

Youth Street Groups and Media Representations

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General Presentation

TRANSGANG is a study of transnational gangs as agents of mediation in the 21st century. It is an Advanced Grant of the European Research Council, that during the last five and a half years (2018-2023) has investigated this topic in twelve cities of three regions: Southern Europe (Barcelona, Madrid, Marseille, Milan), North Africa (Rabat-Salé, Algiers, Djendel, Tunis) and The Americas (Medellin, San Salvador, Santiago de Cuba, Chicago). The *TRANSGANG Final Reports* compile the main results of the project, grouped into three regional ethnographic reports (on Europe, Africa and the Americas) and four cross-cutting reports (on social networks, media representations, documentary films and social perceptions), in addition to the White Paper on mediation and gang policies, published in the *Communication Reports* series of UPF.

TRANSGANG Final Reports

1. Beremenyi, A. (Coord.), Ballesté, E., Grassi, P., Mansilla, J.C., Oliver, M., & Feixa, C. (Dir.) (2023). *Youth Street Groups and Mediation in Southern Europe: Ethnographic Findings*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra & European Research Council. TRANSGANG Final Reports 01. <http://doi.org/10.31009/transgang.2023.fr01>.
2. Sánchez-García, J. (Coord.), Boucherf, K., Omrane, M., Najar, S., Touhtouh, R., & Feixa, C. (Dir.) (2023). *Youth Street Groups and Mediation in Northern Africa: Ethnographic Findings*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, European Research Council. TRANSGANG Final Reports 02. <http://doi.org/10.31009/transgang.2023.fr02>.
3. Feixa, C. (Coord.), Ross, W., Lavielle, L., Chévez, C., & Márquez, F. (2023). *Youth Street Groups and Mediation in the Americas: Ethnographic Findings*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra & European Research Council. TRANSGANG Final Reports 3. <http://doi.org/10.31009/transgang.2023.fr03>.
4. Fernández-Planells, A. (Coord.), Orduña-Malea, E., & Feixa, C. (Dir.) (2023). *Youth Street Groups and Social Media: Case Study of the Latin Kings*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra & European Research Council. TRANSGANG Final Reports 04. <http://doi.org/10.31009/transgang.2023.fr04>.
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TRANSGANG Communication Reports

8. Feixa, C., Sánchez-García, J., Brisley, A., Hansen, N., Ballesté, E., Boucherf, K., Chévez, C., Grassi, P., Lavielle, L., Mansilla, J.C., Márquez, F., Mecca, M., Najar, S., Oliver, M., Omrane, M., Ross, W. & Touhtouh, R. (2023). TRANSGANG White Paper. Gang Policies and Mediation in the Context of Overlapping Crises. *Communication Reports* 03. <https://doi.org/10.31009/cr.2023.03>

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Abstract

Abstract:

This document contains the final report of the study ‘Media Representations and Street Youth Groups. Analysis of fiction and non-fiction products’, derived from the research agreement between the Universitat de Barcelona and the TRANSGANG project titled ‘From stigma and stereotype to reaffirmation and resistance. Street youth groups, media and representations’. The document is organised into 6 sections, in accordance with the general objectives established in the research plan: 1) Introduction; 2) Theoretical Background; 3) Objectives; 4) Method; 5) Preliminary Findings; and 6) Conclusions. Throughout these sections we present the focus and objectives of the research conducted, placing particular emphasis on the research methods designed to explore the representations of street youth groups in fiction and non-fiction products. Lastly, in section 5 we present the preliminary findings derived from the research.

1. Introduction

This agreement is part of the TRANSGANG¹ (ERC Advanced Grant) project, led by Dr. Carles Feixa. The main objective of the project is to research transnational street youth groups based on the mediation processes in which they participate, focusing on three geographical regions: Latin America, Southern Europe and North Africa (Feixa Pàmols, 2019). The TRANSGANG project seeks to reverse the approach that was traditionally favoured in studies on youth crowds, centred on highlighting criminal, dangerous and violent aspects. An approach that has been given priority and emphasized by public policies and the media (Feixa Pàmols, 2019). According to Queirolo Palmas (2017), ‘not only does the media influence the connection between alarm and intervention, building the emotional space for a response in terms of social and political control, but it also fulfils important roles of legitimation and justification of policies’ (p. 94). Accordingly, the TRANSGANG project sets out to explore the media representations around the street youth groups in order to understand the reality of these groups in all their complexity, while considering all the actors that are involved in forming the imaginary around them. And the media constitutes an important agent in this regard (Recio and Cerbino, 2006). This study therefore represents a complement which accompanies the central phase of the research, focused on a multisited ethnography in ten cities of the geographical areas of the project.

Street youth groups are an attractive phenomenon for the media, but their presence in it does not often result in a better understanding of their realities or in visibility of the problems that they experience. On the contrary, it ultimately brings about a partial view that gives rise to stereotypes and stigma in relation to members of these groups. In the creation of stereotypes linked to groups or collectives, various agents and institutions are involved, among which the media tends to play an important role (Figueras and Mauri, 2010). Hallsworth (2011) introduces the gang talk concept, making reference to the speech and narration which is built around the ‘gang’ idea and which ends up generating a representation in this regard. Various actors are involved in the construction of gang talk, trying to make their discourse public, however it is the media that has the ‘visibility capital’ (Queirolo Palmas, 2007). Analysing the speech and narration made by the media about street youth groups therefore helps us to understand the construction of social imaginaries that it generates about the aforementioned groups. According to Barrios, Esparza and Brotherton (2006), the media is part of the institutions that make up the ruling class and, therefore, it addresses the interests of the aforementioned in achieving social control. It is with this objective that on many occasions it ends up promoting the social construction of crime around street youth

¹ Full title: Transnational gangs as agents of mediation: experiences of conflict resolution in street youth organizations in Southern Europe, North Africa and the Americas. <https://www.upf.edu/web/transgang>

groups, which ultimately leads to the exclusion, repression and/or social disintegration of groups. Based on this view, research is needed on the representation made by the media of street youth groups, as its vision may not only create a social imaginary and a public opinion (the media is an important source of socialization and information), but the structure that it builds also ends up having repercussions on the groups themselves.

Studies focused on the media construction of street youth groups have been abundant in some contexts such as the United States and this has led to the American ‘gang’ model operating as an archetype (Feixa et al., 2019). With this study we seek to analyse other realities and offer a more plural and in-depth perspective of the phenomenon. We therefore propose a specific analysis of the Spanish context in the case of the press and of the international context in the case of fiction. Furthermore, these analyses may be complemented in the future with case studies of the various geographical contexts that are part of the TRANSGANG project. To this end, we work with fiction and non-fiction products and we conduct a quantitative content analysis and qualitative close reading.

2. Theoretical Background

By carrying out a literature review of studies that explore the relationship between the media and street youth groups, we find a series of trends regarding the approach, method, sample used and findings obtained: a) the majority focus on the study of non-fiction products, with the press being the most-studied type of media; b) many analyse the media construction around youth groups based on the ‘youth gang’ concept; c) a significant number of these studies have been conducted with media or products from the US; d) the findings of these studies reveal that the young males and females of street youth groups are used to being presented based on stereotypes and stigma, linked to violence and conflict, which therefore causes a moral panic around them (Feixa, Porzio and Recio, 2006; Strecker, Ballesté and Feixa, 2018).

We shall explore all of these points in detail below.

2.1. The predominance of press analysis

As we have been able to see in the literature review, the research on street groups has tended to mainly focus on the study of the press (e.g. Esbensen and Tusinski, 2007; Recio and Cerbino, 2006; Thompson, Young and Burns, 2000; McCorkle and Miethe, 1998) and has concentrated little on fiction products, such as films or television series (e.g. Feixa, Masanet and Sánchez García, 2019; Van Hellemont and Densley, 2019), or on self-representations on the part of young male and female members of groups (e.g. Storrod and Densley, 2017).

The study of the press has certainly been favoured as it is considered to be the type of media that represents current affairs and informs us of the events that take place in the world. In several of the works consulted, the study of the media becomes a complement that accompanies a more extensive sociological or ethnographic study which seeks to understand the structures and ways of youth groups and their place in a social, political and cultural space (e.g. Feixa, Porzio and Recio, 2006; McCorkle and Miethe, 1998; Zatz, 1987). In order to obtain a broad overview that understands the phenomenon in all its complexity, they inevitably end up having to introduce the role of the media. In some cases, it is actually stated that it is the media itself which builds the existence of these youth groups based on its representations (Queirolo Palmas, 2017). Understanding the phenomenon therefore means understanding the role played by the media and in most cases, this has been exclusively linked to non-fiction products (particularly the press), while fiction products (e.g. Films and series) have remained in the background. It is true that for some of these studies that seek to analyse the relationship between youth groups, the media, moral panic and their development, it is appropriate to conduct an analysis of the press, as in the work of McCorkle and Miethe (1998). These are studies

which approach theories related to public opinion such as ‘the spiral of silence’ of Noelle-Neumann (1977) and in these cases, the press may be the most appropriate subject matter, although not the only one. Likewise, particular attention must also be paid to fiction products, as they may become symbolic narrative universes in which youth groups see themselves as being recognised. In fact, the representations of young characters in fiction products may become models for identification, but also for attraction and aspiration (Masanet and Fedele, 2019).

According to Van Hellefont and Densley (2019), the lack of attention received by fiction studies is paradoxical, since various contemporary studies about youth groups have emphasized how ‘urban legends’ and other forms of fiction can be part of the imaginaries of the young male and female members of groups. This brings us to an interesting debate about fiction and non-fiction products and the actual conceptualization of realism in fiction media products (Hall, 2003, 2009). The classic study by Ang (1985) on the television series *Dallas* makes an interesting distinction between ‘emotional realism’ and ‘empirical realism’. A fiction product may not seem very plausible or realistic (for example, a fantasy series) and it may therefore be understood as a text which lacks empirical realism. However, on the contrary, it may have emotional and psychological realism which makes it possible for the spectator to relate the representation made by fiction with dilemmas and problems that they experience in their day-to-day lives. This also allows us to understand fiction products as builders of reality and, therefore, as texts that can formulate a social imaginary around the idea of street youth groups. As stated by Ferrés (2014), ‘the need to distinguish between fiction and reality is a postulate of media education which is necessary but not enough. Today it is known through neuroscience that if some false events produce real emotions, they produce real effects, although we are fully aware that they are false.’ (p. 152). To this end, analysis of the press and also analysis of fiction products are proposed in this project, as can be seen in the following sections of the document.

2.2. Youth gangs in the media: conceptual debate

There is an important debate around the concept used to refer to street youth groups and the meanings that this holds. Which word(s) and concept(s) are suitable to represent and not stigmatize them? In the Concept Paper of the TRANSGANG project, a review is made of this debate and a renewed definition and terminology are proposed (Feixa et al., 2019). The most-used term within the study of youth groups overall is probably ‘gang’, however this has a pejorative and stigmatizing meaning which links them to negative aspects such as organised crime or violence. Even so, in the search for literature on media representations it has been the most common term and also that which is in the habit of being used to carry out the selection of the sample for analysis (e.g. Esbensen and Tusinski, 2007; Thompson, Young and Burns, 2000). This means that the systematic searches in the press for the selection of articles for subsequent analysis is usually made based on the word ‘gang’. This may imply that some street groups are left out of analysis if the press does not associate them with the term ‘gang’.

