union and ILO have been increasingly concerned about a growing number of schools dropouts in Spain, their low employability prospects and a growing risk of marginalization. This research does not underestimate the seriousness of that problem by excluding this group from the study, however, that should be the focus of a separate paper. Tertiary education still is an advantage in the Spanish labour market, in that sense university graduates might not be the ones that suffer the most from the crisis, especially when compared with the school dropouts whose employability prospects are the lowest (Rahona, 2007). However, such a severe crisis has worsened labour possibilities of both groups and it is no reason to put them in juxtaposition. Essentially, both groups can be seen as victims of dysfunctional labour markets and structural violence.

The question about limited labour possibilities for university graduates was present in Spain before the current crisis. The writer Espido Freire published a book in 2006 on the paradoxical situation of her generation: more highly educated than ever before, but without proper jobs and therefore are only capable of living day-by-day. The term *1000€ Generation*, in Spanish *Mileuristas*, refers to the poor monthly salary of this social group in their thirties with university degrees. However, the problem is not the salary as such, but labour instability and the high number of temporary contracts, which prevent them from making long-term life-plans or investments for the future. The crisis has changed the situation of the *1000€ Generation* as the opportunities in the Spanish labour market during the current economic situation are now even more limited. The new paradox is that what used to be considered precarious is all but a distant dream.

1.1 The aim of the research

Instead of concentrating on economic facts, number and figures, this Master's Thesis is interested in the human cost of the crisis. The research examines the effects of the current economic crisis on the Spanish university graduates and examines, whether the interviewees face structural violence as Galtung defines it. The research question is *how do the Spanish university graduates perceive structural violence in the context of the economic crisis?*

As the research is interested in the reality behind statistics, it heavily draws upon on qualitative methods. The data consists of six semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Spanish university graduates. The research is very much data-derived so a discourse evolves naturally about their lived experiences; the people are left to talk freely.

To find central themes from the data, qualitative content analysis is used to analyse the data. Being a qualitative study, it has to be stressed that the sample size is small, and the results are in no way representative to the whole Spain and to the whole Andalusia region. However, qualitative research provides new insights and widens our understanding of the social world. Theories help us to conceptualise the world in new ways and thus, help us to find creative solutions to social problems.

The research is data-derived and the results of the data analysis are conceptualised further by using Johan Galtung's concept of structural violence. Few studies have applied the theory in this kind of context and that is one of the greatest challenges of this research. It is worth asking the question if it is adequate to use such a theory in this context. However, applying an unconventional theory in the context of economic crisis is not necessarily a weakness. Instead, a new approach can be seen as a strength of the study.

Although the theory comes from the field of positivist Peace Research that aims at hypothesis testing (Väyrynen, 2009, 247), this research represents interpretive social sciences more broadly. According to Silverman, the general aim in social and human sciences is to understand individual phenomena in their social and cultural context, and compare those phenomena with their theoretical background and thus develop the theory further (1994, 31). This theory aims to provide new insights to the situation of university graduates and see it as part of wider societal context and the economic crisis.

Regardless of possible challenges of using Galtung's theory of structural violence, I find the theory more than adequate to describe the situation in the society when there is actual peace but still discontent in the air, where the resources are becoming more limited, causing distress and social problems. Another important motivation why the theory is suitable to analyse the data is that the theory takes into account both individual and social structures. Even though the data consists of interviews with individuals the idea is on no account to psychologise something that is social in its nature.

The problems should be seen in their context and Galtung's theory of structural violence, indeed takes into consideration the social context and structures. Furthermore, the theory of structural violence analyses the circumstances at which structural violence turns into direct violence. For example can mass youth unemployment turn into chaos?

The structure of this Master's thesis is, as follows. Chapter two is devoted to the theory, starting from a description of Galtung's theory of structural violence and its critics. The last section of the chapter brings the theory to praxis and explains how that theory is applied to this research and data. The third chapter gives background information of Spanish labour market in general and then from the perspectives of university graduates. The final section highlights earlier research conducted on the recession's impact on university graduates. After the background chapter follows the methodological chapter that first describes the data and then considers data collection methods, transcription process, method of analysis, and also ethical questions of the study. The fifth chapter presents the result and interpretation of the data analysis. The final conclusion is given in the last chapter before the bibliography.

2. Theory

This chapter is devoted to the theory of the research. First section presents Galtung's theory on structural violence in general without forgetting criticism that has been presented. The second section brings the theory to praxis and considers how structural violence is understood and measured in this research and with this data.

2.1 Johan Galtung's structural violence

Galtung is one of the most significant scholars among peace research and his theory on structural violence has been used in various studies throughout the peace research field. The field of peace research is multidisciplinary, so there are various disciplines that have used the theory, but the greatest interest has naturally been among international relations. In this research, the interest does not lie in peace and conflicts studies at the international level, but aims to explore how the theory has been used among social sciences generally. How can the theory contribute to our understanding of peace and conflicts within a society?

Johan Galtung has contributed significantly to peace research and has written over 1000 articles. He has developed various concepts and theories in the field of peace research. Some of the most significant ones are the theory of structural violence (1969), the theory of structural imperialism (1971) and cultural violence (1990).

The main principle of Galtung's concept of peace, is that it does not only mean the absence of violence (1969, 167). According to Galtung's, peace can be positive or negative (1964). Negative peace is an absence of war or soldiers, meanwhile positive peace means absence of the structures that can possibly lead to war or to an armed conflict. For example, a government that violates human rights represent negative peace because it does not use direct violence. However, it is not positive peace as the governance is violent in its structures. In his article from the year 1964 Galtung does not mention structural violence yet but refers to positive peace as integration of human society (2).

Because peace is not simply an absence of violence, the theory also includes definition of violence. Galtung divides violence in three different types: direct, structural and cultural. Direct violence has an intention to hurt physically a single person or a group of people. The object of direct violence is aware who is the actor of violence meanwhile object of structural violence cannot specify who or in which instance is behind that kind of violence. War is an example of direct violence, meanwhile structural violence can be found in sociopolitical structures. Cultural violence is used to justify structural and direct violence (Galtung, 1993).

Galtung states in his article (1969) that violence is present when *human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realization*. This definition of violence is wide and does not only include somatic violence but also structural violence. In later publications, Galtung describes violence as *any avoidable impediment to self-realisation* (Galtung 1980, 69).

Violence causes also *distance between the potential and actual, between what could have been and what actually is* (Galtung, 1969). That remark is closely linked of being avoidable. For example, dying of tuberculosis can be considered violence because it is avoidable and thus the real potential is not used. Meanwhile the same disease a hundred years ago would not have been structural violence, as the disease was incurable at that time.

Galtung also refers to indirect violence as opposite of direct violence (war, destroying) when recourses and insights are monopolised by some group or class leading to a situation when the actual level falls below the potential (1969, 170). Direct violence is personal (or interpersonal) where as in structural violence there is no actor that could be traced. However, both types of violence, structural and direct violence can kill people and hurt them physically. Violence is in structures that harm people and they are shown in unequal power relations that consequently lead to unequal life changes. Thus, most of all, structural violence is inequality. That inequality can be shown as unequal access to power, education, health care or some other resources in society (ibid., 171). Galtung also uses the term social injustice to define structural violence. Jiménez & Muñoz (2004) also see that structural violence is present when there is social injustice. It is a situation when the needs of the population are not satisfied when they easily could be so, if the organisation or the circumstances were different.

Compared to direct violence, structural violence shows some stability. Due to the nature of social structures that cannot be changed in over night where as direct violence can be a single, short action (Galtung, 1969, 170). Galtung makes an important remark regarding structural violence, that there is no reason to assume that it would cause less suffering than direct, personal violence. It is clear that famine kills people, for example in Sub-Saharan Africa (Galtung, 1969).

However, human suffering caused by structural violence is not just a problem of developing world. According to international studies for example the homicide rates and economic inequality have a positive correlation in 40 countries (Winter & Leighton, 2001). As Winter and Leighton state, structural violence is problematic as such but also because it can lead to direct violence (2001).

The mechanism that converts indirect violence into direct violence or into war is called *rank-disequilibrium*. Those groups in society who rank lowest in economic, political and social terms, will suffer from extreme structural violence and are not most inclined to political mobilisation to improve their situation. Instead those groups who have a high rank on some dimensions (high level of education) but have low rank in some other categories (for example, high child mortality) are, according to this theory, most likely to mobilise politically in order to change their situation. These groups are in rank-disequilibrium. Therefore according to this theory, the most impoverished groups do not mobilise, whereas those in the state of rank-disequilibrium become politically active and are ready to direct violence. (Galtung, 1964). What this research finds is the academic precarity could be according to Galtung the most reluctant to direct violence, they have high level of education but still suffering of unemployment and poverty.

One of the strengths of peace research is its own capacity to question conventional ways of understanding reason and consequences of violence, and also the different ways of resolving conflicts (Väyrynen, 2009, 242). However, Galtung's theories have been criticized for his notions on peace and ideas; what actually promotes peace? According to peace researcher and economist Kenneth Boulding, Galtung does not specify how his ideal society would be like, even though he strongly supports equality in all his articles (Boulding, 1977, 79). Galtung's wide notion on violence is rather ambiguous because when hierarchies rise in any group and society, there is always some kind of difference between the potential and the actual (Korhonen, 1990, 109).

What it comes to structural violence, Boulding criticises it for being too broad, as it includes problems derived from poverty and destitution. However, he admits that it is important to consider the structures that create violence, but he still sees that Galtung digresses from the actual topic. The structures that create violence tend normally to have just a thin connection with the structures that cause (direct) violence. Boulding reminds us that even though poverty sometimes generates violence, the violence is not present in all poor societies and vice-versa, violent societies are not necessary always poor. According to Boulding, poverty is a complex problem and the concept of structural violence is not enough to address it. He stresses that structural violence is a valuable concept to which one should refer when speaking about structures that generates violence. Another limit of the theory that Boulding mentions, is that its goal of perfect equality and justice are impossible to reach in practice. Thus, according to Boulding, structural violence should be better understood as metaphor, not as theory. (Boulding, 1977, 83–84).

Barnett also criticizes that the theory is vague in the details of structural violence (2008, 76). The meaning of peace is clear, as are, the causes of direct violence. However, the concept of direct violence is very broad. This question is also essential in this research. If we aim to reflect the results of data with Johan's Galtung theory of structural violence, it is indispensable to have a clear definition of structural violence and also the possibly methods to measure it in this certain study. That question will be considered in the next chapter.

2.2 Measuring structural violence in this research

The theory of structural violence comes from the field of multidisciplinary peace research. However, the majority of research it has been applied to represent international relations. Galtung and Høivik refer to structural violence when analysing inequality between the rich north and developing countries (Galtung, 1969 ; Høivik, 1971). The structures they refer are global and international of kind.

This research aims at conceptualizing perceptions of persons and the structures inside a one country so at a grass root level, compared to earlier research on structural violence.

According to Galtung structural violence is caused by *systems of unequal power that structure unequal life chances such that a person's potential is unrealized* (Galtung, 1969). According to Barret (2008, 78) mechanisms that affect people's life changes and constraint human potential, can also be considered structural violence. Those mechanisms could, for example, be famine, malnutrition and also unemployment. The latter brings the theory closer to this research.

According to theory it is possible to measure structural violence. However, as it is difficult to measure the realisation of person's potential, one needs indirect methods to identify structural violence. Høivik (1971) identifies some indicators of structural violence that are daily calorie intake, child mortality and life expectancy. These rather objective population indicators tell something about the possibilities that human beings have for a decent life. Again, approaching structural violence from this perspective seems to exclude developed societies. But as Väyrynen (2009, 245) reminds, the theory can be applied in rich countries to measure inequality *within* them. For example the ethnic neighborhoods in large cities in the USA illustrate structural violence. To prove this method, one would research differences in standard of living between black and white neighborhoods using the indicators presented above (Väyrynen 2009, 245).

Galtung considers that violence is *the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is* (1969, 168). Barret (2008, 77) criticises the concept of potential that can be understood as *the best that humans can do*. Then everyone, everywhere should be able to reach same attainment, such as living as healthy as a Japanese woman and being as wealthy as men in Luxembourg. Thus, anyone who is not a beneficiary of the best that can be done would be the subject of violence. However, Galtung and Høivik consider an important notion: the reality should not be compared with an *ideal* world in an abstract sense but with a potential one (1971, 73).

If this research was about finding proof of structural violence in Spanish society, the most reasonable way to do so would be comparing statistical indicators such as Gini coefficient, before and the after crisis. Other indicators that Høivik mentions, would be, for example, mortality rates among unemployed and employed to show whether the inequality of opportunities has risen in the society.

Those would be indicators of inequality and injustice that according to Galtung is structural violence. However, as this research aims at going behind the figures and numbers and approach the human cost of crisis in qualitative methods, other way to measure structural violence has to be applied. As the data consists of in depth interviews, the subjective feeling of structural violence instead of objective measurement is adequate way here. That corresponds with Galtung's primary definition of structural violence that is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realization (1969). This research very much draws up idea that the human beings are the primary experts to know whether they can realize their somatic or mental potential, or not. That approach supports the research question: *how do the Spanish university graduates perceive structural violence in the context of the economic crisis?* Instead of objective indicators of structural violence, subjective perceptions of structural violence are thus of the interest.