A term which, as we have mentioned previously, the media has linked to violent representation and to crime. However, the reality is much more complex and shows that youth groups are diverse in terms of their composition, activities, origins, organisation, etc. To this end, the TRANSGANG project proposes to use the

‘generic term “street youth group” to refer to any gathering of young people, according to the definition of youth that exists in each context, who recognise themselves as a group and who use the public space, physical or virtual, to meet. We understand gangs to be a continuum: at one extreme there are criminal groups (strictly speaking, gangs) and at the other extreme there are groups based on leisure (youth cultures). The project will not reject any group, but it will give priority to those which are in a middle ground and have hybrid characteristics.’ (Feixa et al., 2019, p. 45).

In this study we follow the proposal of the TRANSGANG project to use the term ‘street youth groups’ because we believe that it opens the door to a more plural analysis of the media reality, in addition to moving away from the stigmas and negative meanings brought about by the term ‘gang’. In fact, the ‘type of gang’ which is usually shown in films and popular culture covers a small number of the existing youth groups (Esbensen and Tusinski, 2007) and the rest remain invisible or are left in the background. The same thing occurs with academic research on this phenomenon, as the word ‘gang’ is focused on to analyse the media representations of youth groups and it does not therefore explore other possible representations. This does not mean that in our case we should stop using the term ‘gang’ for systematic searches of texts to be analysed, but we should also incorporate other terms and local concepts or ones of self-representation of the actual groups in the searches. In spite of this, we are aware that in many cases it is the media itself that forms the existence of groups through its representations (Queirolo Palmas, 2017) and to this end, it uses certain terms to which it adds meanings and connotations, such as that of the gang. It cannot therefore be left out of the analysis.

2.3. The predominance of American studies

As has been mentioned previously, based on the literature review concerning the relationship between media and youth groups, it is seen that studies conducted in the American context or on media products created in the US are predominant (e.g. Esbensen and Tusinski, 2007; Tovares, 2002). This is probably related to the long tradition of studies on youth gangs in the US which was started by Thrasher with the publication of the classic *The Gang* in 1927, that is, around 100 years ago. Whereas in the European context, considerable interest only started to be taken in the phenomenon two decades ago (Hallsworth and Young, 2008).

Youth groups in the US have been studied based on different perspectives and theories, exploring numerous angles and actors which are part of the context and give the phenomenon meaning. The media has been no exception in this respect. Yet again, American studies have been the most prolific of the media studies and they have built a certain overall image of what the representation of youth groups in the media is like. As

stated by Feixa et al. (2019), this has helped the American ‘gang’ model to ultimately become an archetype:

‘Gangs have been described as an episodic phenomenon comparable across diverse geographical sites, with the American gang stereotype often acting as the archetype. Mirroring this trend, academic researchers have increasingly sought to survey the global topography of gangs through positivist methodologies that seek out universal characteristics of gangs in different cultural contexts.’ (Feixa et al., 2019, p. 28)

According to the authors, these definitions that seek inclusiveness end up favouring and promoting a static vision of youth groups which leaves out distinctive features, localized meanings, background, local history and particular cultural contexts. In this respect, Van Hellefont and Densley (2019) express themselves when they introduce the ‘gang globalization’ concept to define and understand the processes by which global media myths, stereotypes and conventions create and shape the realities of local youth groups. These are myths and stereotypes that normally come from American representations and studies. Taking these interactions between global and local media representations into account, it is important to keep exploring global representations but also to give space (which until now has been very minor) to local experiences. According to Buckingham (2002), both children and adults filter and interpret transnational media representations through their own local culture. This is the way in which global and local products coexist in the contemporary media ecology.

Studies have of course been conducted in other contexts such as in Europe (e.g. Feixa, Porzio and Recio, 2006; Van Hellefont and Densley, 2019) and in Latin America (e.g. Charles, 2020; Wolf, 2012), inter alia. But these are not the norm or bulk of the literature. This study, however, aims to promote local studies in a transnational context which considers three geographical areas: Southern Europe, the Americas and North Africa. By doing so, we wish to go beyond the American archetype by showing different realities and contexts.

2.4. Street youth groups, violence and moral panic

As stated by Thompson, Young and Burns (2000), news on ‘gangs’ does not only provide information, but it also brings together ideological messages about the meanings and definitions of ‘the gangs’. The same thing happens with fiction products, as we have set out in one of the sections above. The media is responsible for creating a ‘public image’ of youth groups. The questions to ask now would be: What is this image like? What meanings are linked to youth groups? Are stereotypes and stigmas built? Etc.

Most of the research consulted for the theoretical review of this study shows us that the media (mainly journalistic) discourse contributes and even generates stigmas and negative stereotypes about young male and female members of street groups (Feixa, Cebino, Recio, Porzio and Canelles, 2006). These are discourses which are mainly linked to ideas of organised crime and violence. In this respect, many studies indicate that the media, on multiple occasions, has shown young people from groups to be one

of the major social problems. And it has turned them into media icons linked to various stigmas: 'gangs have become the media icons of the underclass, flaunting the values perceived to be endemic to the underclass culture itself: the glorification of violence, the rejection of the work ethic, irresponsible sexuality, and drug abuse. Gangs' rejection of mainstream culture is accentuated by their street language, their manner of dress, and their music.' (McCorkle and Miethe, 1998, p. 57). These reflections coincide with those of Recio and Cebrino (2006), who stress that the media, in its representation of young people of Latin American origin in Barcelona, emphasized violent aspects and their aesthetic attributes. We therefore see that in the media not only are aspects linked to violence or criminality highlighted, but a kind of 'aesthetic Photofit image' is also made which helps to identify these young people and criminalize them. This causes the stigma to end up falling on larger groups through the construction of a common imaginary which surrounds the young male and female members of groups and forms the basis of the aforementioned 'gang problem' (Zatz, 1987). These representations clearly help to build and promote moral panic (Zatz, 1987) which ends up justifying law and order campaigns and measures (Welch, Price and Yankey, 2002; Queirolo Palmas, 2017).

The literature review, in this way, demonstrates that the media seldom shows the reality of the young males and females belonging to the groups about which it talks. Issues such as structural violence, advanced marginalization, exclusion and precariousness are left out of the media representation. However, on the contrary, these are essential fields that can help us to understand the phenomenon of street youth groups from other perspectives. Even so, we come across some exceptions, although these are rare. The study by Charles (2020) on the online news portal El Faro in El Salvador reveals that this kind of media, through its reports, has fostered a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of youth groups by deconstructing the victim/perpetrator dichotomy and exploring structural issues that help to understand the problems of urban violence. This, in turn, has ended up promoting social cohesion. In our project, we also consider the possibility of detecting best practice, as can be seen in the objectives section.

3. Objectives

The main objective of this agreement is to design and conduct the analysis of media representations in the press and cinema of street youth groups.

In essence this main objective has the following specific objectives which are set out below.

SO1: Design the analysis model and tools to conduct the quantitative and qualitative study of the representations of street youth groups in the press and fiction;

SO2: Explore and understand how street youth groups are represented in the Spanish digital press (from now on, SDP);

SO3: Explore and understand how street youth groups are represented in fiction products;

SO4: Detect and explore the issues and activities that the press and fiction link and relate to street youth groups;

SO5: Detect and explore stereotyped representations and best practice in representations of street youth groups in the press and fiction products.

4. Method

In accordance with the objectives set out in the section above, this study is divided into two phases: 1) analysis of the Spanish digital press and 2) analysis of fiction products. To this end, we use various quantitative and qualitative analysis tools such as content analysis and close reading. According to Estrada and Rodrigo (2009), the communication and information theories are not found in a single methodology, as they tend to be characterized by pluralism. In this case, quantitative and qualitative methods are combined. The quantitative part of the study is conceived as an explorative topography that allows us to conduct a descriptive and systematic analysis of the context and identify extensive dynamics and trends, such as those indicated in previous studies (Fedele, 2014; Vanlee, Dhaenens and Van Bauwel, 2020). For its part, the qualitative study helps us to go more deeply into the field of study through the in-depth exploration of certain audiovisual pieces (through case studies) and opening up to the emergence of new variables and perspectives. Furthermore, it also helps us to emphasize the study of certain issues and concerns that emerge in the descriptive phase.

4.1. Analysis of the Spanish Digital Press

4.1.1. Selection of the sample

The sample selected to conduct analysis of the SDP is made up of two general newspapers with top readership in Spain: El País and El Mundo. According to Soriano (2007), the study samples of a content analysis must be coherent with the objectives of the research and take 6 aspects into account: a) the type of medium; b) the geographical scope; c) the potential number of readers; d) the type of readership; e) the format or type of message; and f) the possibilities and ease of accessing content. On this basis, it must be noted that these are two general newspapers that have a digital version with access to a newspaper library. El Mundo can be consulted free of charge, while El País uses a digital subscription model. This means that readers can only access a certain number of articles per month and they must subscribe to be able to access all content (El País, 2020)². Secondly, according to the report by the Association for Media Research in 2020, El País and El Mundo are two of the four newspapers with the highest readership in 2019 in Spain (AIMC, 2020). The four newspapers with the highest readership (print and digital) in Spain, ordered from highest to lowest, are: Marca, El País, As and El Mundo. As Marca and As are sport newspapers, they have not been included in the sample selected for this study. In relation to geographical scope, El País and El Mundo

² In the framework of this project, a subscription to El País has been financed during the months in which data have been collected.

have their head editorial offices in Madrid and both publish their digital version in Castilian Spanish. El Mundo mostly has readership in Spain, while El País also has readership in Latin America, as it has an international edition which is printed and distributed in Latin America. Lastly, digital versions are selected due to the possibilities and ease of access to the materials and because the readership data show a shift towards this format. According to the 2020 AIMC report, readership of the digital version has grown in the last two decades to exceed the reader numbers of printed press.

In relation to the analysis period, a content analysis has been conducted on all online publications of the two newspapers. This has covered a period of 20 years in total. The units of analysis are publications on street youth groups. In order to identify relevant articles, a search has been performed using keywords. The following steps were taken to determine the keywords of the study. Firstly, previous studies on the representation of youth gangs in the US press (for example: Esbensen and Tusinski, 2007; Thompson, Young and Burns, 2000) and reflections made in the Concept Paper of the TRANSGANG project (Feixa et al., 2019) were consulted. Experts were then consulted in the field to define the keywords of the search. This consultation took place on 8 September 2020 with the Principal Researcher of the Transgang project, Dr. Carles Feixa, and with researchers of the Barcelona and Madrid project, Dr. Eduard Ballesté, Dr. Nele Hansen, Dr. José Sánchez and Lic. María Oliver. This meeting gave rise to a series of changes made to the initial proposal. For example, keywords such as ‘Charmil’/‘Tcharmil’, ‘Hittiste’, ‘Harraga’ and ‘Hikar’ were added to the specific group of keywords selected for the search. The keywords that emerged from these first two steps are shown in table 1.