An important notion that has to be taken into account here is the difference between ideal and potential (Galtung & Höivik, 1971, 73). As Galtung puts it structural violence is *any avoidable impediment to self-realization* (Galtung, 1980, 69). Therefore, the structural violence is avoidable, otherwise it is not structural violence. The definition by Winter and Leighton (2001, 1) complements Galtung's own definition; structural violence occurs whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal, economic or cultural traditions. They also state that whenever a person is denied access to society's resources, there is violence that can be physical or psychological of kind. In an economic crisis and due to various budget cuts, structural violence in this sense is probably to occur in Spain.

3. Background of the study

It is necessary to conceptualise the Spanish labour market in order to gain a clear perspective into the situation of university graduates. The first section of this chapter illuminates the Spanish labour market in general. The second and the third sections concentrate on two problems that university graduates face in the Spanish labour market: precarity and mismatch between education and required skill in job. The last section presents earlier research conducted on crises and its effect especially on university graduates. The chapter does not just aim at giving an overview of the situation of Spanish university graduates but also it aims at assessing it from the perspective of structural violence.

3.1 Dualism in Spanish labour market

In general, there are some characteristics of the Spanish labour market, such as structural unemployment, a high proportion of temporary contracts, and dual labour market where there is a gap between temporal and permanent workers. The crisis has deepened all these of characteristics further (Hurley, Storrie & Jungblut, 2011).

The Spanish labour market has a duality in its nature: there is a huge polarisation between those with protected permanent contracts and the mass of precarious workers. Family heads (for example, the typical male bread winner figure) have well protected permanent working contracts, whilst women and young people tend to have precarious working contracts that impede access to social protection schemes. Furthermore, the fragmented labour market discriminates against young people and women in Mediterranean countries (Karamessini, 2008).

The duality of Spanish labour market can be explained by history and by an impact of the EU labour policy. First of all, an element that derives from Franco's dictatorship is high protection of permanent worker (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchon, 2011a).

Abolishing this feature has turned out to be an impossible task both for both right wing and left wing governments during three decades after the dictatorship. However, the labour market has been reformed according to general European trend. The Spanish government has directly promoted temporary contracts to gain maximum flexibility in order to create jobs while permanent contracts have been untouched (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchon 2011b, 1). Creating two-tier labour market has been seen a politically more viable way to boost flexibility as there is strong resistance from permanent workers.

Flexibility in the labour market has been an increasing trend all over Europe during the last 25 years. According to Bentolila, Boeri, & Cahuc (2010) there have been more than 200 reforms of employment protection in the Eurozone, in order to increase labour market flexibility. The reforms had positive effect in the EU between 1995 and 2007: unemployment fell by one fourth, long-term unemployment halved, and 21 million new jobs were created. When Spain entered European Monetary Union in 1994 the unemployment rate was as high as 24 percent but in the economic boom the job creation was strong and the unemployment reached its lowest level 8% in 2007 just before the crises. The Spanish unemployment rate has been typically high but it has been also very cyclical and so vulnerable to economic down-turns (Jaumotte, 2011, 3). Thus, the negative side of flexibility, has been seen during recessions; high unemployment rates.

According to Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchon (2011) flexible temporary contracts boost job creation but also enable job destruction. The wide gap of firing cost between temporal and permanent contract could serve as an explanatory factor of the high unemployment in Spain. The wider the gap between firing cost between different contracts, the more dominating the increase in job destruction is. Due to the high firing costs of permanent contracts, transforming temporary contracts into permanent contracts is not an attractive option for employers and they prefer temporary contracts in sequence. This is the case in Spain, where the regulation of temporary contracts is lax compared to permanent jobs which are highly protected (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbancho, 2011).

Other dark sides of the flexible information society can be easily found in Spain as well. For example, temporality and instability of work, the intensification tightening of working conditions, polarisation of salaries, caused by growing number of low salaries, and thus a growing number of working poor (Santos Ortega, 2003, 88). Furthermore, employment has gone through a fundamental change in the last few years. According to Álvarez Cuesta (2008, 11) there is a dual development, that on the one hand towards a more relaxed relationship between employer and employee and on the other hand leads towards greater precarity of work. The existence of mass unemployment forces workers to accept labour conditions that they would not accept if there was another job available. The consequence of this development is that the labour market has become segmented, that is divided between the jobs of high productivity, stability and good working conditions, and those jobs of low productivity in stability and bad working conditions (Valdés dal-Ré & Lahera Forteza, 2004, 77).

According to Santos Ortega (2003, 88) the reorganisation of capitalism can be clearly seen during the last 20 years in Spain. Changes and transformations in production, in technological development and in labour life, together with greater demand for flexibility, have led to the triumph of economic rationality while social rationality has been forgotten. A concrete example of this development is greater vulnerability of those less favoured in society. The labour market has produced more precarious working conditions during the last two decades (Álvarez Cuesta, 2008, 14).

During the recession, youth unemployment has risen the most in comparison to other age groups. This is explained by the fact that in the moment of recession temporary contracts, which are common among the young, are first to be cut. In addition, high unemployment rates among the young have revived the informal economy, which polarises the system even more and raises the number of those without any social protection. (Karamessini, 2008, 67).

The duality in the Spanish labour market will probably deepen further. According to a study about the crisis effects on the European labour market and employment structure, there is a polarisation tendency can be detected in general in Europe (Hurley, Storrie & Jungblut, 2011). There has been some job growth in the top quintile of the wage spectrum, while the decline of the lowest-paid jobs has been comparatively modest. Even in Spain, in spite of the greatest job decline in Europe, the number of jobs in the top quintile has increased. Meanwhile, there have been massive job losses in the manufacturing and construction sector, which are middle-ranking jobs. That has been the case of Spain where the labour market has been construction volatile (*ibid.*, 13). The polarisation development is due to technological changes and the polarization of service sector employment, which tends to generate jobs at both the top and the bottom of the employment structure. Another effect is that the crisis has made the European workforce older while the young people have faced high unemployment rates. In Spain, the unemployment rates for young people are double compared to older parts of the population (Hurley, Storrie & Jungblut, 2011).

The anti-crisis measures introduced by both the socialist and conservative governments have also affected the labour market, but not as they had wished. Since 2009, the main, and the only, objective of these measures has been reducing the public deficit. Anti-crisis policy included legislation reform on labour relations, which aim was to maintain and create jobs. The idea behind this was that reducing pay standards and social rights could create jobs. However, the labour market reforms have not had much impact on the labour market situation and the unemployment rates are still very high. As a consequence, social inequality is growing, as is the number of those without any social protection (Baylos & Trillo, 2012).

Strong duality in the labour market can be considered as structural violence as Galtung defines it. First of all, there is inequality between temporal and permanent worker that as such is structural violence (Galtung, 1969). Furthermore, there is unequal access to secure employment and thus, unequal access to social security and pension schemes. According to Galtung unequal power relation can be shown as unequal access to society's resources (1969, 171).

Public security schemes can be considered these kind of public resources and unequal access to them thus, as structural violence. So to conclude, the flexibilisation of Spanish labour market has increased inequality and thus boosted structural violence. As an example of structural violence as income inequality along racial lines for example in the U.S., in Spain the inequality is shown between generations. Young people tend to be those who have no access to secure employment and thus, to other resources. Due to the crisis and high youth unemployment rates, generational inequality might have deepened.

3.2 Labour precarity of Spanish university graduates

In international comparisons the situation of Spanish university graduates was already poor before the crisis compared to their European counterparts. Unemployment rates and the proportion of temporal work were higher, and the level of salary was lower than the average the Eurozone countries.

There was a wide comparative study conducted on higher education graduates and their situation in the labour market in European Union countries (Céreq, 2008). The number of higher education graduates has doubled in Europe in the last 20 years and there has been a fear that there will be an increased gap between qualifications and jobs available for them. However, the study shows that, in general, European university graduates find work quite easily that matches their education. Yet the study also highlights that there are considerable differences between Southern European countries (Spain, Italy, Portugal) compared with Northern and Central European countries. In Southern Europe, new graduates need more time to find an adequate job and have more fixed-term contracts. In Spain, the number of fixed term contracts is at its highest; 70% while the average the Eurozone was 50%. The Italian and Spanish respondents were less satisfied with their occupational situation. The study shows clear link between job stability and satisfaction: the more stable the job, the more satisfied the people are. Atypical work (fixed term contracts, part-time work) is more common among graduated women than among graduated men all over in Europe, but in Spain, Portugal and Italy where the female unemployment rates are generally high, the gender difference is more significant. (Céreq 2008, 1-4).

A high turn-over rate related to temporary contracts causes insecurity as people are not able to plan their lives in the long run (Bentolila, Dolado & Jimeno, 2008, 55). That reduces youth emancipation and further limits geographical mobility, as the young people have to accept jobs that are close to their parental home. Late emancipation affects child bearing in Spain, together with Italy, which have the lowest fertility rates in Europe. That fact is boosted by the lack of family policies in Spain, which is characteristic of the Mediterranean welfare state in general (Flaquer, 2000, 4). According to Oinonen (2004, 117) precarious working conditions such as fixed term contracts together with lack of family policies form the main reason for postponing childbirth in Southern Europe.

The transition of youth to adulthood less frequently follows the traditional model that has clear progression, studies–work–family (Santos Ortega, 2003, 95). According to Santos Ortega the traditional model might work very well among the lowest and highest deciles of the society whose labour socialisation works according to the traditional model. However, for the majority of the people, for example the middle class, there is no longer a linear path from studies to work and then to raising their own family, for this group of people.

Uncertainty of temporary contracts, which are very common among young people, underlines the importance of family (Wölfl & Sanguinetti, 2011, 27). A wide and recent study on the effect of crisis on Spanish youth emancipation concludes that the crisis has not significantly changed the late emancipation process. The labour situation of the youth has worsened but the change is not as drastic compared to other parts of active population because the Spanish youth has already suffered before the crisis from a high proportion of temporality, precarity and low salaries. Insecurity has been a core characteristic of their labour market situation, even at economic boom times (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012, 178). As an indicator of that serves the age youth emancipation in Spain. Compared to their European counterparts, the late emancipation from their parents has been typical among Spaniards for a long time. 70% of young people between 20-29 years live with their parents. However, the study shows that the Spanish model of late emancipation is expanding to other European countries as a consequence of greater flexibility in labour markets and social conditions all over Europe. Thus, Spain might not be the only country where exists structural violence caused by flexibilisation of labour market.

To conclude, there has been labour precarity that has limited the possibilities of Spanish university graduates already long before the current economic crisis. In other words, the crisis only is not to blame for the structural violence: it has existed before even though not to that wide extent than now.

3.3 Mismatch between qualification and job

As it has been shown in the previous section, mismatch between qualification and job is a typical phenomenon amongst Spanish university graduates together with unstable labour conditions. University graduates have an occupation that does not require a high level of qualification. In this section, the phenomenon and its consequences are considered in more detail.

Occupational mismatch is an important characteristic of the Spanish labour market (Felgueroso, Hidalgo & Jiménez-Martín, 2010, 15). The paradox of the Spanish economy is that it is incapable of producing jobs that match the qualifications of university graduates and therefore, very often, they have to be content with jobs for which they are overqualified for (Santos Ortega, 2003, 95). There is a massive imbalance between required skills and education. This kind of occupational mismatch deepened in the nineties and partly supports the existence of so called *Mileuristas*, the generation that regardless of being the highest educated in the history could not reach the standard of living of their parents. High educated people could not find work that match their skills and they were often working on temporary contract earning low salaries. Felgueroso, Hidalgo and Jiménez-Martín (2010) have researched the fall of wage skill premium during the last two decades in Spain. Their finding was that oversupply of educated workers, together with high number of temporary contracts explain this fall.

Spain stands out from the other three Mediterranean countries in university education. A characteristic of all Mediterranean countries in the 1980's was that there was a low educational level compared to the EU-15 (Karamessini, 2008, 61). All Mediterranean countries have raised the general educational level, but only Spain has been able to challenge the EU average and nowadays the percentage of the population with academic degree is even higher (33, 7 %) than of the EU-25 (26, 2%) (Karamessini, 2008).

Whilst the general level of education has risen, the concern has been whether the Spanish labour market can absorb the growing number of university graduates that have finished their studies during the last 20 years (Rahona 2007, 164). As consequence, the requirements for entering a job can get higher and the possibilities to enter labour market limited.

In her wide study on labour transition of Spanish university graduates Rahona (2007) considers the expansion of Spanish university education after the democratisation of the country. One factor behind the expansion has been the ideal of equal opportunities that has been realised in many aspects. There are universities all over the country, women have entered academies and university has lost its elitist characteristics. However, Ramona's (2007, 261) empirical study indicates that the socio-economic status of family and level of education is still one significant factor that affects access to university studies. When families are facing unemployment, rising living costs and other economic problems, one can question whether equality in education is at risk. That is very probable when at the same time, tuition fees are rising and the number of scholarships is reduced. That indicates a certain level of unequal opportunities in education that is in Galtung's definition is structural violence (Galtung, 1969, 171).

However, Rahona shows in her study that a university degree is a significant factor that facilitates job search in the Spanish labour market (Rahona, 2007, 212). Aquila (2002) shows in his study that those with academic degree find a job in a shorter time period than those who have not finished their schooling. Another finding of Rahona's study is that the period needed for the first job search has increased during the last 20 years. Taking into account that during this time period there has been an economic boom, the results are surprising. According to Rahona that is an indicator of worsening conditions in Spain for young people entering the labour market independently from economic environment (2007, 177).

From these findings, one can say that an academic degree is an advantage to enter the Spanish labour market. However, the academic degree does not guarantee the access to well-paid jobs and socio-economic security. In Spain, the problem of precarious labour conditions especially touches the high educated young people (Felgueroso, Florentino & de la Rica, 1999, 2). The higher the qualification, the higher the wage gap between temporal and permanent worker. Due to the high firing costs of permanent contracts, transforming temporary contracts into permanent contracts is not an attractive option for employers and they prefer temporary contracts in sequence (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchó, 2011).

According to economist the Bentolila, Boeri, & Cahuc (2010) the creation of ultra-secure permanent workers and vulnerable temporary workers affect the entire society because it means wasting human capital. The situation is very alarming from the perspective of young people that tend to be labour market new comers. Their education and their effort are not used as they have to content to precarious jobs and often jobs that do not require academic degree. The OECD (2011) has also paid attention to the problem of occupational mismatch among Spanish university graduates because of wasted human capital. Over-education may cause human capital accumulation that is harmful for productivity growth (Wölfl & Sanguinetti, 2011, 13). There are no incentives for companies to invest in temporal workers and students are lacking incentives to invest in their education, as the return for this investment is low (OECD, 2008a). Various temporary contracts and layoffs at the start of a career can prevent workers from acquiring sufficient specific human capital to enable them to fully develop their potential (Felgueroso, Hidalgo & Jiménez-Martín, 2010). There is a linkage between over-education and low inter-regional mobility of workers: young people have to accept jobs close to their (parental) home for which they are overqualified (Wölfl & Sanguinetti, 2011, 27). Thus, uncertainty of temporary contracts underlines the importance of family. It is no wonder, that in Spain, geographical mobility is the lowest of the OECD countries and meanwhile the mismatch of workers is high (OECD 2008a, 2). That partly explains large regional disparities in unemployment rates across different regions in Spain.

The mismatch between an individual's attained level of education and the education required for the job can be understood as *distance between the potential and the actual*. That according to Galtung is structural violence (Galtung, 1969, 168). The person's capacities and human capital are wasted.

3.4 The recession and university graduates

The term lost generation has been present in the Spanish media, and also many other countries, when speaking about the long-term effect of the crisis on the younger generation. International organisations, such as OECD and ILO have warned about the scarring effect of crisis on the young generations. Young people have serious problems when trying to find work, moving from the parental home and starting a family. However, the academic literature is hardly knows the term lost generation in this context (the term normally refers to American literature). Still, there are studies that consider the effects of crisis on the youth in general and also a smaller number on university graduates.

When the labour market is hit hard by a recession and the human cost rises. It is clear that lay-offs cause loss of earnings in the short run, but there are various studies that show that these losses have also an effect in the long run. Youth is one of the groups together, with the long term unemployed, which are at risk of suffering from long term losses earning (Mai & Loungani, 2010, 5). Unemployment also has other long lasting impact on young people. Unemployment at young age suggests unemployment also at the age of 50 (Bell & Blanchflower, 2010). There are also studies that indicate the negative impact of job loss on health that partly explain higher mortality rates among those who have experienced layoffs.

There is small, but growing number, of studies that assess the effects of finishing school during recessions. However, the effects that these studies examine are mostly in the field of economics and are mostly interested in salary and career perspectives. There are also studies that indicate that unemployment might reduce life expectancy, lower academic achievement and also lower earnings for their children. (Kahn, 2009, 5). Lisa Kahn shows that young people who graduated from university in United States during the crisis in the 1980's have suffered a decline in earnings over time. The essential point of the study is that these earning declines are permanent and even stronger economic problems will develop (Kahn, 2009).

The research on the effects of crisis on university graduates is rather limited and it is more concerned with the economic side of the crisis. An interesting exception is a study from the field of social psychology that examines the relationship between values and crisis. The study might give some insights that can be used to interpret the results of this research. In their study, Giuliano & Spilimbergo (2009) investigate the relation between macro economic shocks during the early adulthood and values. One of the strongest result of their study is the long lasting distrust of the government that recession causes amongst the young adults (2009, 16). According to the study, individuals growing up during a recession tend to think that the success in life depends more on luck than on effort. They also tend to support government redistribution but at the same time they have less confidence in public institutions (Giuliano & Spilimbergo, 2009, 1).

However, a study that is the most related to this research, comes from Sri Lanka. It does not speak about Galtung's structural violence but this research links social problems with a violent conflict. In their research Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer (2009) explore the relation between mass youth unemployment and underemployment, with the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka that took place in the 1970-80. According to them, youth unemployment is a significant factor behind the conflict. However, the writers highlight that the nexus between an armed conflict and youth frustration is not clear and more research on the phenomenon is needed to better understand that nexus. They stress that youth unrest should be seen in a wide social, political and cultural context, and it is not enough to concentrate on the unemployment as such. There are many reasons that cause frustration among young people but unemployment turned out to be the most significant factor behind the youth unrest (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009, 21).

The writers of the article mention two factors that have had a key role in fueling a violent conflict: youth disillusionment with distribution of resources and governance practices. Both of these factors according to Galtung's theory can be considered factors of structural violence. The resources of the society are unequally divided and also they lack the power to decide about these resources. So it can be argued that structural violence has led to direct violence in Sri Lanka. The focus group of this research clearly expressed their disappointment with the politics and politicians. Together with disappointment, the researchers also found a serious gap in trust. The young people in Sri Lanka feel mistrust about politicians and politics, and the private sectors willingness to offer young people decent jobs (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009).

One of the lessons learnt from Sri Lanka, that could be applied also other countries, is that youth unemployment should not be seen as isolated problem but as a part of the social, cultural and economic structures and dynamics (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009, 30). Thus, just enhancing young peoples skill is not enough to ease youth unemployment if there is a mismatch of curricula and the skills required in labour market. This lesson can be also applied to Spanish case where the match between required skill and actual skill in labour market are not balanced.

A recent Spanish study on the effects of crisis on youth emancipation has yielded similar findings to the study on Sri Lanka, as well as the study on the relation between macro economic shocks and values. As in those studies, Spanish young people are distrustful of politicians (2, 8 points / 10) and more than 50% of them are dissatisfied with the administration of public services (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012). It is to assume, that similar mistrust and dissatisfaction will appear also in the data of this research.

Many demographers use the youth bulk theory to explain unrests in societies (Hvistendhal, 2011, 552). According to the theory, the combination of large proportion of young adults concentrated in the 15-to-29 age group and economic stagnation is a good predictor of conflict and instability in society. The countries with high proportion of frustrated, unemployed young people (especially men) run the risk of social unrest. The bulk theory as such does not fit to Spain but it serves better to explain conflicts in developing countries where the population growth has not slowed down. However, it identifies youth frustration caused by unemployment as factor behind a violent conflict. Even though this theory works to explain the unrest of the Arab Spring, it has been criticised for being too simplified and it fails to explain many other conflicts (Hvistendhal, 2011, 553). Historian Goldstone highlights the key role of educated young people. In Northern Africa the governments have increased higher education while the employment options are decreasing and the government is cutting the public sector. The educated elites that are marginalized by lack of opportunities have a key role in political mobilisation and social change (Goldstone, 1991). That theory fits with Galtung's idea: the groups that are in rank disequilibrium, tend to mobilise.

4. Data & Methodology

According to Silverman (1993, 2) a methodology is a general approach to studying a research topic. Methods, such as research interviewing in this case, are techniques that which take on a specific meaning according to the methodology in which they are used (Silverman, 1993, 2). In the following sections of this chapter, I will consider methodology of this research in general and methods which are used in this method. To start, the data is first described. Then, the method of data collection is presented and also some peculiarities of international interviewing. The third section considers snowball sampling and reasons why this method is chosen to find interviewees for the research. Then, the challenges of transcription process are presented. Fifth section considers ethical questions of the research. The sixth section is all about the method of analysis that is qualitative content analysis and of course, how it has been applied to this data.

4.1 Description of the data

The data consists of 6 semi-structured, face to face interviews carried out in Andalusia region in southern Spain in three different towns during February and March 2012. The length of interviews varies from 40 minutes to 1, 5 hours and they were taped with a digital recorder. In pages, the data contains 42 pages of transcript text in Spanish. The extracts which are used in the analysis are translated into English. It has to be remembered, that in the analysis the original Spanish data is used to guarantee the maximum transparency of the data.

All interviewees have an academic degree as the study is concerned with university graduates and their possibilities in the Spanish labour market, since being hit by the economic crisis. Their study fields vary: many are of social sciences and humanities, but there is also one engineer. All the interviewees have studied in different universities in Andalusia region but the city is not mentioned for anonymity, neither are details about their study programs.

Two of the interviewees are male and four are females. Their ages vary between 24-34 years. In the data, the interviewees are identified by their gender and age, no names are mentioned. In the analysis, F stands for female and M for male. The gender is not the centre of analysis but the reason why it is mentioned in the data set is for more practical reasons, not a theoretical conceptualisation. In English as well in Spanish the personal pronouns are categorised by gender and there is either he or she. So the gender is mentioned simply because it makes the textual presentation clearer and more understandable. Of course, one could also use both she /he with instead of using only one of them but at the same time there is no actual need to hide gender either. The anonymity of the interviewees is guaranteed by other means.

All interviews were carried out in cafeterias and bars, which are a common get-together place in Spain. Thus, talking in such a public place even about personal issues cannot be considered as restricting element. Squares and street bars are considered an extension of the living space for Spaniards. Conducting the interviews there is a more natural option than, for example, conducting interview at interviewee's home, especially as the majority of them live with their parents. Of course, the interviewees were given freedom to choose the place, for example interviewee's home, interviewer's home and a bar. All of them preferred a bar or a cafeteria and that wish was taken into account.

The interviews were carried out in Spanish which is the mother tongues of the interviewees but not of the interviewer. In order to skip the translation of data extracts, the interviewees were also suggested a possibility to be interviewed in English. However, none of the interviewees were enthusiastic by the idea and preferred to use their mother tongue as it enables them to express themselves more fluently. Using the mother tongue of interviewees in the interviews surely makes the data richer and gives it nuances that could have been lost when using English. However, there were no serious misunderstandings during the interviews and if something was not understood, there always was a possibility to ask again. The interviewees were very helpful in that sense, and made sure whether the concept or an unusual word was understood correctly.

4.2 Research interviewing as method of data collection

According to Silverman (1993) interviews have become a common tool to understand the world and to describe this phenomenon, he uses a term interview society. Interviews rely on the principle that interviewees are, at the same time, sources of information as well as objects of information (Alastalo, 2005, 59).

As this research is primarily interested in lived experiences and perspectives, that people have, it is wise to use interviews for the data. According to Kvale (1996, 1) qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subject's points of view and to unfold the meaning of people experiences. Thus, conversational interviews can be considered a suitable method for data collection in this research. People's feelings, opinions and ideas would be difficult to grasp for example, with surveys. As Kvale (1996, 29) puts it the topic of qualitative research interview is the lived world of the subjects and their relation to it. The purpose is to describe and understand the central themes of the subject's experiences. This compliments the research question *How do the Spanish university graduates perceive structural violence in the context of the economic crisis?*

Interview research, in this case, is suitable when considering the research question. This is not the only reason why it was selected for this research. One important aspect was that it was not only suitable, but also possibly to use this method in practical circumstances. Essentially meaning that there was a possibility to conduct interviews in Spain, find people for the interviews and then to talk with them in this case in their mother language. For example, the situation of Greek young people would be as interesting topic for a Master's Thesis as well, but for practical reasons and lack of capabilities that kind of research could not have been conducted.

The data for this thesis consists of focused semi-structured qualitative interviews. Interviews focus on certain themes in the interviewee's lived experiences even though they are not strictly structured with specific questions in a certain order (Kvale, 1996, 34).

Thus, the term focused interview is used to define that kind of interviews that share the same topics and themes, but the question formulation and order might change to enable a free-flow of information (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula, 2005, 11). Although certain topics were repeated in all interviews, there were also elements of non-structured interview. Similar to a dialog, the interviewees were given also freedom to come up with topics that they found important and essential to discuss. As Ruusuvuori and Tiittula remind the division between structured / unstructured interview might sometimes be unclear (2005, 12).

The focus of the interviews was on the experiences of crisis in interviewee's personal and working life but the interviewees could choose in which context, or in which perspective they preferred to talk about. For example, very often political issues were brought into conversation even though it was not asked by the interviewer. In that sense, the interviews were dialogical of their character. It was not only the interviewer that came up with themes but the interviewees were given that freedom as well.

According to Kvale interviewing is not about answering questions prepared by expert but the subject and the interviewer both formulate their own conceptions of the lived world in a dialogue (1996, 11). During the interviews this kind of concept formulation were done also very thoroughly. For example, in the interview with F-25 she was asked her opinion about a lost generation but the interviewee asked for a definition of what the interviewer actually meant by this concept of a lost generation. At the end, the concept was defined together by the interviewee and interviewer.

The qualitative research interview is theme oriented (Kvale, 1996, 29). In that sense, the interview cannot be without structure, nor an open ended one. There are some themes (not questions) that need to be covered in order to be able answer the research question. Before the interviews a theme list was formulated. However, as mentioned already before, the themes did not appear in the interview in that presented order. The themes were following:

1. Current situation
2. Earlier plans
3. Trust

4. Reality / aspirations = mismatch?

5. Equality of opportunities, fair play

6. Attitude, coping methods

The first issue was to define the current situation of interviewee, what she / he is doing (looking for a job, working, finishing studies, and so on). Earlier plans were discussed, to learn whether there is a mismatch between aspirations and the current reality. Has working life been as expected? The topic of equality of opportunities, such as access to university, was asked. In general, the aim was to find out what is their attitude towards the situation and their feelings regarding it.