Table 1. List of words

Type	Words
Generic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Youth group(s) ● Crowd(s) ● Gang(s) ● Street group(s) ● Urban Tribe(s)
Specific Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Latin American Gang(s) ● Maghrebi Gang(s) /Maghrebi Youths ● Latin King(s) ● ‘Ñetas’ ● ‘Trinitarios’ ● Dominicans Don’t Play ● ‘Mara(s)’ / ‘Mara Salvatrucha’ ● ‘Menas’ ● Youths Migrated Alone / Supervised Youths ● ‘Charmil’ / ‘Tcharmil’ / ‘Tcharmile’ ● ‘Harraga’ ● ‘Hikar’

Afterwards, two researchers of the project tested the selection of keywords defined (Table 1) in the two newspapers selected for analysis and they saw that it was necessary to restructure and redefine keywords for the final analysis. Firstly, some words generated a number of results that was too extensive and broad, making it impossible to analyse them. This was the case, for example, with ‘gang(s)’, which generated a total of 78,058 results in El País and 52,908 in El Mundo. Furthermore, most of the results generated by this word were not related to the subject matter of this study (for example, according to its meaning in Spanish: in relation to football or internet connection). A similar case was observed with ‘crowd(s)’, which generated a high number of results far from the subject matter of this project. In terms of other concepts, they generated practically no search results. This was the case for ‘Maghrebi youths’, ‘youths migrated alone’ and ‘hikar’, as well as others. Lastly, some concepts mainly generated repetitions with other, more generic concepts. This was observed, for example, with specific names of Latin American gangs such as ‘latin kings’ and ‘maras’, which generated documents that had already emerged with generic words such as ‘Latin American gang(s)’.

It is also important to note that, based on testing, the keyword ‘youth gang(s)’ was added to the study. The testing stage revealed that this was a keyword used by the press to talk about street youth groups and it was considered appropriate to add it to the list of words.

This testing of keywords is summed up in table 2, where the number of results emerging from each keyword is provided for each newspaper in the study.

Table 2. List of keywords and results in each newspaper

Words	El País	El Mundo
Youth group	48	83
Youth groups	62	46
Crowd(s)	2723	2823
Gang(s)	78058	52908
Street group	27	46
Street groups	5	18
Urban tribe	95	63
Urban tribes	316	146
Youth gang	62	89
Youth gangs	72	118
Latin American gang	90	216
Latin American gangs	330	280
Maghrebi gang	1	1
Maghrebi gangs	0	1

Maghrebi youths	0	50
Latin king(s)	103	162
‘Ñetas’	83	165
‘Trinitarios’	133	192
Dominicans Don't Play	4	7
‘Mara(s)’	1316	1534
‘Mara Salvatrucha’	136	115
‘Menas’	90	80
Youths migrated alone	1	0
Supervised youths	19	27
‘Charmil’ / ‘tcharmil’/ ‘tcharmile’	1	3
‘Harraga’	23	2
‘Hikar’	0	1

Self-creation based on the consultation of press search engines of the newspapers selected, made on 18/06/2021. Words selected for the study are marked in white, rejected words appear in grey and added words are in green.

The testing of keywords was useful in determining the final words that would become part of the study: ‘Youth group(s)’, ‘Street group(s)’, ‘Youth gang(s)’, ‘Latin American gang(s)’ and ‘Menas’.

Lastly, once the keywords of the study had been determined, it was clear that some results emerging from the searches are not related to the subject matter (street youth groups). To this end, some inclusion criteria were established to select the documents that would be used for content analysis. Each document had to meet the following criteria:

- Youths: the street group(s) appearing in the document is/are of youths.
- Group identity: the street group(s) appearing in the document has/have a group identity, which is either their own or external.
- Space: The street group(s) appearing in the document use(s) the public space, physical or virtual, for meetings or activities within the group.

These inclusion criteria were used to reject the keyword ‘street group(s)’ during analysis. Even though all the documents emerging from the search of this keyword were downloaded and reviewed, none of the journalistic work met the inclusion criteria, therefore it could not be included in the database and it was rejected.

4.1.2. Content Analysis

In order to conduct content analysis of the press, an analysis sheet was designed. This quantitative content analysis is similar to cataloguing (Vanlee, Dhaenens and Van

Bauwel, 2020), as it identifies the press articles devoted to street youth groups and codes them based on a series of identification and subject categories. According to Soriano (2007), identification categories are used to compile and clarify the formal characteristics of the message for subsequent processing (for example: name of the newspaper, date, number of words in the article, etc.). However, subject categories seek to meet the research objectives and they analyse the way in which the content is expressed (for example: social actors represented and their characteristics, activities linked to youth groups, etc.). An inductive and deductive process was carried out for the design of the analysis sheet. Following the recommendations of Soriano (2007), a first proposal for an analysis sheet and codebook was designed based on the findings of previous research that studied similar matters and the consultation of experts in the field. In the case of experts, an agreement was reached with the Principal Researcher of the TRANSGANG project, Dr. Carles Feixa, and with researchers from Barcelona and Madrid, Dr. Eduard Ballesté, Dr. Nele Hansen, Dr. José Sánchez and Lic. María Oliver. At a later stage, an inductive and deductive pilot test was performed in which new analysis categories emerged and analysis codes were restructured for pre-established categories. This test was used to design the final analysis sheet and to validate the data collection and analysis process.

The analysis sheet (table 3) created using inductive and deductive approaches with the categories, analysis variables and observations to be implemented is attached below.

Table. 3. Analysis sheet with the categories, variables and observations to be implemented

Category	Variables	Observations
<i>Identifying Categories</i>		
Name of the newspaper	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● El País ● El Mundo 	Identify the newspaper where the analysis document is published.
Publication date	Year-month-day	State the publication date of the document following the order indicated.
Article title	Open	State the full title of the document.
Author	Open	Note down the full names of all the authors as stated in the analysed document. If the authorship is 'editorial office' or an agency, this should also be stated.
Format /Genre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Piece of news ● Interview ● Report ● Opinion piece ● Editorial ● Column ● Feature ● Others 	State the format/genre of the analysed document.

Section	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • International • Economy • Culture • Science • Society • Opinion/ editorial • Events • Current affairs • Sport • Others (add to the list) 	State the section of the newspaper in which the analysed document appears. New sections can be added to the list of variables. For example, in the case of the Spanish press, it is common to find sections defined by geographical territory such as ‘Madrid’, ‘Catalonia’ and ‘Balearics’, in addition to others.
Length	Word count	State the exact word count of the analysed document.
Photo(s) and/or audiovisual pieces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0 • 1 • 2 • 3 • 4 • 5 • More than 5 	State the number of photos and/or audiovisual pieces found in the analysed document. Computer graphics, videos, drawings or images from social media (for example, Twitter and Instagram), inter alia, are also included in this count.
<i>Subject Categories: Theme, information sources and place</i>		
Main Theme *Select one of the variables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence, unrest and criminal activity 	Cover the following fields: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminal activity (as defined by Law); • Arrests, trials, convictions and sentences; • Violence and/or unrest with/between groups and with other agents. For example, brawls.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practices, activities, structure and profiles of the groups and of their members 	Cover the following fields: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-criminal activity, structure and operation of the group; • Socio-cultural activities; • Group socialization spaces (physical and virtual. For example, parks and social media); • Transitions in education, work and emancipation (unschooling, occupations, family themes, etc.). • Genre themes within groups.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academia, research and art 	Cover the following fields: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical references to groups; • Research on groups; • Artistic activities related to youth groups (for example, creating a documentary or an exhibition).
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young offender institutions, foreigner 	Cover the operation and dynamics of these spaces.

	detention centres and prisons	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration processes 	Cover the fields of citizenship, deportations, document management, etc.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactions and responses from society and institutions 	Cover the response to groups from different spaces: political, residents, associations, etc. This variable does not include the police or judicial response to criminal activity as defined by Law, which falls under the variable 'violence, unrest and criminal activity'.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Others 	Other themes which are not included in the variables stated above such as, for example, radicalism and terrorism. In the event that these themes become recurrent in the analysis, a new variable shall be created to include them.
Presence of Information Sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No 	State whether information sources quoted in the analysed document appear.
Police/ Judicial Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from police, judges, public prosecutors, etc. Sources related to the judicial body in general are grouped together in this variable. 'Not Applicable' should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.
Political Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from male and female politicians. 'Not Applicable' should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.
Social Agent Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from different social agents such as social workers, educators and associations, as well as others. 'Not Applicable' should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.
Street Group Members Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from members of the same street groups that are quoted in the analysed document or other similar groups. 'Not Applicable' should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.
Expert Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from experts in the main theme of the analysed document such as, for example, researchers of youth groups or experts in migration processes, etc. 'Not Applicable' should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.

Others Involved and External Observers Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable 	Include statements from external persons who have witnessed an event or activity represented in the analysed document (for example, residents). ‘Not Applicable’ should be selected when no information sources are quoted in the document.
Country	Open	State the country where the action or situation of the analysed document is located.
District or Street	Open	State the district, street, square or other space where the action or situation of the analysed document is located.
Subject Categories: Characterization of the group members <small>*In these categories, ‘Not Applicable’ refers to when the piece of news does not identify any specific group and ‘Not Stated’ when it mentions a specific group but this variable is not stated.</small>		
Group Identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not stated • Latin American gang • Maghrebi Gang/ Maghrebi Youths • Latin Kings • ‘Ñetas’ • ‘Trinitarios’ • Dominicans Don’t Play • ‘Mara’ /‘Mara Salvatrucha’ • ‘Menas’ • Youths Migrated Alone / Supervised Youths • ‘Charmil’ / ‘Tcharmil’ • Others (add to the list) 	<p>An attempt should be made to identify the main specific group dealt with in the analysed document. If a general group is identified in the document rather than a specific one, ‘generic’ should be selected (for example, Latin American gang). The same number of groups as those emerging in the analysis may be added to the list of variables.</p> <p>An option to double this variable can also be considered to identify two groups which are at the same information level. For example, group X clashes with group X, but no greater importance is attached to either of the two groups. In this case, group 1 and group 2 may be identified in order of appearance in the piece. This means that if the name of one of the groups appears in the title of the piece, it will be group 1.</p> <p>It is not recommended to include more than two groups in order to make data management and collection easier. If 3 or more groups appear in one piece at the same information level, an attempt shall be made to quote them generically. For example, if the ‘Ñetas’, Latin Kings and DDP are quoted, the generic option ‘Latin American gangs’ shall be selected.</p>
Sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Female • Male and Female • Others • Not Applicable • Not Stated 	One of the options stated should be selected.

Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No • Not Applicable • Not Stated 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Age	Open	If 'yes' is selected in the age variable above, the age or ages included in the analysed document should be stated.
Origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Native • Migrated • Not Applicable • Not Stated 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Nationality	Open	If the nationality is stated, note it/them down.
Place of Residence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not Stated • Stated • Not Applicable 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Place of Residence	Open	If the city or cities of residence is/are stated, note it/them down.
Social Class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low • Medium • High • Not Applicable • Not Stated 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Legal Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulated • Non-Regulated • Undocumented • In the process of regulation • Not Applicable • Not Stated 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Family Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not Stated • Stated • Not Applicable 	One of the options stated should be selected.
Religious Beliefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not Stated • Stated • Not Applicable 	One of the options stated should be selected.

Self-creation based on previous studies, meetings with experts and pilot test.

4.1.3. Analytic Strategy and Reliability

The sample selected was coded by three members of the research team. A subset was selected at random representing 5% of the total sample (n=33). This subset was coded independently by three members of the research in order to minimize interpretation bias of the coders. Although the ideal proportion is often said to be around 10% of the sample for calibration of intercoder reliability (O'Connor and Joffe, 2020), in this case we consider 5% to be a sufficiently representative subset, given the high number of cases included in the research data set (MacPhail et al., 2016). The three researchers shared their coding and discussed the differences found, reaching an agreement in any cases in which the analysis sheet did not provide enough guidance. These agreements were then added to the analysis sheet as observations that may be used as a guide for future research in this regard. In some cases an agreement could not be reached and coding remained unchanged, reflecting intercoder discrepancy. After a round of reviews, one of the coders continued coding the rest of the data set.

Intercoder reliability was calculated using ReCal3, an open access software which is available online free of charge (Freelon, 2009). The coding reliability of each coder was assessed separately for each variable using Krippendorff's alpha: The average alpha value for intercoder reliability was 0.949 (the alpha of each variable ranged from 0.84 to 1). This value is considered to be much higher than the conservative threshold of 0.80 which is generally quoted for a good reliability between assessors in the context of content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013).

The data set was imported to SPSS statistics software (version 23 for Mac) to be analysed. Frequency and descriptive tests were performed in order to better understand the data collected.

4.2. Analysis of Fiction Products

4.2.1. Selection of the sample and creation of the database

In order to select the sample for analysis of fiction products, a systematic search method was used with which a database was created with identification information (table 3) which also helps us to obtain a descriptive outlook of the fiction products concerning street youth groups. At a later stage a series of films were selected and underwent qualitative analysis.

Table. 4. Sheet for the creation of the fiction product database

Category	Variables
Title	Open
Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Film ● Series ● Others

Country of Production	State country or countries of production of the work
Director	State the name(s) of the directors
Production	Name of the producer(s)
Years broadcast	State year of premiere and for series, state start and end (XXXX-XXXX). If the series has not ended, this should be stated.
Seasons (series)	State number of seasons
Episodes (series)	State number of episodes
Running time	In minutes (for series, the approximate running time of episodes)
Genre (series)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Series • Serial • Sitcom • Miniseries
Microgenre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drama • Comedy • Fantasy/ Science Fiction • Thriller/ Suspense/ Dark • Horror • Adventure/ Action • Musical • War/ Historical • Western • LGBTI+ • Animation • Others
Synopsis	Open: Include the synopsis of the work.

Self-creation based on previous studies (Fedele, 2014) and pilot test.

Work has been carried out in this phase with international production by means of a systematic search in Spain on the on-demand video platforms Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, HBO and Filmin. The advice of Soriano (2017) quoted previously was again followed for the selection of these spaces. According to a forecast made by eMarketer for the end of 2020 and Digital TV Research for 2025³, the on-demand video platforms with most subscribers will be Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, Disney+ and HBO, at a global level. For its part, the report by the Association for Media Research (2020) states that the pay television (non-traditional) platforms accessed by most individuals in Spain are Netflix, Amazon Prime Video and HBO. In this study we therefore worked with these three platforms and also added the platform Filmin. This is due to the findings of the pilot test performed with systematic searches, as stated in table 4. Furthermore, we

³ <https://www.emarketer.com/chart/233822/subscription-video-on-demand-svod-subscribers-worldwide-by-service-provider-2020-2025-millions> (Date accessed: 27/06/2020)

have left Disney+ out of the selection because the content that it offers is targeted at children/families and this is far from the subject matter: street youth groups.

Secondly, it is also important to note that the majority of platforms selected have an international geographical scope, operating in around 200 countries around the world⁴, therefore guaranteeing a wide range of audiences. On the other hand, this also shows limitations, as the content offered in each country is different (in this case, the selection is limited to subscriptions in Spain) and some products may be removed from its guide during the analysis (if this occurs, alternative ways will be explored so that these can be consulted). Lastly, the three platforms have options to perform systematic searches and subscriptions shall be paid throughout field work in order to ensure access to the content.

In relation to the systematic search, this has been performed according to the selection of words for the SDP but, in this case, the generic words have been expanded with the English version and with words that generate limited results, such as ‘gang’ and ‘crowd’. Furthermore, as can be observed in table 4, the search engines of each platform work differently and a pilot test was needed to determine the keywords that would be used for searches on each of the platforms selected for the study.

Table. 5. Pilot test of keywords on on-demand video platforms

Platform	Observations
Netflix	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The word ‘youth group(s)’ produces numerous results which are not related to the subject matter of the research. The majority are youth films and series. For example: <i>Work it</i> (2020), <i>The Package</i> (2018), <i>Step Sisters</i> (2018), <i>Vampires vs. the Bronx</i> (2020) and <i>Dude</i> (2020). ●The words ‘crowd(s)’ and ‘gang(s)’ do generate results close to the objectives of the study. ●The words ‘street group(s)’ and ‘Latin American gang(s)’ do not generate any results. ●The word ‘urban tribe(s)’ generates some results under the specification of ‘similar titles’. In a first review, we see that the majority are far from the subject matter of the research. In spite of this, it generates few results. ●When an interesting fiction product is detected for the study, the platform recommends other similar products. It is advisable to follow these recommendations to establish databases with Netflix products.
HBO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The search engine of the platform only works based on the detection of words in the product title and not based on tags or content of the description, etc. This is why the words selected for the search do not produce practically any results. The HBO ‘search’ option cannot therefore be the main tool in this case. As an alternative, a decision is made to select platform titles close to the subject matters of this research (for example, <i>The Wire</i>) and consult the proposals for

⁴ <https://help.netflix.com/es-es/node/14164> (Date accessed: 27/06/2020); <https://hbowatch.com/which-countries-is-hbo-available-in/> (Date accessed: 27/06/2020); https://www.primevideo.com/help/ref=atv_hp_nd_srchr?nodeId=GD5REBNJD74BURF6 (Date accessed: 27/06/2020).

	similar platform titles (even though this tool is also very limited).
Amazon Prime Video	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The words ‘gang(s)’, ‘Latin American gang(s)’, ‘crowd(s)’ and ‘crew’ generated the highest number of results (this ranges between a minimum of around 40 and a maximum of almost 500 results), but many of them are far from the subject matter. For example, in the case of ‘crew’ the search engine included products that understood crew as people working on a ship, aircraft, etc. (<i>Star Trek</i> or <i>Battlestar Galactica</i>) or a team (<i>Paw Patrol</i> or <i>Peppa Pig</i>). Another similar example is that of ‘crowd(s)’, where many results are included that are related to friend groups, and therefore many teenage products (<i>Compañeros</i> or <i>Al Salir de Clase</i>). ‘Gang(s)’ gave rise to 482 results, however the majority were far from the subject matter, as they were focused on concerts or music documentaries, according the meaning of the word in Spanish. It was therefore decided to remove ‘gang(s)’ as a keyword for the search on Prime Video and keep the other three. ● Other words such as ‘youth gang(s)’, ‘youth group(s)’ and ‘street group’ generated fewer than 10 results. In these cases, some results are again found far from the subject matter, but the words are kept. ● Lastly, the recommendations for similar products made by the platform were also explored here.
Filmin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● As mentioned above, Filmin was not part of the initial selection of on-demand video platforms chosen for this study. Nonetheless, a decision was made to include it because it has a specific collection entitled ‘Street Gangs’ which includes 36 products among which there are classics and more contemporary works. This limited selection is very relevant to the study under discussion.

This table shows the diversities and complexities found when conducting systematic searches on on-demand video platforms. For this reason, as well as adapting the keywords to each platform, the same inclusion criteria were also applied to the selection of fiction products as those applied to the press:

- Youths: the street group(s) appearing in the document is/are of youths.
- Group identity: the street group(s) appearing in the document has/have a group identity, which is either their own or external.
- Space: The street group(s) appearing in the document use(s) the public space, physical or virtual, for meetings or activities within the group.

Once the database had been created and organised after gathering works from the on-demand video platforms, the team met to discuss a first selection of products that would be used in the qualitative analysis phase, which would be carried out by means of close reading (as explained in the following section). In order to make a plural and diverse selection, a series of selection criteria were established: place of production, year of production, sex of the creator or author, type and genre of the work, etc. Furthermore, as a step prior to the team meeting, the various members of the team were asked to review the database and make a first individual selection of works that they consider to be

interesting for the qualitative analysis phase, bearing in mind the criteria established. A selection of three films was deduced from the team meeting. The works and criteria followed for them to be selected for close reading can be found below:

- This is England (UK, 2006). This is a cult film in the field and it is also produced in Europe. The work that we select for analysis is the film, however, as a result of its success, a series was produced afterwards too. This is England tells us the story of the skinheads in England through the eyes of a boy who gradually gets into the youth group and cultures around him while having his first experiences with love, alcohol, drugs, etc. In this case the ratings by filmaffinity (7.42 with 31,538 votes) and imdb (7.7 with 116,740 votes) are high.
- Bande de Filles (France, 2014). This work is selected according to various criteria. Firstly, this is a film which is produced in France and its perspective is therefore different to an English-speaking one. Secondly, the narrative of this film is based on a street youth group made up of women and it has also been directed by a woman. These two aspects add value in terms of diversity since, as can be seen in the following points, fiction production in the field under discussion is usually very male-dominated. So are its narratives. Lastly it has received good ratings from filmaffinity (6.2 with 2,104 votes) and imdb (6.9 with 8,604 votes).
- Ya no estoy aquí (Mexico, 2019). This is a Mexican film and it is therefore produced in a Latin American country. This is the first selection criterion. Secondly, it is a very recent work (2019), but it already has very good ratings, as shown by its scores and votes on filmaffinity (6.8 with 2,587 votes) and imdb (7.3 with 6,279 votes). Thirdly, the themes set out by the film are also interesting, such as identity construction through aesthetics and music and the taking up of public space by young males and females. This is combined with the narration of a youth's migration process from Mexico to the United States.