4.2.1 Cross cultural interviewing

Cross-cultural interviewing traditionally refers to the collection of interview data across cultural and national borders (Ryen, 2002). In that sense, the data consist of cross-cultural interviews: the interviewees and researcher/interviewer represent different nationalities and cultures (Spanish /Finnish). Thus some aspects of cross-cultural interviewing are considered in this subsection.

Ryen considers the possible challenges in conducting cross cultural interviews and the `insider – outsider` phenomenon (2002, 224). Cross-cultural interviewing traditionally refers to the collection of interview data across cultural and national borders, but as Ryen explains, there are other cultural borders that can be more significant, and therefore the definition is too narrow (2002, 223). Some categories inside a society can lead to insider /outsider problem such as ethnicity and class. Pietilä (2010, 420) also refers to the outsider problem for example when doing research on sub-cultures even though inside one country.

Identification of interviewer and interviewee to the same group and similar lived experiences can help quickly to build rapport and mutual understanding (Rastas, 2005, 87). Despite nationality differences, there were many other categories that the interviewees and interviewers share such as age, generation, university studies and interest in social phenomenon. The European Union was a unifying context and belonging to the so called Erasmus-generation. Having friends from other European countries and studying abroad is common nowadays among this generation. In some cases, the interviewer and interviewee had known each other before the interview. Taking into account all these aspects, insider / outsider problem is not that significant, although it is about intercultural interviewing, and the nationality of interviewees was different. According to Michalski & Tallberg (1999) the differences between countries are not essential anymore in globalised and integrated Europe but the major gap exists nowadays between generations. That notion is supported in this research.

The intercultural interviews the interviewees often explain phenomena in more detail because the interviewer is not expected to share cultural knowledge. At best, this can be a real advantage: the interviewee starts reflecting and explaining issues that normally would be taken for granted (Pietilä, 2010, 416). In this research, the interviewees many times asked whether the interviewer was familiar with some details of Spanish society. In many cases the interviewees on their own initiative explained in detail about the function of Spanish system, such as the Spanish competitive examination and scholarships.

Interculturality can be also considered a benefit in this research that is mainly interested in university graduates. It has to be kept in mind that researcher is soon in a very similar situation that the interviewees: up to finish academic studies and entering the labour market. There is thus a risk that the interviewer too closely identifies with the subjects. There are then difficulties to maintain professional distance and instead report everything from the subject's perspective (Kvale, 1996, 118). Different nationality and thus different labour perspectives even though in the EU then give distance between the interviewer and interviewee. For example studying the situation of Finish university graduates would have been a topic that is too close to the interviewer and the objectivity could be easily lost.

Ilkka Pietilä (2010, 411- 412) reminds that it is important to consider how processing data in different phases of research differs from analysing data in the researcher's mother language and what possible challenges that may cause and how to avoid them. The researcher should then reflect what it his/ her relationship to the language and culture that the interviews represent. Sufficient language skills are an unquestionable requirement for analysing data in a foreign language about another culture. However, as language skills cannot be separated from acquaintance with the culture, the researcher needs to be also familiar with the local culture, habits and rules of face to face communication (Pietilä, 2010, 364). As Ryen (2001, 324) explains, it is not enough to know the vocabulary and grammar in order to make intercultural interviews but other communicational skills are needed. After living and studying for two years in Spain in Spanish, the interviewer can be said to have sufficient knowledge about the culture and sufficient language skills to conduct the interviews, and to analyse them in their local context. Pietilä also highlights the importance of being acquainted with the local culture, society and history (2010, 419-420). Otherwise, the researcher could easily analyse the data from the point of view of his/ her own culture. For example, interpreting young people living with parents in Spanish society is very different from Finnish society.

Interaction is considered essential element in the process of information production (Pietilä 2010, 412; Ruusuvuori & Tiittula 2005). The researcher needs to reflect about his/ her role in the data collection process in any social research but reflecting the interviewer's role is even more important when data is in a foreign language. The researcher has to consider to what extent the interview is based on interaction between two represents of two different cultures. Do the interviewees speak in a different way to a foreign research compared to a native one? According to Pietilä (2010, 421), when the interviews deal with the situation of the country and social phenomena, there inevitable arises a composition where the interviewee has the role of representative of his / her country. In this interaction there then develops a comparative position.

From a comparative position in intercultural interviewing, there is a context for comparison. In this research interviews the common context that serves as a frame, could be the European Union or Europe in general. Spain and Finland are both members of the EU, and also share the common currency. For that reason, it is a natural background for comparison. Also an important point is that the interviewees and the interviewer represent the Erasmus generation that had the possibility to study in another European country and for which European integration is more concrete than just economic integration. The interviewers often refer to the European Union when speaking about the situation in Spain and when thinking about emigration. As Pietilä (ibid., 420) reminds in cultural studies the outsider / insider position is not only about the country but there are several other aspects as well.

Comparative perspectives can lead to a position where the interviewee embellish cultural characteristics or in a way defends the culture against accusations from outside (Pietilä, 2010 416). In these interviews, that kind of discourse was not that manifest. On the contrary, the interviewers strongly expressed their negative considerations about their country using strong expressions such as F-24.

F-24: *Spain is a very sad country. Spain is turning into a country of the Third World.*

Pietilä (2010, 416.) describes another possible way of presenting the home country in an intercultural interview. Instead of defending, the interviewee might also have an over critical perception of his/ her culture and society as the interviewer is not expected to start defending the good sides of the common home country. That might have been the case in some interviews of this research. Strong criticism might also show something about the frustration of the Spanish youth in general. They do not feel that they are being heard in the current economic situation, so they feel relieved when someone is interested in their situation and lived experience. In some cases, criticism of the Spanish politicians could be detected, if there was a wish to let the exterior world know what is occurring in Spain. Pietilä (ibid,) reminds that interview speech is to some extent always dedicated to someone public, and for that reason it is necessary to consider which particular instance the interviewer represents for the interviewees. In some cases, the interviewer represented the outside world and in some a counterpart belonging to the same European generation.

4.3 Snowball sampling as method of finding interviewees

The interviewees were found by snowball sampling. The interviewees and friends helped to find interviewees in a similar situation willing to be interviewed. In the snowball method, the research subjects are named by initial research subject and the method takes advantage of social networks of the subjects (Atkinson & Flint, 2004, 1043-1044). It can be so called as informal method to reach the target population. That method seemed to work well in the research although that was not the original idea of finding interviewees.

According to the initial idea there were announcements left in public places where young people and academics usually visit. The one left in the public library, that is popular among people, but no answers ever came from there. The other place was an occupied house that works as a social center where people organise different kind of cultural and educational events such as concerts and lectures on societal issues. The place can be considered a meeting point for politically aware people, who are supposed to be willing to share their experiences, such as those who actively participate in the 15th of May-movement. However, no answers ever came from there either. Perhaps people were not willing to open their hearts to a foreigner and a stranger, maybe they did not find the announcements or the research idea attractive enough (lacking financial incentive) or maybe there was some other unknown barriers; finding people through announcements did not have any positive outcome.

Snowball sampling turned out to be most the effective method for finding interviewees in this research. The method has been criticised as it selects the subjects and it is not representative as a random sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2004, 1044). The criticisms might be justified in this research. The interviewees might represent in some extent same study field and they are not indeed representative group of the whole Spanish or Andalusia university graduates. However, being such small case study, the aim is not to generalise the results to whole Spanish population, so representativeness is a secondary question.

The snowball sampling method was not only the most efficient one but also the most suitable for this research. It could be that people at the end are not that willing to speak to a totally stranger and in this case even to a foreigner, and so a common acquaintance is needed in between. That was a surprise as people have been expressing their thoughts and demonstrating openly against precarity among other things on the Spanish streets during the last year. Snowball sampling is often used in qualitative research to access population that are marginalised, stigmatised or member of elite (Atkinson & Flint, 2004, 1044). Spanish university graduates at the time of crisis indeed do not represent the latter category. But the question arises whether these people then find themselves so stigmatized, that the only way to reach them should be through friends? If it is so, in a country with such high (youth) unemployment rates would be alarming.

4.4 Challenges of transcription and translating foreign data

In this section, the challenges of data transcription and translating are considered. The questions of transcribing and translation were very present in this research project as the interviews were conducted in Spanish and then the data extracts were translated into English. Neither of the two languages are a mother tongue of the researcher, which made the translation project more challenging. Transcribing and translating data is not just about techniques and making practical choice but they processes that modify the data (Nikander, 2010, 432). Neither are they separate, mechanic phases but an essential part qualitative analysis, as transcription and translating form part of the validity of qualitative research. For that reason it is needed to consider them more closely.

According to Ruusuvuori (2010, 427) transcription – speech converted into text - is already once interpreted version of the analyzable phenomenon. During the transcription process, the researcher constantly makes choices which part of the information is relevant in order to understand the communication. Editing data, in a way or in another, is always interpretational and thus according to scientific rules the researcher should aim at transparency of these interpretations (Ruusuvuori, 2010, 428). Therefore, all the transcriptions of the interviews were given to interviews that they could check whether their ideas were understood correctly. In the case of interviews in foreign language, this is even more important because misunderstandings are more probable. Thus, giving the data transcriptions to the interviewees was made not just for the transparency of the data but also for linguistic reasons. However, that was also an ethical consideration: the interviewees have right to see check that they their message has been understood.

The adequate accuracy of transcription depends on the research method and on the research question (Ruusuvuori 2010, 424). Conversational research is interested in how things are said, for example it is necessary to transcript pauses, tone of voice and style. When the research is more interested in what has happened, a less accurate way of transcription is sufficient. That is the case of this research: it is sufficient to transcript what is said, not how. The method of analysis – qualitative content analysis- is not that much interested linguistic questions such as semantic, word order etc. The categories can be found without having linguistic analysis. However, as Tiittula and Ruusuvuori (2005) remind us that in that kind of transcription it is also necessary to transcribe also interviewer's comments and questions to ensure that the researcher is able to analyse how the formulation of the questions might have affected the given answer. Naturally, the data transcription are also included the questions made by the researcher, not just the interviewee's comments.

Another interpretative aspect that comes to the transcription that Kvale also mentions is the difference between written and oral language (1996, 161). Transcription is a transformation of one oral mode – oral discourse – into another narrative mode – written discourse. For that reason transcription produces artificial constructs that are not adequate to either oral conversation or to formal written style texts and they are thus decontextualised and detemporalised conversations.

Nikander (2010, 435) reminds us that, translating data is actually a double translation as it has been already transcribed first. One can also consider that taping that just captures the voice, is also modifying. So, the data has been “filtered” or modified two or three times and the version that is used in the analysis (even the analysis based on the Spanish transcripts) have inevitably lost some of its elements. Thus, the data no longer provides a rich field for delicate linguistic analysis or building up narratives. Instead of how things are said, it will still after filtering provide some facts about the reality of Spanish young people lives and their feelings. However, the interviewees can be seen as informants about their lives and they are supposed to reflect the reality in which the interviewees live. There is no reason to assume that the interviewees would lie or try to conceal the truth, however, the interaction, to some extent, always has an effect on the data.

The interpretational nature of translation and the transcription project was very concretely present also in this research process. There were several occasions when there were more than one possible ways of expressing a word or a saying. I always tried to find the most suitable one, taking into account the real message behind that expression. Dictionaries, googling and asking friends were of great help. However, there were occasions such as sayings, when it was not possible to find any translation without losing the real essence of the saying. As Nikander points out there is neither perfect translation nor transcription but that should not be seen a problem (Nikander 2010, 442). The most important is that the researcher reflects his / her role in that process.

4.5 Ethical considerations

According to Kvale, interview inquiry is amoral. The interaction during interview affects the interviewee; meanwhile the knowledge that the interview produces affects the understanding of human situation. There are three ethical aspects that need to be taken into account in interview research: consent, confidentiality and consequences (Kvale, 1996, 109). These three aspects are considered in this section.

All the interviewees were asked their consent. The interviewees were explained the purpose of the study: it is a Master's Thesis for a Finnish university about the situation of Spanish university graduates. They were told that their interviews make the core data of the investigation and for that reason their voluntary participation is of great value. They have right to refuse to answer some questions and they have also right to see and change the transcripts of the data afterwards. There were some delicate issues that people might not speak openly. In Spain, money can be considered that kind of private family issue, whereas politics is often openly spoken about. During the interview process the interviewer tried always to be sensitive to the interviewees whether she or he was actually was willing to give details about economic situation of the family. If not, no extra questions were made. Semi-structured, open interview made this possible. Open interviews allow the subject to come up with topic but it also gives them freedom to not to speak about some topics or to at least choose, to which extent they want to speak about them. In that sense, semi-structured interview can be considered also ethically suitable data-gathering method for this research.

Confidentiality means that private data identifying the subjects will not be reported. In this research, naturally no names were mentioned. Gender and age were mentioned to make the written presentation clearer. The study programs were not named and the details about universities were not given. Transcription is also question of confidentiality the transcription needs to be loyal with the interviewee's oral statements (Kvale, 111). The interviewees were sent the transcription of their interview and they had possibility to make corrections. They helpfully did some orthographic corrections but no significant changes of the content were done. For the validity of data, it was unquestionable that the interviewees had access to their data after the interviews especially when the interviews were conducted in a foreign language.