4.2.2. Qualitative Analysis: Close Reading

In this study we use close reading as a technique, which is a method used extensively by Cultural Studies in the framework of contemporary popular culture (Brummet, 2019; Castelló, 2008) and, in particular, in the analysis of fiction series and films (e.g. Araüna, Tortajada and Willem, 2018; Fedele and Masanet, 2021; Masanet, Ventura and Ballesté, 2022). According to Castelló (2008), 'this is basically an interpretative and critical approach to the representations, realism of the story and the media product as an artistic production.' (p. 209). In this respect, for Brummett (2019), 'close reading is the mindful, disciplined reading of an object with a view to deeper understanding of its meanings.' (p. 2). The author states that it is possible to learn close reading techniques which help the researcher or reader to benefit more from the message and to share what they learn with others in a critical way. To this end, in our study we follow the design of Buonanno (1996) and Fiske and Hartley (1978) and we divide analysis into five areas (apart from the identification parts of the work) as summed up in the table below:

Table. 6. Analysis Areas of Close Reading

Analysis area	Parts to take into account
Context	Historical/social setting, location, environments and spaces. Reference is also made to the context of the production and the authors of the work.
Production	Formal, visual and sound pieces. Technical code which is expressed through the building of shots, pace of narration in editing, lights, soundtrack etc.
Narration	Plot, characters, actions and time structure. Particular emphasis is placed on the most important narrative threads of the story. Main characters are detected and their actions are observed, as well as objectives and resolutions of the plots.
Content	Themes, problems, subjects and institutions. The sociological context of the story is key in this point.
Meanings	Reaffirmed, rejected or transgressed values of the work. The main lines of conflict of the text are detected. This would be related to the ideological code that ensures coherence of the text and places it in a certain discourse.

Creation based on the texts by Buonanno (1996), Fiske and Hartley (1978), Castelló (2008) and Gómez (2010).

Brummett (2019) also points out the importance of context when it comes to reading the work and the difference between historical context and textual context. According to the author, when a person reads a work they are influenced by the historical context of the time. Likewise, the textual context influences the reading of the text. In other words, a text which is being ironic prejudices the reader by making them read according to this standard, even when it is not intended to be ironic. This gives rise to the need for the researcher to take contexts into account when analysing a work.

As we have been able to see in the analysis areas, close reading forms part of post-structuralism, since it is an intertextual method (the story is related to the cultural and social environment) in which a critical and full interpretation is made of the text and the text is dealt with as an 'artistic work', therefore there is interest in aesthetic values (Castelló, 2008). These are types of studies that 'give great freedom to the analyst, who also acquires an author aspect in critical analysis, often read as an essay' (Castelló, 2008, p. 210). The researcher is therefore the focus of the analysis process, since 'academicism is combined with the creative essay text' (Castelló, 2008, p. 211). This is particularly relevant to our research project, which is mainly made up of anthropologists. Close reading becomes an optimum tool for the team since the intention is to compare the building of fiction with the anthropologist's building of reality. In this regard, the researchers do a close reading of the work which they can contrast with their ethnographic work on street youth groups or with studies by other ethnographers. It must also be emphasized that close reading may be very rewarding if it is combined with other qualitative methodologies that offer information beyond the text (this will be given in phase 4 of this study: reception analysis). The ultimate

objective is for researchers to combine close reading with ethnographic fieldwork and the reading of texts by other anthropologists on street youth groups. In fact, we can confirm that we will do an ‘ethnographic close reading’ of fiction works.

5. Preliminary Findings

5.1. Descriptive Analysis of the Press

This section includes the descriptive results of the analysis of the SDP based on the search for keywords in El País and El Mundo. We have worked with a total of 636 journalistic publications (310 from El Mundo and 326 from El País) and the data collected are described below.

5.1.1. Years of Publication

Figure 1 includes information on distribution in years of the analysed documents. As can be seen, we have peaks of publications in different years. For example, in 2007, with 29 documents, there is a significant increase compared to the previous year (16 documents in 2006) and also a considerable decrease the following year (10 documents in 2008). We see the next significant peak in 2010 (35 publications) and then there is a slight decrease in 2011 (25 documents) and a considerable increase over the following years, until a notable peak of publications is reached in 2014 (55 publications). We come across another similar peak in 2016 (64 publications) and the highest number of publications in the 2019 peak, with 109 publications. It is important to note that the high number of publications in 2019 is linked to the emergence of the ‘Menas’ phenomenon in the Spanish press, an important case study for the project under discussion. Lastly, in 2020 the publications drop to 41. This last year must be dealt with in a particular way, since this is the year in which the COVID-19 crisis took place and this has given rise to considerable changes in journalistic routines and themes.

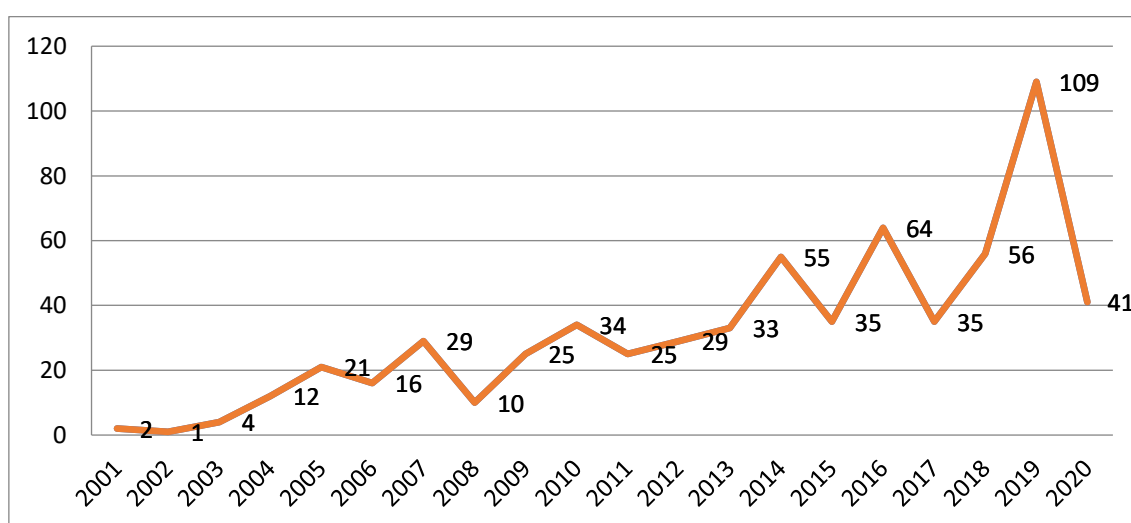


Figure 1. Distribution by years of the publication of documents on street youth groups in the SDP

From this first graph of the distribution in years of documents on street youth groups, it can be deduced that there are some periods in which this theme is prominent in the

media agenda. It is also seen that from 2015 it has been a recurrent theme in El País and El Mundo with varying intensity. These data must be analysed while taking into account the context surrounding the street youth groups in each of these moments in order to be able to contextualize these peaks of publications.

5.1.2. Press Headlines

The headlines of the analysed press have been collected and a word cloud has been created with these, getting rid of any words that do not provide information relevant to this study (for example: articles, connectors, pronouns, etc.). As can be seen in image 1, there is a series of words that stand out from the rest: ‘arrested’, ‘gang(s)’, ‘Latin American’, ‘youth(s)’, ‘child’ and ‘Madrid’. These words are followed by others which also stand out, but to a lesser extent, such as ‘police’, ‘member’, ‘fight’, ‘menas’, ‘centre’, ‘prison’ and ‘jail’, as well as others. This first extraction of words already shows the themes focused on by the journalistic articles of El País and El Mundo that deal with the theme of street youth groups. Violence, unrest and criminal activity take up most headlines. Also the fact that they are youths or children. Lastly, it gives us some specific areas, as is the case of Madrid or, more specifically, Vallecas (to a much lesser extent). Some particular groups also emerge in this point, such as the Latin Kings, ‘Ñetas’, ‘Trinitarios’ and the DDP. This informs us in advance of the data that we will



find later through the analysis of other variables.

Figure. 2. Word cloud of headlines

5.1.3. Authors

As regards the authors of the analysed documents, a graph is attached which includes only the authors who sign at least two journalistic works (graph 2). 49 different authorships appear, but four clearly stand out from the rest. Two of them are signed by bodies such as ‘Agencies’ (161 pieces) and by the actual ‘Editorial Offices’ (55) of the analysed press. As for the other two, they are signed by F. Javier Barroso (87 pieces) and Luís F. Duran (54 pieces). These data show us that there are two journalists who have covered a significant part of the press on street youth groups in the last 20 years.

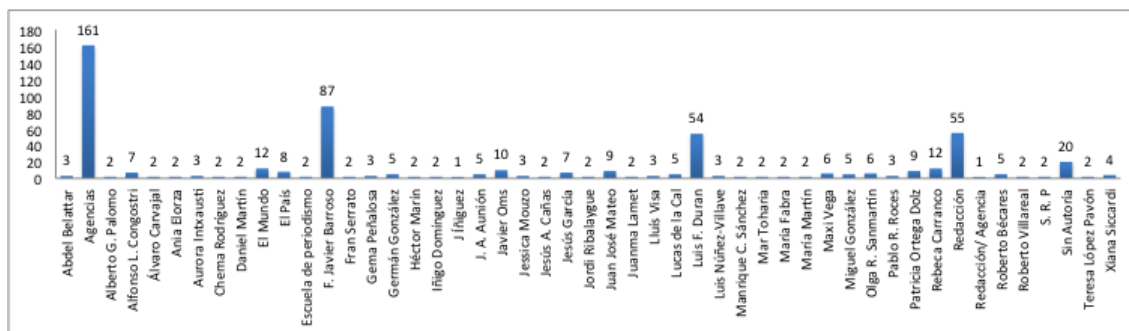


Figure. 3. Authors who have signed more than two documents

Below we find a series of journalists who have also signed a considerable number of pieces but whose figures are out of line with those of F. Javier Barroso and Luís F. Duran. These are journalists who have published around 10 pieces on the theme: Rebeca Carranco (12 pieces), Javier Oms (10 pieces) and Juan José Mateo (9 pieces).

From the data it can be deduced that the authorship of the study theme is predominantly male. With the information that we have been able to extract (identification of the sex), it has been detected that only 30.77% of authors are female and 69.23% are male.

5.1.4. Journalistic genre

From analysis of the journalistic genre of documents, it can be deduced that 91.2% (n=520) are pieces of news, 5.2% (n=33) reports, 1.4% (n=9) interviews, 0.5% (n=3) opinion pieces and another 0.5% (n=3) columns, 0.3% (n=2) are features and 0.2% (n=1) editorials. Lastly, there are 5 documents under ‘others’ (0.8%).