Confidentiality is closely related to rapport between the researcher and the interviewees. To make the data collection easier, the researcher needs to establish a good relationship and rapport with the field and with the interviewees (Ryen, 2001, 336). Age, a similar university background and interests have helped to create good relationship between the interviewees and interviewer. In general, those who were willing to be interviewed can be assumed to be interested in social issues so they share the interest in the topic with the researcher. Also, as the interviewees were found by snowball sampling, many of them were friends of friends and so the interviewer and the interviewees were not total strangers. This fact surely has helped to build trust. Taking that into account, there is no reason to assume that the interviewer would have lied or changed their stories.

Possible consequences to the interviewee for participation should be considered. Risk of harm to a subject should be as minimal as possible (Kvale, 1996, 116). In this study, possible risks would be that the interviewers would be recognised and their criticism toward the system and politics would cause them some kind of harm such as losing a job opportunity. However, this risk is minimal not only because the anonymity has been guaranteed but also because the research is conducted for a university outside of the country of origin of the interviewees. That fact might have encouraged the interviewees to speak more openly. According to Kvale (ibid.), it should be ideally reciprocity what the subject gives and receives from the participation in the investigation and careful listening can serve as a benefit. It was surely the researcher who received more than the interviewees: without their voluntary participation the research would have not been possible at all. However, a careful listening by someone outside of their country and interest with their situation can be seen as an act of solidarity.

4.6 Qualitative content analysis as method of analysis

According to Kvale (1996, 187) the purpose of qualitative research interview is to find a description and interpretation of themes in the subject's lived world. He differentiates five approaches to qualitative analyses of meaning of interviews: condensation, categorisation, narrative, interpretation and *ad hoc*. Categorizing is in line with positivist emphasis on quantification of facts among social sciences but as Kvale (1996, 199) reminds, it is not limited to it. Categorisation can be used for analyzing qualitative material.

Content analysis is one of the most widely used methods in social sciences. Nevertheless, just two decades ago it was mostly known in communication sciences and the journalistic field but due to the technological revolution the method has gained much more use in the social sciences. The qualitative content analysis differs from document analysis in a very essential way: the latter limits its interest strictly only into the manifest content of text. Qualitative content analysis in contrast, leads the researcher beyond the content (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1996, 195). One of the main developers of the method, Klaus Krippendorff (2004, xx) for that reason, criticises the term content analysis because the method takes into account much more than the content itself (although Krippendorff himself continues using the term).

The first core idea of the method is to fit the text into a model of communication (Mayring, 2000, 2). No text has appeared from the abyss but they all have their communicators, receiver and situation of text production. Content analysis takes into account the context where there text was born, socio-cultural background of its communicators, receiver and author. For that reason, for example, interculturality is taken into account in this research. As propaganda researchers already observed in the 1930s and 1940s, a message can be understood in an essentially different way depending on the receiver (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1996, 196). Thus, qualitative content analysis, despite having a strong base in quantitative text analysis, can be considered a suitable method for analyzing qualitative interviews as it is sensitive method for analyzing the context of the interview.

Content analysis can be used for all kind of texts: letters, newspapers, diaries, official documents, books, and often transcripts of interviews as it is the case in this research. The texts are understood in their wider meaning: they can also mean paintings or videos. The original text itself is not actually the object of analysis; it should be better understood as a field of information. By careful reading, the researcher picks information from that field and then the information is analysed and interpreted (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1996, 197).

The centre of content analysis is formed by categories that are carefully founded and revised again within the analysis (Mayring, 2000, 3). This means coding and reducing the data into smaller, meaningful and analyzable units that can be interpreted afterwards. However, it is important to remember that coding is not analysis itself, but it should be seen as a process that prepares and organises the data for analysis and interpretation (Atkinson & Coffey, 1996, 26). Categorisation should better to be understood as a tool that structures extensive and complex interviews (Kvale, 1996, 199).

According to Philipp Mayring (2000), there are two ways to approach the data: inductive category development and deductive category application (3-4). The inductive approach means that the categories are derived from the data and revised again whereas the second approach works on the data with criteria defined beforehand, based on theoretical assumptions. However, this division is not clear and choosing one, does not necessarily mean excluding the other. According to Silverman (1993, 10) the aim in qualitative analysis, in general, is to understand the participants categories and how these are seen in activities. This research represents very much this kind of qualitative tradition. Thus, the categories are more data-derived. In the social sciences positivistic approach using quantitative methods seeks to discover laws whereas qualitative methodology often induces hypothesis from field research.

The criteria for categorisation are diverse: they can be theoretical concepts, grammatical categories, themes that surge from the data or ideas that the researcher has etc. As Krippendorff puts it “how categories are defined is an art” (Krippendorff, 1990, 70). Creating categories needs clear analytical thinking. One of the main reasons for success or failure of the analysis depends on choosing the criteria (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1996, 206).

In this research, the categories were not defined beforehand because the research is very much data centric and aims, as much as possible, to give voice to data and thus, the interviewees behind it. Of course, the topic of the research was defined before which together with semi-structured interviews, and that fact limits the categories that actually emerge from the data and the topics that the interviewees highlight. As Ruiz Olabuénaga (1996, 206) encapsulates, the actual content of texts is much richer and unforeseeable than one can determine in advance and that was true in this analysis.

Even though creating categories is not a simple linear task (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1996, 207), there needs to be starting point in category creation. A careful reading of the data was the first step to start the coding and the analysis process. That happened during the transcription of the data that demanded various times of careful listening. During these phases the data became more familiar and thus it was possible to create initial categories for analysis. There were clear common properties in the different parts of data and in coding these different parts were linked together and given a common label, that is the code (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, 27).

According to Seidel and Kelle (1995, 55-56), coding has three operations: firstly, noticing a relevant phenomenon, secondly collecting examples of that phenomenon and thirdly, finding commodities, differences and patterns in those found phenomena. It was clear to find common phenomena in the data. The first raw data coding resulted in seven codes. There were several commonalities found in the interviews such as precarity, political awareness, a need for stability and similar future perspectives. Therefore attaching codes was not difficult. However, at the end finding linkages between them was a more difficult task. So the analytical work as Coffey and Atkinson (1996, 27) call linking segments together, did not work. The other problem was that the data did not necessarily reduce; it was just organised in a different manner, but not in simpler format. It had to be kept in mind that the idea of content analysis is to reduce the data to its simpler form, leaving just the essential points (Krippendorff, 1980). So the first attempts of coding did not help in preparing data for the analysis and a new approach was needed in order to proceed with the data analysis.

However, even though the first attempt did not yield the expected results, it was useful as it enabled to work out what to do next. It showed what not do and then brought the process back to the beginning. As Ruiz Olabuénaga (1996, 201) states, qualitative analysis never is linear but circular. The researcher continues to the next step and then often comes back to the first phase, giving it richer information. That indeed happened and neither the analysis nor the coding process was linear in any of the phases of the analysis.

Segmenting data by coding which means attaching codes, it is possible to reflect how different topics are related to each other (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, 37). The segmenting process is not analysis by itself but better understood as thinking what the linkages are between these categories. Noticing the first category helped to continue with more fruitful categories and then finding linkages between them. In this research, the categories make a linear continuum. One category leads to another one and so on. The first category served then as a cornerstone for constructing all the other categories and is a fundamental starting point for the whole content analysis process. Coffey & Atkinson (1996, 42) also mention that staying close to the interviewee's own category, can help to categorise the data further and so help to create a linkage between them. In this research, starting with a date-derived category emphasises the data-derived approach of the whole research. Instead of verifying beforehand set theories, the research aims at understanding the world from its participants categories as it is typical in qualitative research in general (Silverman 1993, 10).

Coffey and Atkinson (1996, 48) state, that the establishment of ordered relationships between codes and concepts is the starting point for reflection and for theory building from qualitative data. Even though this research is too small to create new theories, the inductive approach instead of deductive is more suitable and then ordering categories is the thread of the analysis. In this categorical analysis, a category then leads to another. The first category is turn that was reflected in the speech of interviewees. In their speech, the interviewees divide the time in the Spanish society before and after the crisis and that division can be also reflected in their personal lives. A question rises why it is so? What has changed in the reality of the interviewees? The second category is the answer to this question. The third category is derived from the first two categories: how do the interviewees feel in the changed situation? The last category, coping methods instead is interested, what do they actually do in their situation?

The categories of analysis are the following:

1. Turn

In their speech, the interviewees make a division between before and after the crisis. Thus, the crisis means a turn in their lives and Spanish society.

2. Insecurity and fear

The crisis has caused increasing insecurity and fear in the social reality of the interviewees.

3. Frustration

Frustration amongst the interviewees is remarkable. The crisis has limited their opportunities both in working and in personal lives.

4. Coping methods

To handle the frustration and increasing insecurity, the interviewees have developed coping strategies.

5. Results of analysis in the light of structural violence

In the methodology chapter, the method of analysis was presented and it was also explained how the method was applied in order to analyse the collected data. This chapter considers the results of the analysis and then reflects these data-derived findings with Galtung's theory of structural violence and thus, aims to answer the research question *how do the Spanish university graduates perceive structural violence in the context of the economic crisis?* Do the results of the analysis have some features that can be considered structural violence as defined in the theory chapter?

The chapter is divided in two: first subchapter consists of the categories that can be considered interviewees' perceptions of structural violence. Then, second subchapter presents the methods that are coping methods for structural violence. Each category of analysis is carefully considered in its own sub-section in the linear order in which the categories are related to each other. The phenomenon that each category represents has examples from the data. These data extracts are in cursive. As already mentioned earlier, interviewees are identified by their gender either F or M and their age meanwhile I stand for the interviewer.

The idea of coding is to identify phenomena, examples of them and then different patterns in these found phenomena (Seidel & Kelle, 1995, 55-56). The data contains various phenomena but single phenomenon has commodities and differences which are seen here as a subcategories of one phenomenon. For example the second category, frustration has various different causes and manifestations such as involuntary independence on parents and professional frustration. Those different patterns to which Seidel & Kelle refer to, are here subcategories. For making the categorizing and subcategories more understandable and reader friendly, each category has its own section and also subcategories are considered in their own, smaller sections.

5.1 Perceptions of structural violence

5.1.1 Turn

The first category is a data-derived one. This was a phenomenon that continuously arose in the speech and expressions of all the interviewees. As this research is very much grounded in the data, and the data consists of unstructured, thematic interviews, the topic needs to be taken into account in the analysis and in the interpretation. It is a topic that makes its own category for the analysis.

In the interviews it can be seen how the crisis is considered as a turning point in the society and in the lives of the interviewees. The turn has its temporal dimension: the interviewee uses words to mark the time *before* and then *after* the crisis. This temporal dimension is closely linked to other turn that the economic crisis has brought in the society: the turn from security towards uncertainty.

According to Silverman (1993, 10) the general aim in qualitative analysis, in general, is to understand the participants categories and how these are seen in concrete activities. In this case, speech of interviewees is the concrete activity where this category can be detected. The interviewees use expressions linked to time that express division between the time before and after the crisis. There are single words that reflect that division and they are in bold in the transcription such as *at the moment*, *nowadays*, *today*, *now*, *this year*, *suddenly*.

5.1.1.1 Unemployment, cuts and reforms

Thus, the crisis is like a watershed of social reality of these Spanish people. There is present certain insecurity that did not exist before. Everyone is aware how things were before, but no one is certain about the future. Labour life and education that used to be organised in a certain way such as public scholarships, public posts and labour arrangements have all been changed and will be changed due to the budget cuts and various reforms performed by the government. Those changes have a direct influence on the lives of interviewees. The crisis is present in lives of interviewees, as well as in the society around them, and they see instability and poverty around them as the next comments reveal:

F-32: *Now the poverty exists. Poverty has already permeated the society.*

F-32: *At the moment there is not much stability, anywhere.*

The comment by F-32 is very illustrative. In her labour life, the crisis means involuntary precarity.

F-34: *Yes because earlier I suffered from precarity because I wanted to do many things. But at the moment, nowadays, I think there is labour precarity, and it's not optional. And yes, that makes you afraid.*

She states that she experienced precarity before as well but because she chose it voluntarily. When she was younger she preferred some forms of precarity that has permitted her freedom to travel and concentrate on other things important at that stage of life instead of committing to work. Nowadays, however, she experiences labour precarity against her will, when she would prefer having security and stability that would allow to pay monthly mortgage and to concentrate on family life. However, the crisis has made this dream complicated. Her ironic comment is that for choosing to study sociology, which working possibilities are rather ambiguous, she has always had difficulties. But now the country is also in crisis, it is more difficult.

F-34: *I have always been in crisis. But what happens is that it's used to be only me and now it's the country.*

She also adds that it is not just her who but in the whole society it is the labour life that very much defines how people can organize their lives. The possibilities are becoming more limited and more unequal in the Spanish society. That fits the definition of structural violence: the life changes are constrained (Galtung, 1969, 170).

F-34: *I think nowadays working life is conditioning the life of all Spaniards.*

Unemployment rates are also a way to change how people experience reality. When statistics are said to be alarming, people start to lose their trust in finding suitable work. Furthermore, seeing academic people leave the country indicates that the working possibilities are increasingly limited for young people. Unemployment and emigration are not just issues that can be read in papers, but they are factual phenomena that are happening in the lives of these people, as well as, in the circle of acquaintances of interviewees.