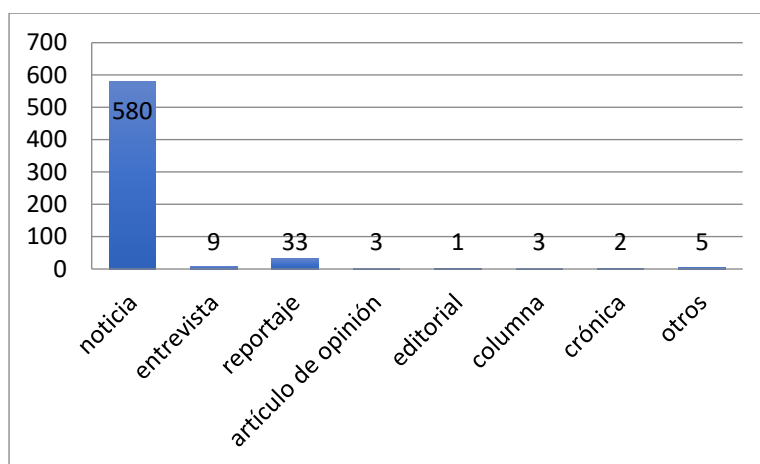


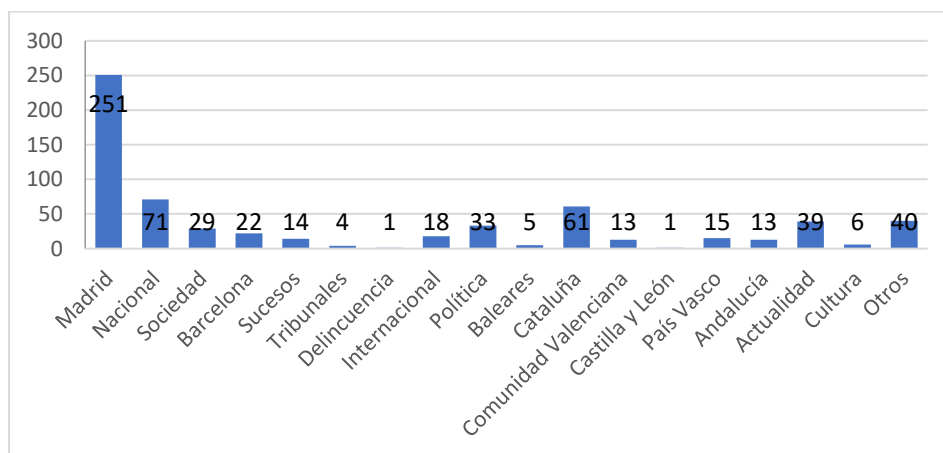
Figure. 4. Journalistic genre of the analysed journalistic documents

piece of news	interview	report	opinion piece	editorial	column	feature	others
---------------	-----------	--------	---------------	-----------	--------	---------	--------

As can be seen, the vast majority of documents are pieces of news, which leaves almost no space for other genres that would allow a different approach to the phenomenon under study and would make room for other voices such as, for example, reports and interviews.

5.1.5. Section

In relation to the section where the analysed journalistic documents are published (graph 4), the section ‘Madrid’ (39.5%; n=251) stands out, which is a piece of information in line with the most common words in the headlines of the analysed press. This section is found in almost a third of the analysed documents, and it is therefore of significant importance in the field of study. At a considerable distance, it is followed by ‘National’ (11.2%: n=71), ‘Catalonia’ (9.6%; n=61), ‘Others’ (6.3%; n=40), Current Affairs (6.1%; n=39) and Politics (5.2%; n=33). With figures below 5% we find ‘Society’ (4.6%; n=29), ‘Barcelona’ (3.5%; n=22), ‘International’ (2.8%; n=18), ‘Basque Country’ (2.4%; n=15) and Events (2.2%; n=14).

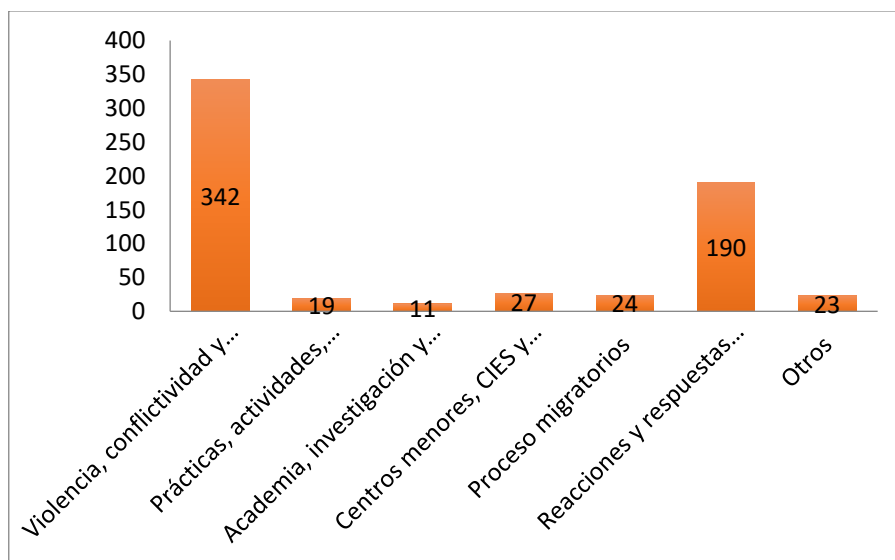


Madrid	National	Society	Barcelona	Events	Courts	Crime	International	Politics	Balearics	Catalonia	Valencian Community	Castile and León	Basque Country	Andalusia	Current Affairs	Culture	Others
--------	----------	---------	-----------	--------	--------	-------	---------------	----------	-----------	-----------	---------------------	------------------	----------------	-----------	-----------------	---------	--------

Figure. 5. Section where the analysed documents are published in the press

5.1.6. Main Theme

The main theme of the analysed documents helps us to understand how young males and females from street groups are represented in the SDP (figure 6). In this case, we find that the vast majority of analysed documents deal with the theme of ‘violence, unrest and criminal activity’ (53.8%; n=342). We therefore see that there is a tendency to associate street youth groups with conflicts and violence. This theme is followed by ‘reactions and responses from society and institutions to groups’ (29.9%; n=190), a variable which includes any documents that focus on the response and/or perspective of other institutions, bodies, groups and associations on street groups, but which do not focus on the perspective and voice of the young males and females that are part of these same groups. With a much lower presence, since the percentages are below 5%, we see the themes ‘young offender institutions, foreigner detention centres and prisons’ (4.2%; n=27) and ‘migration processes’ (3.8%; n=24). Lastly, ‘practices, activities, structure and profiles of the groups and of their members’ are only found in 3% (n=19) of the documents and ‘academia, research and art’ appear in 1.7% (n=11).



Violence, unrest and...	Practices, activities...	Academia, research and...	Young offender institutions, foreigner detention centres and...	Migration processes	Reactions and responses...	Others
-------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------	----------------------------	--------

Figure. 6. Main theme of the analysed documents

We therefore see that themes which include the experiences, operations and activities of the groups in a more direct way are found in a very low number of the analysed journalistic documents.

5.1.7. Number of images and/or audiovisual mediums

In relation to the number of images and/or audiovisual mediums supporting the text in the analysed journalistic documents, we see that the majority of documents include some kind of audiovisual medium (65.4%). In spite of this, zero images and/or audiovisual mediums account for a high percentage (34.6%; n=220). As can be seen in the graph, most documents include a single image or audiovisual medium (56.9%; n=362). Pieces of news that include two images (5%; n=32) or more account for very low percentages.

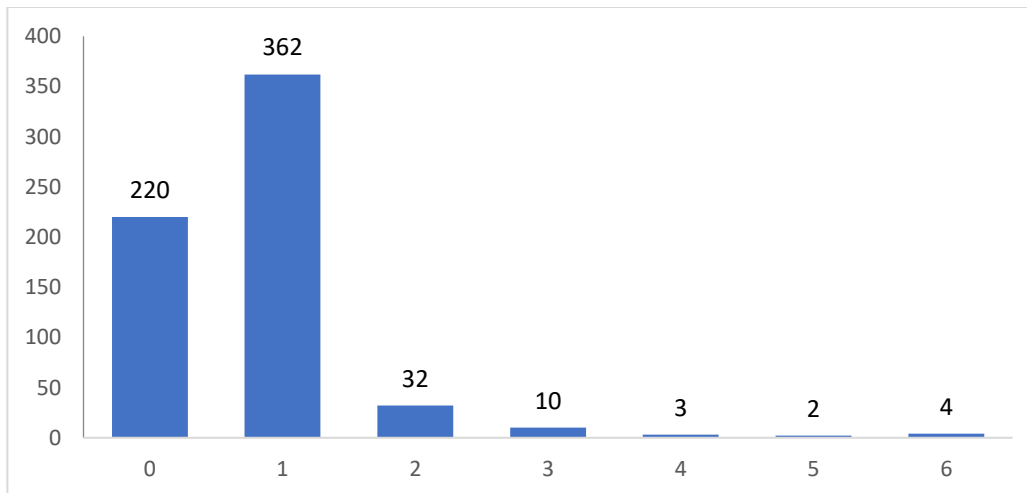


Figure. 7. Number of images and/or audiovisual mediums supporting the text in the documents

5.1.8. Information sources

Most of the analysed documents have information sources: 439 (96.2%). This shows that the press is used to consulting information sources when dealing with the theme of street youth groups.

In relation to the type of source, police/judicial sources are the most common. In this case, 69% (n=439) of the analysed documents have police/ judicial sources (figure 8). The data therefore show that the primary journalistic information source when dealing with the theme of street youth groups is police/judicial. These findings are in line with the previous data, which link the journalistic influence of groups to violence and unrest.

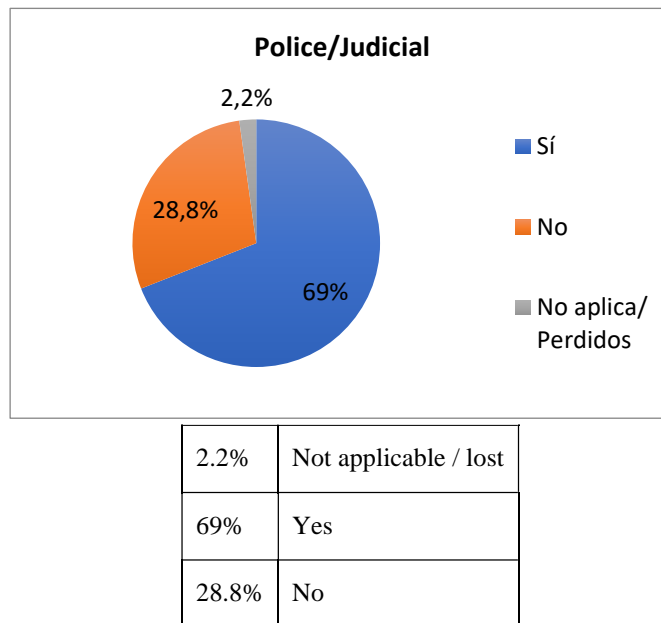


Figure. 8. Use of police/ judicial sources

The source with the second-highest presence in the analysed press, although much lower than the primary one, is the political source, which is found in 23.4% (n=149) of the documents (figure 9).

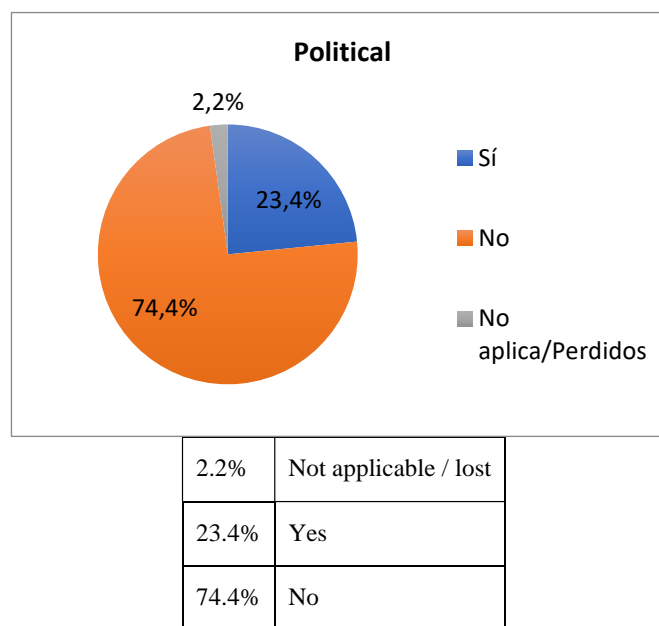
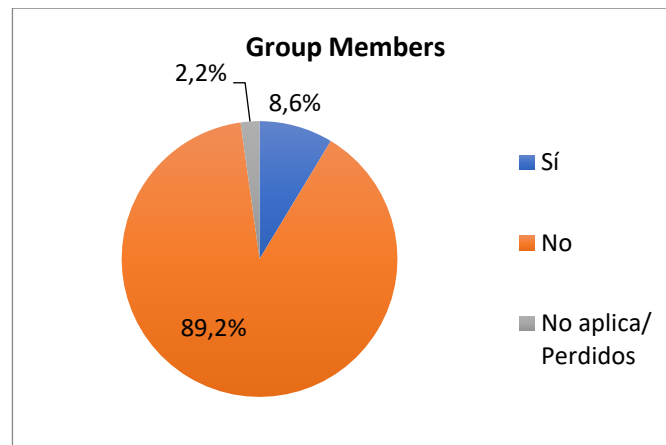


Figure. 9. Use of political sources

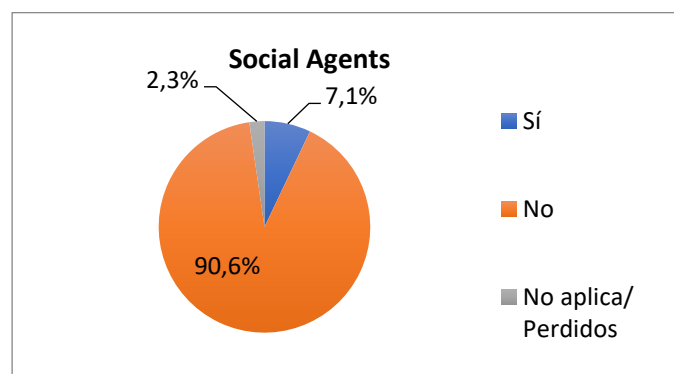
Whereas members of the actual street groups at the centre of the journalistic works are only quoted as an information source in 8.6% (n=55) of the documents (figure 10).



2.2%	Not applicable / lost
8.6%	Yes
89.2%	No

Figure. 10. Use of Use of street group member sources

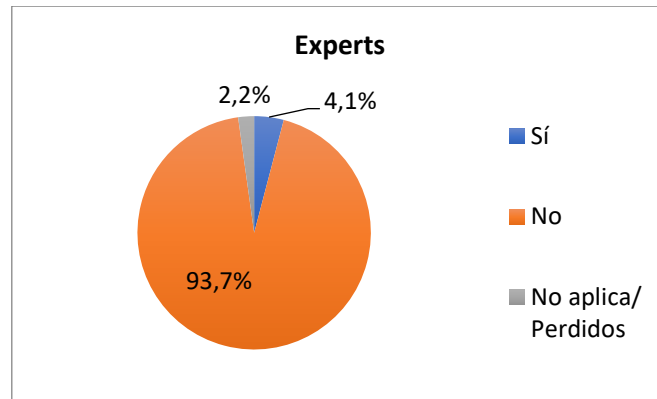
In this regard, social agents such as educators, social workers and people from associations and bodies that work in social aspects and who are therefore used to working in spaces close to those taken up by street youth group members, only appear as information sources in 7.1% (n=45) of the analysed journalistic works (figure 11).



2.3%	Not applicable / lost
7.1%	Yes
90.6%	No

Figure. 11. Use of social agent sources

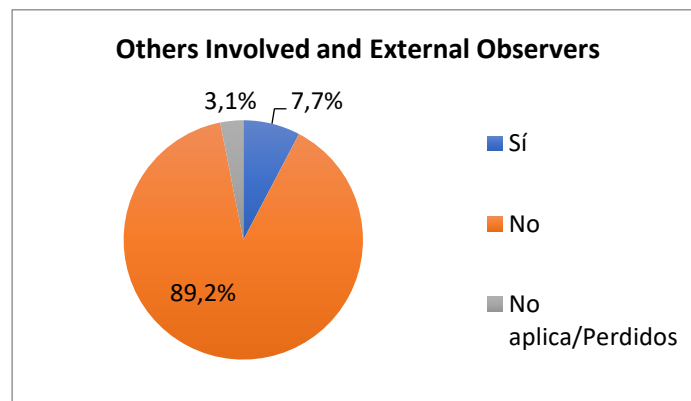
This case is similar to that of expert sources, which are only quoted in 4.1% (n=26) of the analysed journalistic documents (figure 12).



2.2%	Not applicable / lost
4.1%	Yes
93.7%	No

Figure. 12. Use of expert sources

Lastly, the sources ‘others involved and external observers’ are quoted in 7.7% (n=49) of the analysed pieces (figure 13).



3.1%	Not applicable / lost
7.7%	Yes
89.2%	No

Figure. 13. Use of others involved and external observers sources

5.1.9. Areas Represented

As stated in previous sections of this report, the database included an open space in which it is possible to indicate the place where the facts of the analysed documents are found. A new word cloud has been generated with the information collected (figure 14). As can be seen, one city again stands out from the rest, Madrid, as well as some of its districts such as Vallecas and Alcobendas. The city of Barcelona and the region of Catalonia in general are also significant. Furthermore, various words related to the public space usually taken up by street groups can also be found: district, street, underground, bridge, stairway, etc.

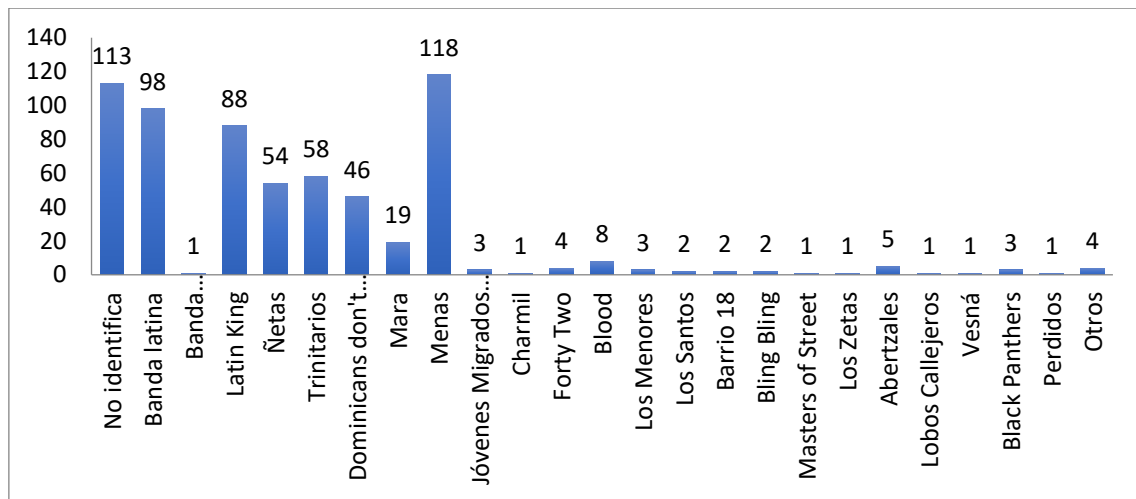


Figure. 14. Word cloud with places

5.1.10. Street youth groups represented

In relation to the identity of the groups (figure 15) that are quoted in the analysed journalistic documents, we see that in a considerable number of cases groups are not stated (113 documents; 17.8%) or they are stated with a generic term, such as Latin American gang(s) (15.4%; n=98). Where groups are identified in journalistic work, we find that groups appear which were already seen in the word clouds of headlines (image 1). The most-quoted groups are linked to the keyword of the search 'Latin American gangs': Latin Kings (13.8%; n=88), 'Trinitarios' (9.1%; n=58), 'Ñetas' (8.5%; n=54), Dominicans Don't Play (DDP) (7.2%; n=46) and 'Mara/mara Salvatrucha' (3%; n=19).

The presence of 'Menas' is also very prominent (18.6%; n=118). However, on the contrary, 'Maghrebi gang/ Maghreb youths' are practically not quoted generically at all (0.2%; n=1) and neither are 'youths migrated alone/supervised youths' (0.5%; n=3).



Not stated	Latin American gang	Maghrebi gang/ Maghreb youths'	Latin Kings	'Ñetas'	'Trinitarios'	Dominicans don't play	'Mara'	'Menas'	Youths Migrated Alone/...	'Charmil'	Forty Two	
Blood	'Los Menores'	'Los Santos'	'Barrio 18'	Bling Bling	Masters of Street	'Los Zetas'	'Abertzales'	'Lobos Callejeros'	'Vesná'	Black Panthers	Lost	Others

Figure 15. Use of others involved and observers sources

It is also important to note that a series of groups appear and, even though they have a very anecdotal presence in the analysed press, the following must be mentioned: Blood (1.3%; n=8), Forty-Two (0.6%; n=4), 'Los Menores' (0.5%; n=3), Black Panthers (0.5%; n=3), 'Los Santos' (0.3%; n=2), 'Barrio 18' (0.3%; n=2), Bling Bling (0.3%; n=2), etc. The 'Abertzales' are also found in this series with lower representation (0.8%; n=5), as this is a specific case linked to political dynamics.

These data help us to identify the groups with the highest presence in the SDP.

5.1.11. Profile of the Group Members

In relation to the sex of the group members (figure 16), we see ‘not stated’ (39.3%; n=250) and ‘not applicable/lost’ (21.1%; n=134) in many of the documents. This means that in over 60% of cases, the sex of the members who make up the groups represented in the SDP studied is not determined.

Only 39.6% of documents state the sex, accounting for 36.6% men and only 1.4% women. Furthermore, in 1.6% of cases it is specified that these are men and women. In the majority of documents it is not therefore stated whether they are men or women and in those which do state the sex, the percentage of men is considerably higher than that of women. This is the way in which male-dominated gangs or gangs mostly made up of men are represented.