M-28: *At the moment the situation is very difficult here in Spain. There are many unemployed people; I have many friends who are working abroad.*

I: *Can trust that your work gives you security, money to live?*

M-29: *Nowadays, I can't. First, because among young people there is a high percentage of unemployment and many are unemployed. Then for the labour reform work that has been done, it's much easier to fire people who have a job.*

The interviewees often mention the reforms implemented by the government and refer to them as a step backwards. Due to the labour reform, the labour rights have been modified and also the civil servants position that has been considered safe in dual labour market cannot provide same security as before. These institutional changes reflect a more significant change: the values and the principles of the society have converted into more tough in general.

I: *So you think that a work as a civil servant gives you more stability compared with some other jobs?*

F-34: *Nowadays, a lot of reforms that are occurring or are going to occur, I have no idea but **in the past**, yes. In the past, if you get a post as civil servant, you knew that you will stay there for the rest of your life.*

I: *Because the system does allow it (cheating on people)?*

M-29: *It is allowed because worker rights are worse. **Before** the rights weren't like this and the employees saw a duty to cheat and defraud the government. **Now** the rights have been cut down.*

It is not just the implemented reforms that have had an effect on the way of thinking of the interviewees, but also the insecurity of the possible prospective changes. No one knows what the future will bring but people seem to be prepared for new institutional changes. The implemented reforms and their timetable have been rather rigid and some of them against the election promises that the conservative party made in during the election campaign. The trust in the state has been hit hard. This finding is in the line with earlier studies on the effect of economic crisis on young people (Giuliano & Spilimbergo, 2009).

I: *Can you trust the state?*

F-32: *Nowadays, I can't. In state as a political formula, yes. But in state as social administrator, not.*

5.1.1.2 Less equality in education

The equality in education has been one of the targets and main values of the Spanish university system that saw its expansion in the 1990's (Rahona, 2007). However, the current crisis threatens that equality and in that sense can be seen as a watershed in the Spanish education system. Education and scholarships have not avoided the scissors either. The interviewees also speak about the turn when it comes to the Spanish educational system and scholarships.

I: *What about scholarships? Can you get a grant if you are doing a PhD?*

F-25: *In theory I should have a scholarship called FBU. But due to the change of government there are no scholarships available this year. The grants haven't been announced and they should be because it's a support that has **always** existed and it gives more or less for living.*

F-25: ***This year** they haven't been announced. They should have been announced in February. It something that has been given and it should continue to occur that way. But **suddenly** they don't announce the grant, no one answers to you, you send letters to the ministry and no one knows anything. And they send you from one place to another; don't pick up the phone...*

The comments of this 25 year old interviewee reveal how unexpected and sudden the changes have been. Something that has *always* existed is *suddenly* gone with no warning. The frustration arises when no one seems to take the responsibility of the current situation. The crisis has caused disillusionment with government practices among youth, similarly as in Sri Lankan case (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009).

Both males 29 and 28 years old also see that it is getting more difficult to study if you or your family, do not have economic resources. As the scholarships are frozen, one should finance the studies by working but in the current situation there is less and less work available, which logically might prevent people from studying.

M-29: *If you want, you can (study). But **today** during the crisis it's difficult.*

I: *(Because) there is less work?*

M-29: *There is little work so if you don't have a job, it's impossible.*

M-28: *I think it's (starting studying) getting more and more difficult because more and more people have more economic difficulties and don't have the opportunity to help their children to study a degree. They have to work or they don't even do it or either study.*

The economic crisis has thus converted education into a commercial product. There is no equal access to it anymore because that access depends very much on the economic situation of one's family. Unequal access to resources in society, including education, is according to Galtung an example of structural violence (Galtung, 1969, 171). However, education is just one example of growing inequality. It is clear that economic resources are fewer and budget cuts have limited the people's opportunities in life in many other areas such as health care and housing.

5.1.1.3 Turn on perception of poverty

Apparently, the economic crisis has also changed the idea about what is considered precarious. Espido Freire's book (2006) on *Generation of 1000 euros* gained much attention after its publication and later various economists have proved that the *mileurismo* actually is a reality in the Spanish working life. The concept refers to the generation born in the 1970-80's and among whom the proportion of university degree sharply rise causing surplus of qualified workers. This partly worsened the labour conditions and salaries in highly dual labour markets that were already discriminative against newcomers. Earning 1000 euros a month and temporal working contracts were considered precarious, but nowadays it is considered a luxury. That very refers to the concept of relative poverty that means that poverty should be always compared with the mean income of the society.

F-25: *Before in Spain we laughed. You are a mileurista. As you say it sucks. But now if you're a mileurista, you're a king.*

F-32: *And today is a luxury to earn 1000 euro. We have transformed from being Mileuristas to being economic beggars.*

The comments of interviewees reveal that what used to be considered poverty, is now luxury. The general standard of living has experienced a sharp decrease. However, even though the crisis can be seen as watershed in the Spanish labour market, and so in lives of our interviewees, the change has not been that dramatic for university graduates (Moreno, López & Segado 2012, 178). As various researchers have shown, the highly dual Spanish labour market has always had discriminative features against young people and university graduates (for example Karamessini, 2008). The situation that is now difficult, has never been overwhelmingly favourable for young people. As 24 year old interviewee puts it:

F-24: *So the crisis has affected but things went wrong even before. In Spain the things like internship have never worked well and jobs for graduates haven't been well organized.*

Hence, young people and university graduates have suffered from structural violence in the form of precarity already before the economic crisis. Even though a change in the Spanish society can be detected in the speech of the interviewees, it would be incorrect to claim that the structures have converted unequal in one night. In contrary, the change in the labour market has been constant: the labour market has been made more flexible from the 1990s on. Basically, the flexibility has been gained by boosting temporary contracts which labour protection is weak (Bentolila, Cahuc, Dolado & Le Barbanchon, 2011b, 1). These contracts tend to be typical among labour market new comers that are of course, young people and university graduates. This notion complements Galtung's idea of structural violence of being a slow process. Unlike direct violence, it is not a single act that happens in one night (Galtung, 1969, 170).

5.1.2 Insecurity and fear

The first category is turn. As already described before, the crisis has caused insecurity in Spanish society and in the lives of our interviewees. Insecurity is very much equated with labour insecurity. Every one of the interviewees is working in the hidden or formal economy, some with a decent salary. In all cases, jobless is no problem as such but rather the squalid labour conditions that in some case are against the law. Above all, the feeling that they transmitted in the interviews was insecurity but also fear. That word was mentioned various times and always brought out by the interviewees themselves (unlike labour precarity that was asked by the interviewer). Therefore the second category is *insecurity and fear*.

5.1.2.1 Insecurity on work

F-34: *Damn! You are afraid of labour instability. The things that you didn't worry about before, you do now.*

The insecurity that the interviewees experience in their lives is very closely linked with labour precarity. Those who are working recognise that they are lucky to have work. However, the reality is not just that simple. They might be happy to have work but, they are not happy with the precarious labour conditions they have. Many of the interviewees suffer from labour precarity in a way or another: they work only when there is work available, as female-24 and female-32 and male-28, who are both writing books. The instability of work prevents them from making plans and therefore causes insecurity in their lives in general.

F-34: *Yes, actually I'm happy with this job. The only problem of the job is that it's temporal, I don't know for how long it will last. ... I know that now I go home and I have there one book. But tomorrow that guy can call me and tell that there are no more.*

Female-25 has been working without any contract for 6 months. Now she has contract but just for couple of months and she says the work cannot provide her security.

F-25: *Hey! I have four months of security, until July. It doesn't give me real security. Nothing!*

Male-29 is aware that he is quite lucky to have work in his field and also in terms of salary. However, his contract is not legal. He has a trainee contract because that is way for employer to save in social security cost. He is also sent abroad by his Spanish company but with no Spanish contracts during that working period.

M-29: *Well, in terms of salary, good. But whether it comes to the contract, when this trainee contract expires, it will be a contract of Peru, as a freelancer. So I'm working a while but Spain won't recognize the time I'm going to be working, as if I wasn't working at all.*

Female-25 firstly describes the positive side of the work. She found a nice job as an English teacher due to contacts. However, the job definitely has a negative side as she puts it. She was working the first six months with no contract of any kind. When she was finally offered a contract, there was one condition by the employer: she should pay both employer's and her part of the social security payments. As she acknowledges it, that is against the law. However, as a young girl there is no other option.

F-25: *Let's see. I've been here since ... The summer I was going to their home and I started in the school in September. And since September I've been without a contract. So I'm without a contract and that means I have no social security. If I want holiday I can talk to them but I don't have recognised holidays. I'm not paying social security contributions, this doesn't count as work experience. And now they have offered me a contract, at last! This month is the first one, when in theory, I have a contract. But on one condition. I have been offered a contract if I pay the employees half of my social security contributions. That is totally illegal and unconstitutional.*

I: *So you pay all your social security contributions?*

F-25: *I'm not just paying my part, I pay half of what the employer pays. That's why I say that it's not that nice.*

However, when the labour situation is generally poor in the country, one has to resign oneself to labour precarity, even though one knows that it is illegal. As Álvarez (2008, 11) states, the existence of mass unemployment forces workers to accept labour conditions that they would not accept if there was another job available. The employers are aware of this fact and in some cases can use the crisis as an excuse to lessen their social responsibility of their employees as the example of the F-25 shows. That is clearly a social injustice and thus, structural violence. Social justice is then not actual but it can be considered something potential. Social rights have been possible to wider extent to earlier generations in Spain and that shows that they are not just something ideal but also potential in reality.

I: *So what did you say?*

F-25: *Well, yes, because if not, nothing. If I don't take that, I have nothing. I have to go to Mercadona (supermarket).*

The existing lack of security can be also reflected when interviewees talk about their ideal job. No one mentioned anything about salary but other aspects were of major importance: dignity, working conditions, possibility to develop professionally and stability. Essentially, those factors that are missing in their current situation. The question about salary turned out to be a secondary issue. Surprisingly, F-25 was not even able to answer how much money would be enough for living as she is used to getting by with so little. That illustrates something about the current situation. Earning a decent salary seems to be a distant dream to this generation.

F-24: *I don't really know because I've always had to live on a scholarship and I had to live with little. I have no economic ambitions. The truth is that I've never thought about salary ... But a salary that would be enough for living.*

What is remarkable here is that instead of luxuries, security and stability were mentioned. For them money is just an asset to gain independence and stability, not live in luxury. Indeed, the wishes were surprisingly modest in this respect. Galtung and Høivik (1971, 73) raise an important notion on structural violence that fits well with the down-the-earth dream jobs: *the reality should be compared always with potential, not ideal*. The answers reflect the reality where there is indeed a mismatch between the actual and the potential, and not between actual and ideal. Thus, structural violence is present. The interviewees did not wish something ideal such as huge houses, luxurious cars or incredibly high salaries equivalent to those of football players. A job that offers the possibility for a decent life is something potential, not ideal

M-28: *To be able to sustain me until the end of the month. A salary that allows me to live in my own home. I don't need luxury but independence.*

F-24: *Yes, that allows me to manage on and I don't know ... at most, which allows me to travel from time to time. But not a great luxury, no.*

F-34 mentions a specific sum of money to express how much would be enough for living. But still the sum is secondary, it is just that is regular income. It is regularity is what provides security, not the sum itself.

F-34: *I don't need to be millionaire. But if I was paid a salary of 1500 euros, 1200 euros during the rest of my life, I would be the happiest person in the world. Because money gives you security and liberty.*

The comment by M-29 is illustrative of a situation when people are dismissed and labour rights are becoming more limited. He would like to have a job when there is no fear of getting dismissed or “kicked to the street” as he puts it:

I: *What about working conditions?*

M-29: *Well I do not know ... Ordinary? You won't be kicked to the street if you're sick, that there would be regulation.*

As mentioned earlier, the interviewees are socially aware and they feel their situation is unfair. Precarity is not just about money, but also precarious labour conditions that do not offer stability for workers. M-29 shows social responsibility in sense that he does not only wish fair treatment for himself, but he wants fairness for all.

M-29: *I like a job that treats well other people, won't abuse anyone. Like that.*

Female-32 also mentions social justice as an important factor among others. In Galtung's words, structural violence is injustice (Galtung, 1969, 171). It is notable, that the interviewees wish for opposite.

I: *What would your dream job be?*

F-32: *Something that enables me to develop myself with some freedom. With social justice, always aware of the reality that surrounds me. And that it can supposedly allow to have family life, a decent life.*

5.1.2.2 Fear and worries about the future

The insecurity about the future also causes fear. It is not just a feeling of frustration but there is also fear about how things will be in the future, whether the situation continues in the same way. Female-34, who is the oldest of the interviewees, clearly expresses her fear towards the future. She is aware that working possibilities might be even more limited in the future, because of her age.

F-34: *I don't know, it makes me very worried....I think my future is quite ambiguous. First, because of my age, it starts to be a significant age.*

F-34: *And then you see the crisis, and it's not just a crisis in Spain but of the whole system. It makes you negative and you think that the things won't get much better. Or it might be that they get better but within the next 10 years, they will get worse. And in 10 years you aren't 25 anymore, you are 35 or 45. And with 45 years the possibilities are more limited as well, you get scared. It frightens you.*

Male-29 also speaks about the problematic of becoming unemployed when one is not young anymore and at the same time having a family. People are fear of that kind of insecurity.

M-29: *Everyone has a cynical fear of losing work with a fairly high age and having a family.*

His future expectations are not positive and insecurity will not appear anywhere. He is aware that the situation for his generation is going to be difficult and for the aging population and also for lower salaries.

M-29: *And the future is going to be, I think, tough for us. First, there won't be young people who would pay the pensions because the population is aging and there are far fewer people and fewer children. And then because of the poor salary we'll have, it will be gloomy future.*

Female-25 also speaks about the fear that now exists in Spanish society for the crisis. She sees that fear of losing job makes people vulnerable and easy to manipulate.

I: *Do you think that the employers are actually taking advantage of the crisis? That people are desperate and they are taking advantage of the situation?*

F-25: *Totally. It's kind of about the culture of fear that the media is cultivating. Everything will be difficult, everything goes to hell. The culture of fear is what always has terror; it makes you very vulnerable to everything and easy to manipulate.*

According to female-25 the fear is thus cultivated in the society and it is a way to govern people and to implement reforms. The media is used to justify strict policy and budget cuts: that is cultural violence that justifies structural violence (Galtung, 1993).

5.1.3 Frustration

If one should choose only one single word to describe the feeling of interviewees, frustration could be an adequate option. Thus, it makes it the third category of analysis. All of the interviewees feel frustration in one way or another is caused by different factors. Precarious labour conditions and unemployment prevent them from achieving their goals of emancipation from their parents and from living life as independent adults, and in that sense move forward in life. In the air there is also awareness that having family without proper job may not be possible in the future. To conclude, frustration arises as one is not able to live ones life as one prefers. This definition is very much in line with Galtung`s definition of structural violence. *Structural violence happens when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realization* (1969). Thus, it can be said, that the frustration is caused by structural violence.

5.1.3.1 Involuntary dependence on parents

The involuntary dependency on family also caused frustration among the interviewees. Due to economic problems caused by unemployment or labour precarity, people are still dependent on their family. During the crisis people who had achieved independence are returning home. Late emancipation from their parents prevented them from living fully independent and adult lives, and having a family of their own. Again, that is a situation when one's realisation is below the potential realisation. The decision of having or not having a family should be a person's free choice, not one of economic necessity. When people are denied that freedom of decision regarding such an important issue due to economic factors, there is indeed structural violence present.

F-25: *You have to be dependent on your parents. They keep on supporting you when perhaps you want some autonomy, you want to be independent but you can't because there is no option to be.*

I: *But have you attained independence?*

F-24: *I've returned to my parents place. I had to return back home because of the labour situation.*

All these previous comments reflect that living with parents is not voluntary. As female-24 says, she *had* to return back. Also female-25 speaks about dependence on parents as *there is no option*. Male-28 also tells that by now he had never had the possibility to emancipate from his parents because of the labour precarity he had experienced in his life.

M-29: *I haven't attained independent, ever. And I'm 29 years old. 29 years. That's tough.*

The comment by male-29 is very illustrative. When one is turning 30, it is not easy to still be dependent on one's parents and family. As he says, it is *tough*. He also continues that many people are now returning to their parental home, which is not easy as he says that they are not free and cannot do what they want. That comment concludes the frustration that living at parental home causes: one is not able to live as one wishes.

M-29: *Many people are also returning to their parental home, at the age of 40. And young people can't have children, they can't become independent. With parents they aren't free, after all, can't do what they want.*

5.1.3.2 Incapacity of making plans

The frustration is caused by the precarity that prevents one from preparing for the future. One has to live day-by-day as everything is insecure: your contract might not be renewed; your boss might not call you and offer work. Insecurity affects daily life and short-term plans, such as leisure and long term plans, such as moving from parental home and having a family. As Bentolila, Dolado & Jimeno Labour remind us, precarity causes insecurity as people are not able to plan their lives in the long term (2008, 55). That decreases youth emancipation, the possibilities to have one's own family, and further geographical mobility. The future perspectives are taken away. The interviewees felt unsatisfied with their work, especially with the inherent instability. As a comparative study on European university graduates shows, there is a clear link between job stability and satisfaction: the more stable the job, the more satisfied the people are (Cereq, 2000).

F-34: *Above all it (labour precarity) makes you feel insecure. It produces a lot of insecurity because you can't make plans. Any kind of future plans.*

I: *Such as?*

F-34: *Well something as simple as traveling. For example I would like to go on a trip in August but I can't because you don't know if you find a job in August or if you are laid off in August. Not short-term nor long-term. Long-term if you are planning to buy a house, have a family. Many things.*

Female-25 also tries to avoid making any plans because she knows that they will not come true. She says to do so in order to avoid disappointment and then frustration. However, the situation with no plans can be frustrating.

I: *I wanted to ask you if you are able to make long term plans in the situation.*

F-25: *In the long run, no. Not because you wouldn't like to, but because you often say I know how things are now but I don't know how they will be within 6 months. So I can get an idea of what I want or not but I can't make a fixed idea because if you don't fulfill it, it will frustrate you. You get depressed. So I want to look how things develop and not to make concrete plans because I've done it before and it hasn't worked and I have been left feeling frustrated. And to avoid that in the end, I keep on getting the same but resulting that my mental health won't deteriorate.*

5.1.3.3 Professional frustration

The frustration is also professional. In current economic situation finding a job in their field, or any other job is difficult. The frustration of being overqualified for the job they were doing is evident. In the case of over-education that is characteristic of the Spanish labour market, mental realisation is indeed below the potential realisation. The mismatch between one's educational level and requirements of job in the Spanish labour market is also a mismatch between the potential and the actual and thus, structural violence.

The interviewees say to look for work constantly and everywhere. Of course, different disciplines have different employment possibilities, independent of the economic situation. Humanities and social sciences are fields of study that do not offer certain working possibilities and the jobs are very different. Interviewees state that they have been aware of that fact, but still facing this reality has been a shock. Looking for a job with no result is depressing.

I: *So it came as no surprise that suddenly there was no work?*

F-24: *Hey! I knew that but I thought that would still find it. It's suddenly hard to face reality that you can't find work after devoting so much time to studies.*

Engineers tend to have more opportunities for finding work than for example social scientists. According to Albert (2003) individuals who have studied technical sciences, informatics or business administration, tend to find job in a shorter time, compared to other fields of studies. However, male-29 who has studies engineering, has found it very difficult to find a job against his and academic expectations.

M-29: *I thought I would immediately find work in any company. And that they would take me, pay me well and train me. But the reality is not like that at all!*

Many interviewees expressed that they have chosen the study their degree because of vocation and they really want to dedicate themselves to it. They are talented people who have experience, education and professional ambitions. Gaining their daily bread is not the only motivation to work but also professional development and strong vocation to their subject of study. However, their knowledge and human capital are not used. There indeed is distance between the actual and the potential.

I: *Is it hard (to do your current work as sale assistant)?*

F-25: *Yes, because what good was gaining a degree if I am just going to work in a shop?*

However, it would be incorrect to claim that the professional development only is the strongest motivation. In contrary, there seem to be a strong will and need to contribute to the society and be useful for it, not just strive for individual development.

F-32: *I always thought that in the future I could be useful for the society I live in.*

I: *But is not that easy to do so?*

F-32: *No, it's not easy. The system is limiting our capacities and possibilities*

F-32: *In Spain, the opportunities to work in an occupation that one is educated for are very difficult. For economic reasons you have to take any job.*

In that sense, interviewees seem to share social awareness. That might make their situation even more contradictory. They feel that they have lot to contribute to the society but it does not give them a chance to do so. Female-32 expresses that kind of frustrating situation clearly. She feels that she has lot to contribute but the society does not appreciate her knowledge.

I: *I think you have lot of experience and many courses. Have they been useful?*

F-32: *Yes, to gain knowledge. But you collide with the reality and then you can't apply that knowledge. You learn, you grow but then the system doesn't reward you.*

F-32: *I'm 32 years, I'm sufficiently prepared and I can't practice my profession or to work at all. And on the other hand the government doesn't respond to this situation.*

24-year old interviewee expresses well the labour situation of her generation. Many of them not just have studies but also working experience as intern. She for example has done three different professional internships but those internships do not guarantee entrance to the real labour market and employment.

I: *Ok. Do you think that these things you have done have helped you to find work, or in general in your labour life?*

F-24: *Relatively. I have learnt many things and the truth is that they have opened me many doors but not to jobs. They just open doors to other internships but not to real jobs.*

These feelings of frustration are closely related to the disappointment of having not found an adequate job. That is shown as disappointment with the entire system and the country. The interviewees feel that they have been betrayed by the system and by the government; all their years of studies and effort have not guaranteed a job. At the end, the question of finding adequate work is about dignity as female-24 expresses it. She feels that the Spanish government does not appreciate its young people and the effort they have done.

F-24: *Well, Spain doesn't appreciate its university graduates. Spain is making everyone to leave. It's not just about the money they give to you, it is about dignity, they don't respect you. In Spain people who have devoted their time to studies and educating themselves, don't get any respect.*

F-24: *Do you still want to say something?*

F-24: *I do not know ... I think many people in Spain, many young people and especially we who have studied are very disappointed with Spain, with the way how Spain has treated us. And I think for that reason the next generations will emigrate from Spain. I don't know what our children will think of Spain because it is a country which government has failed to respect its population. We will be a generation, some generations, as our ancestors that have to emigrate to look for a future that we don't find here. It's the sad reality of a country that is sinking.*

Female-32 also shares the same frustration. For her the term lost generation feels like a personal insult that she has to carry.

F-32: *Well, personally, the term lost generation bothers me tremendously. Because while belonging to that generation, that we supposedly are the best educated in our history, they call us a lost generation. I think it is the country that has lost.*

Distrust of and dissatisfaction with the government is clearly expressed in all interviewees. The interviewees felt that in the name of the economic crisis, their social rights have been reduced. They are aware that their rights as citizens, as employees and as human beings are being infringed. That result of distrust is no surprise when taking into account the recent study from Spain on the effect of crisis (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012). What is remarkable is that this kind of distrust caused by economic crisis during early adulthood can be long-lasting (Giuliano & Spilimbergo, 2009). Mistrust can be considered as sign of breaking social cohesion and so it is alarming. As the study about Sri Lanka shows, youth disillusionment with government's distribution and practices has been a significant factor behind unrests (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009). There is nexus between youth frustration caused by unemployment and violent conflict.

5.2 Coping methods for structural violence

The fourth category of analysis consists of coping methods that the interviewees have in order to handle with the precarity, economic difficulties, insecurity and frustration. These feelings and situations are caused by structural violence as shown in the last sections of the chapter. Thus, the coping methods are actually methods to cope with structural violence.

The word 'coping' is very illustrative in this context. It refers to necessity, a have do to something to survive. Many of the coping methods are those they would not have used in other circumstances, for example, in circumstances without the economic recession that has ruined their primary goals. Six different coping methods are mentioned among the interviewees: informal economy, family, positive attitude and self-confidence, comparing with other countries, studying more and emigrating.

5.2.1 Informal economy

As female-32 has no right to unemployment benefit or any other benefit and despite searching for work everywhere, she has had to turn to the informal economy for economic reasons.

F-32: *I live on the breadline. And I have to live on the shadow economy as it's called in this country. I give private music lessons, studies I did for predilection for music, secondary level studies. I live or live badly. With this black economy that the government says that it has to attack.*

Although, that might not be very uncommon in Spain, she clearly expresses that for her informal economy is because of necessity and it is not a primary option. Female-24 also tells that informal economy is the way that people survive at the time of a crisis, when the official unemployment rates are alarming, to say the least.

I: *But how do people live? If 50% of young people are unemployed?*

F-24: *I think what happens in Spain is that there is informal economy. There are many people who are working but don't even pay national security.*

The share of the informal economy has never been insignificant in Spain but according to Karamessini, high unemployment rates among youth have revived informal economy (Karamessini, 2008, 67). The risk is that it polarizes the system even more and the number of those without any social protection increases.

5.2.2 Family

The role of family has been always significant in Mediterranean welfare states but the economic crisis has indeed emphasised it further. When labour life cannot provide security and well-being, then the family does. The uncertainty of temporary contracts underlines the importance of family (Wöfl & Sanguinetti, 2011, 27). The importance of family networks is growing at the time of crisis and when public supports are continuously cut and work can no more provide stability.

Female-24 made a reference to the developing world in this context, by stating that Spain is turning into the country of the Third World it was before it joined the European Union and where one depends on the help of family members. As the state's role is decreasing due to cuts in public spending, it has to be questioned whether one can still speak about the Spanish welfare state.

F-24: *Spain is turning into the country of the Third World it was before it joined the European Union. It is going to be a country where one depends on the help of family members, where the family has to help, where the children have to go home to their parents, you can't be independent.*

Female-32 also explains the importance of family in a Southern welfare state like Spain:

I: *And the family?*

F-32: *Yes, my family also helps me. The state and the church have always tried to have the family as a means of support in case of need. As a life insurance. In case of economic emergency in which the state can't keep you or support you. And the figure of the family is not only an emotional unit, or a genetic unit but also an economic unit. When the state can't protect you, you go back to the nuclear family.*

Female-25 also has a strong trust in family meanwhile she does not have any trust in the state.

I: *So what is it in your life that gives you security?*

F-25: *The family. It's like a mattress, if you fall, you know they will catch you. The state, forget about it. Forget about the Father State.*

All these comments indicate that the importance of family is growing whilst the role of state providing welfare is decreasing. However, the number of young people living at parental home has not significantly increased due to the economic crisis. That is because the number was already high before the crisis (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012).

5.2.3 Positive attitude and self-confidence

In spite of frustrating situation and dark future perspectives, female-24 and female-34 have not get depressed by their situation. Self-confidence and positive attitude are coping methods that help them go on despite of difficulties.

F-34: *It's also true that maybe because, despite that I see instability, negative expectations, and that the system doesn't work, I have always been self-confident. At that maybe influences. And you know that you can do any job. Because I have done everything, I'm not either afraid of trying something new.*

Female-24 highlights that it is important to not to give up although many times that would be easier option.

I: *And how do you see your current work situation compared to how you saw it before?*

F-24: *I do not know. The truth is that I see the future little dark but I think that one shouldn't stop moving, seeking opportunities, meeting people ... Not to stand still. Never stop training nor moving.*

5.2.4 Comparing with other countries

Asking male-29 whether he sees the situation of Spanish young people is unfair, he compares the situation with other countries to show that everything is relative. That is also a coping method: the actual problems of Spanish youth do not seem to be that deep if you compare them with many other countries in the world and give them a broader perspective in context.

M-29: *But in many other countries the situation is much worse so we can't either say that there is injustice. There are other deeper injustices.*

I: *Which countries do you mean?*

M-29: *Any of Africa, Asia and also in some extent of South America. 70% of the countries in the world, basically.*

I: *But in Europe?*

M-29: *In Europe ... Spain, Greece and Portugal are the worst off. And Ireland. Other countries, fine.*

Having a wider perspective definitely makes local problems look smaller. Interestingly, a wider perspective to which M-29 refers in this case, does not include Europe that would be the first comparative context in this interview. Instead, he refers to much more global context and Spain is compared with countries in the Third World. That might be for two reasons. First of all, the interviewee is quite well-travelled and he is in this sense globally aware person after living both in Asia and Latin America. Secondly, it could mean that Spain is no longer at the level of European Union in his mental landscape when it comes to well-being. Spain is thus understood as a country of the Third World where state's role of providing welfare to its citizens is rather minimal. Female-24 refers to that when she speaks about economic dependence between family members.

F-24: *Spain is turning into a country of the Third World what it was before the European Union.*

5.2.5 Studying more

One response to rising unemployment on the part of youth has been to return to full-time education (Blanchflower and Freeman, 2000). For female-24 continue studying after a Master degree might have not been the first goal but she would have liked to dedicate to her passion, journalism in one way or another.

However, the crisis has prohibited these plans and in current circumstances other options have to be taken into account as well. In the time of recession, a Ph.D. might not be just way to fulfill one's academic ambitions but shown better as an employment option amongst others.

F-24: *The Ph.D. is a crazy idea that I got now as I had nothing to do. (...). I'm not very motivated to continue studying but as the things are like this, it's an option.*

Female-25 also tells to have chosen to do a Master after finishing her Bachelor's degree because of the crisis. She realised that working options are getting more limited and studying would be a better option than unemployment.

F-25: *It was clear that I wanted to do a master because there were already sings of crisis in the air.*

5.2.6 Emigrating

All of the interviewees were asked whether they could imagine leaving their country and working abroad. All of them would seriously think about that possibility and for example, male-29 is already leaving to Latin America because his company will send him there.

M-28: *If I have to leave Spain, I can think of that. At the moment I'm doing fine, but if it was necessary.*

F-32: *The last option, not. The only thing is that in Spain would exist economic resources so that you can move to a country abroad. Without work, without a fixed destination it is already complicated. Or it becomes complicated. Now, at this moment if I didn't find a job that ensures well-being, I for my part I have no problem to go, to leave my country.*

The interviewees make the most qualified generation in Spanish history but they can also be considered the most international generation of the country. While belonging to the so called Erasmus generation they have studied abroad, learnt various languages and are well-travelled. For that reason, emigrating abroad is seen as a natural option. However, in Spain emigrating has been also earlier a solution to economic hardships (and political as well) and as such it is nothing new. In 1960-70 there was a wave of Spanish migrants to central Europe and to Latin America. But in the twenty-first century something has fundamentally changed: in the new millennium those who are leaving are the educated ones, when earlier they were mostly unqualified workforce emigrating. The country might be starting to have so-called *brain drain* and that leads to the question of a lost generation.

The idea of emigrating also offers an exit from the reality of country which has highest unemployment and youth unemployment rates in Europe. Compared to Spain, many Western European countries share a higher wage level. No wonder that other countries represent an ideal paradise that offers a possibility to escape the dark reality. Male-29 comes with an idea of Northern Europe being like “Miami for Cubans”, a paradise where problems of home country will not exist. However, he is aware that the reality might not be as simple.

I: *Would you have also looked for work outside of Spain in some other situation?*

M-29: *In fact if I hadn't have found work that I found just a while ago, I was very seriously considering going to Finland, to your country. Because like all the Spanish we kind of imagine that in Finland it will be easy to find work. Finland, Norway, Sweden and even Germany are our paradises. It's like how Latin Americans see Spain or how Cubans see Miami. A paradise. Finland and these countries remain as the last hope that gives us security. And maybe then it's not like that.*

F-32: *The world is small and we are forced to exit our borders. Not more. And another country, with other social and cultural rights will take us.*

In her comment female-32 expresses an idea that in Spain of crisis of social and cultural rights. That is what makes people to leave, not only money. Interestingly she also uses verb *force*. Leaving is not anymore just of free will, but because of necessity, in a country where people do not have many working possibilities. Other interviewees also use similar expressions to highlight that leaving is in some extent forced, not voluntary. They expressed the view that they are a generation that has to leave the country because the labour opportunities and the opportunities to live a decent life are limited. In Galtung's words, this kind of situation is structural violence as people's life changes are affected and human potential is thus constrained. Self-realisation is impeded, which is structural violence (Galtung 1980, 69). In this sense, forced emigration can be considered a method to avoid structural violence.

I: *So there are people who are leaving. And you are leaving as well because your company sends you.*

M-29: *I have to go, too.*

Also female-24 refers to a necessity to leave as Spain does not offer any future and uses also the verb *have to*.

F-24: *We will be a generation, some generations, as our ancestors that have to emigrate to look for a future that we don't find here. It's the sad reality of a country that is sinking.*

It is no wonder as she sees no future in Spain, emigrating seems to be the only option for her. Of all interviewees, she was seriously planning moving abroad now, for others it would be an option when there were no other alternatives.

F-24: *I no longer see my future in Spain. I think that at this point no one can speak about the future in Spain. The future is to go abroad, keep on educating and moving forward but not to stay in Spain because staying in Spain is to stand still.*

Her readiness to leave might correlate with her pessimistic future perspectives of her country but there are also other factors that need to be taken into account. However, although moving abroad offers, at least in the minds of interviewees, better working possibilities, they are also aware of limitations that there might be in the reality. As female-32 reminds, there need to be some economic resources to be able to start life somewhere else.

Leaving does not just depend what there is available out there but also each one has in his or her limitations in life. As many of interviewees explain, the family is their security, it does not only provide security to interviewees but the responsibility is mutual. As female-25 and male-28 put it, they feel responsibility for their family and leaving at least for longer time would not be an option.

F-25: *But I'm not either planning of making my life in another country, leaving my mother alone here in the future. What happens is that each one has its own situation.*

M-28: *But due to my family situation is not propitious (to move abroad), at the moment I'm living at home. Well, the fact that I'm living at home, I also help my family. I feel certain responsibility for my family.*

6. Conclusion

This Master's Thesis concerned itself with studying the effects of an economic crisis on Spanish university graduates. The aim was to consider the human cost of the crisis by using qualitative methods. The data consisted of six, semi-structured in-depth interviews with Spanish university graduates and it was then analysed by qualitative content analysis. To conceptualise the results of data analysis further, the theory peace of researcher Galtung of structural violence was used. The aim of the research is to answer the research question: *How do the Spanish university graduates perceive structural violence in the context of the economic crisis?*

Structural violence is present in lives of the interviewees as in general in the Spanish society. Inequality and injustice have increased during the economic crisis. Due to the budget cuts and reforms, people have unequal access to society's resources, like the example of education shows. That is structural violence as Galtung (1969) defines it. The potential is constrained and thus, there is a considerable distance between the actual and the potential. Educated young people are either unemployed or employed in jobs that do not correspond their educational level and work in precarious labour conditions. Structural violence causes frustration, fear and insecurity among the interviewees. To handle structural violence, they have used different coping methods to survive, which are both practical and mental.

First of all, the interviewees make a division in speech between the time before the crisis and after the crisis. Something has changed in their lives and in the society around them. The future truly is uncertain for these people. However, it would be an exaggeration to say that the crisis is only to blame for structural violence that interviewees face. As the recent study on the effects of the economic crisis on Spanish university graduates shows, the crisis has not drastically worsened the situation of university graduates, as their situation was precarious already before the current crisis (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012).

Due to the characteristics of the dual labour market and the flexibilisation of labour relations, newcomers to the Spanish labour market have experienced discrimination since long before the year 2008. Temporary contracts, low salaries and precarious labour conditions have been a problem among university graduates, as the phenomenon of the 1000-euro generation indicates. In that sense, university graduates experienced structural violence in the Spanish labour market before the crisis. However, if violence is the *distance between the potential and actual, between what could have been and what actually is* (Galtung, 1969), this distance has grown as a direct result of the crisis. Working possibilities and economic resources are much more limited than before and their potential is more difficult to realise.

Frustration caused by the incapacity to realise one's potential is obvious. Thus, the frustration is consequence of structural violence. Instead of living an independent life, the interviewees had to be economically dependent on their families and many of them had to move back to their parents after the crisis started. The labour instability produces instability in life in general and it prevents people from making plans in the long and short term. Their future perspectives have been eroded.

As the life changes for young people are limited for high unemployment rates and precarity, it is worth of asking whether there is an intergenerational gap developing in Spain. The unemployment rates for young people are double compared to the older part of the population. (Hurley, Storrie & Jungblut, 2011). Access to society's resource, in this case to employment and pension schemes is not equal. Structural violence is shown as different life changes and thus, as difference in standard of living. In Spain the difference shows between generations similarly as it shows between black and white neighbourhoods in big cities in the U.S (Väyrynen, 2009, 245). As Freire (2006) reminds in her book of the *1000euro Generation*, for the first time in the history, the current young generation has lower standard of living than their parents. The access to society's resources then depends on ones generation. Thus, there is a risk of intergenerational conflict.

Frustration among young people is not irrelevant. As an ILO (2010) report warns, collective frustration and low future prospects among youth is a risk to the general cohesion of a society. According to the study on Sri Lanka (Amarasuriya, Gündüz & Mayer, 2009), frustration caused by unemployment is a significant factor behind violent conflict. Structural violence can thus be converted into direct violence. That does not necessarily mean that the same would happen in Spain, and the researchers of the Sri Lankan study call for more studies on the nexus between unemployment and violent conflict. This research cannot answer the question whether a violent conflict could also arise in Spain, although frustration is clearly in the air. That would be an interesting and topical research topic for future research. Even though the violence has been often related to the Arab Spring, violent protests have also taken place in Europe. Mostly in Greece the anti-crisis protests have had violent features but also in Spain the government has allowed the policy to use violent measures toward demonstrators. The theory of structural violence could offer some insights to understand the connection between youth frustration and violent conflict.

However, according to Galtung (1964), highly educated but unemployed people can have a key role in the process that turns structural violence into direct violence because they are in *rank-disequilibrium*. They are thus most likely to mobilise politically in order to change their situation. In Spain, the 15-M – movement is an example of this kind of political mobilisation. It is important that the movement can find democratic and peaceful channels to make their voice heard. However, a recent study shows that the Spanish youth feel mistrust towards politicians and the political system in general (Moreno, López & Segado, 2012). The interviewees of this study also show similar mistrust. They feel that the crisis has been an excuse to justify the cuts of their social rights. What is alarming is that this kind of distrust caused by economic crisis during early adulthood can be long-lasting (Giuliano & Spilimbergo, 2009).

Applying a theory from the field of peace research to conceptualise interview data and people's subjective experiences, was not a clear task. However, in the data there were various phenomena that could be detected as structural violence. Nevertheless, that is not to say that the theory really works to analyse the data. Another option is the definition of structural violence is so broad that it allows interpreting various features as structural violence. That is criticism presented by Boulding (1977, 83–84). Regardless of this possible weakness of the theory, it still provides us new insights into the situation of Spanish university graduates during the economic crisis. It helps us to understand how the structures of society affect individuals and to recognise the links between social problems and violence. Even though direct violence is not used, positive peace is not present in Spain as the society is violent in its structures. No wonder, that people feel frustration, fear and insecurity.

Some questions arise from the definition of structural violence. According to Galtung (1969), structural violence is caused by unequal power relations that consequently lead to unequal life changes. Are there unequal power relations behind of the structural violence in Spain? To answer this question, another study on the nature of the crisis and political system in Spain would be needed. Bautista & Muñoz (2004) explain that structural violence happens in a situation where the needs of the population are not satisfied when they easily would be in the case where the organisation or the circumstances would be different. Clearly, some of the central needs of the Spanish university graduates are not satisfied (such as the need to sustain oneself) and therefore, the definition of structural violence is met. However, the other question still remains: is this situation because there really is no other option to handle the crisis than by impoverishing the younger generations?

7. Bibliography

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