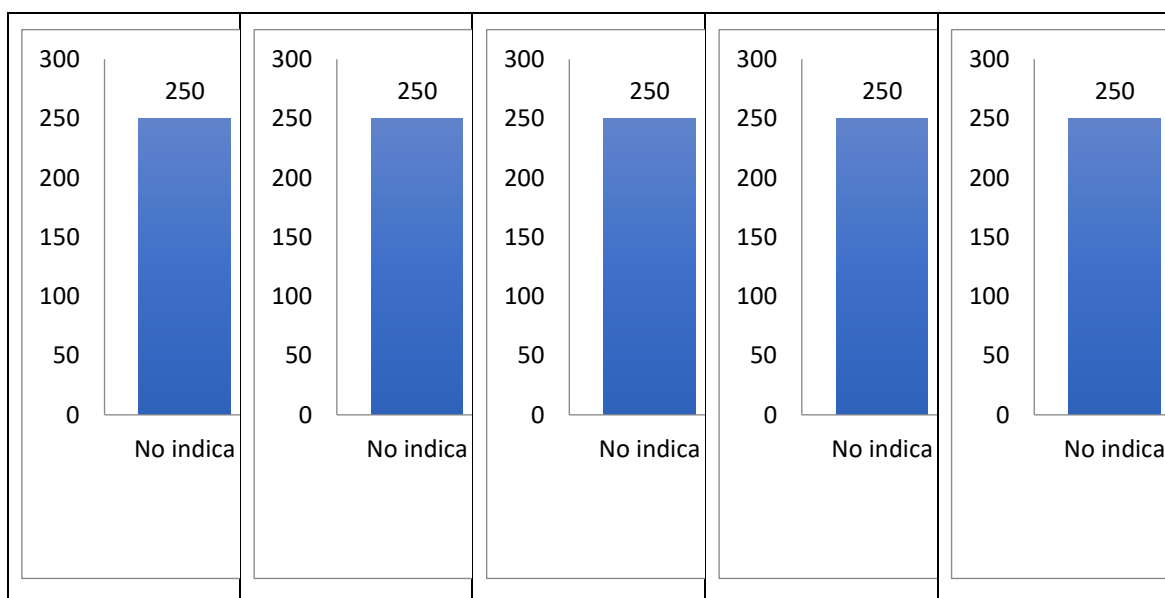
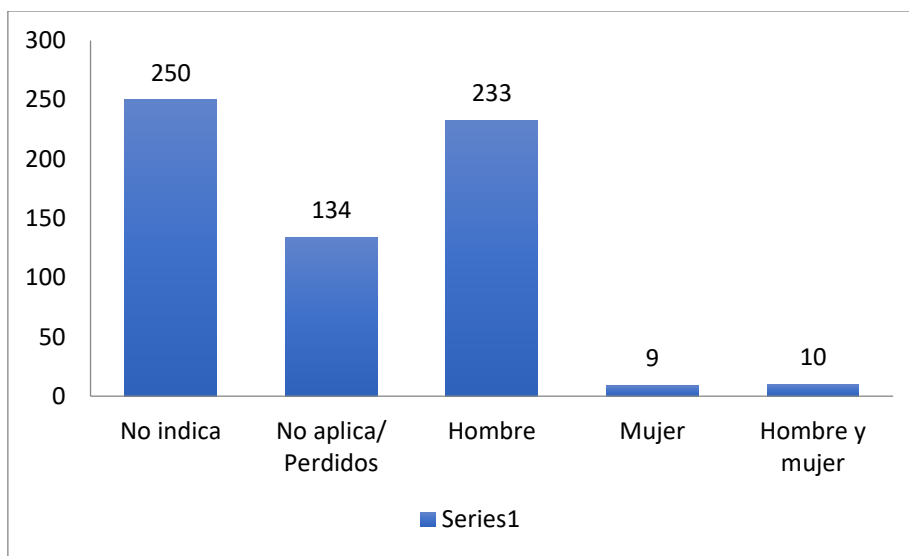
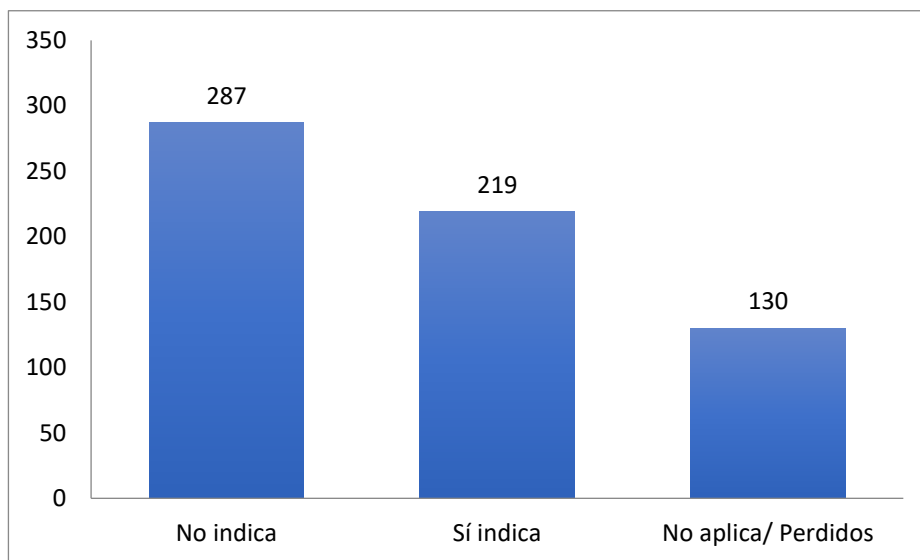


Figure. 16. Sex of the group members

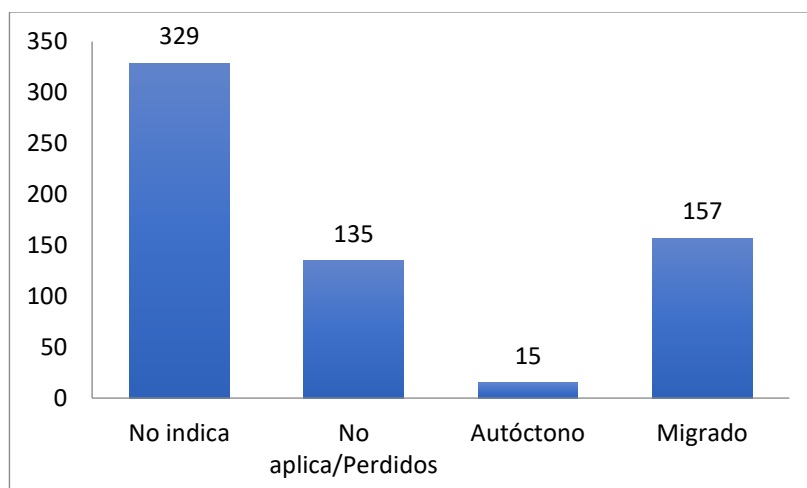
In relation to age (figure 17), as in the previous case, the number of analysed journalistic works in which no reference is made to the age of street youth group members quoted is very high: 187 documents (45.1%). Furthermore, age ranges are included in the majority of documents, as the group members represent various ages. Most of these ages are found in groups of children and youths under the age of 30 years.



Not stated	Stated	Not applicable / Lost
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Figure. 17. Age of the group members

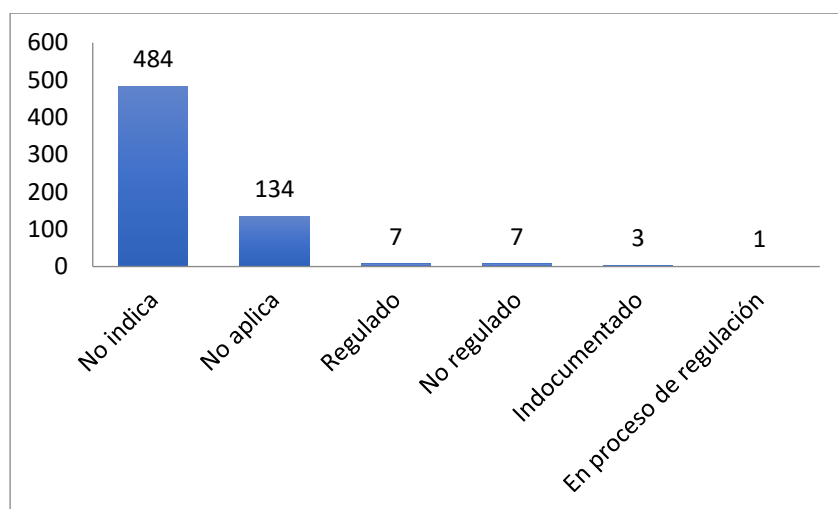
In relation to the origin, in most cases this is not stated (n=329; 51.7%) or not applicable (n=135; 21.2%). This is only stated in 172 documents and, of these, the majority have migrated (n=157; 24.7%), as stated in figure 18.



Not stated	Not applicable / Lost	Native	Migrated
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Figure. 18. Origin of the group members

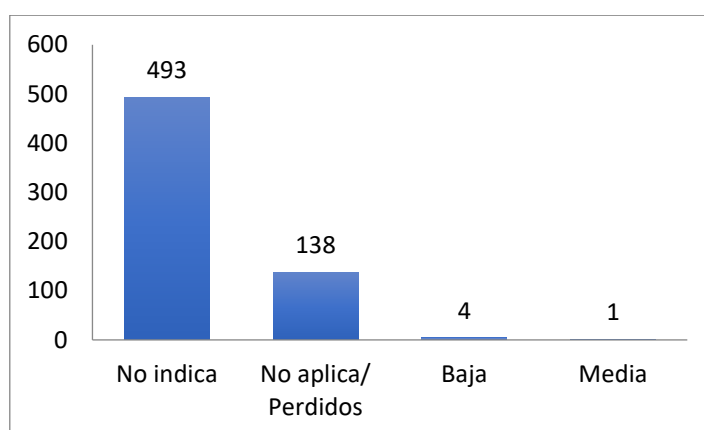
This is similar to the case of the legal status, since in most documents this is not stated (76.1%; n=484), as can be seen in figure 19.



Not stated	Not applicable	Regulated	Non-regulated	Undocumented	In process of...
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Figure. 19. Legal status of the group members

Lastly, there are also no references to help us identify the social class of the street group members in the majority of analysed documents. In 493 documents (77.5%) this is not stated and in 138 (21.7%) this is not applicable (figure 20).



Not stated	Not applicable / Lost	Low	Middle
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Figure. 20. Social class of the group members

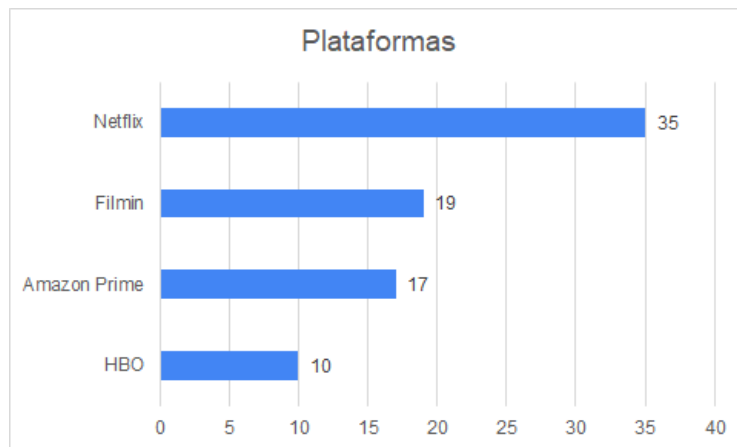
5.2. Descriptive Analysis of fiction

Based on the data collected in the database, a preliminary descriptive analysis has been conducted which shows us what the general characterization is like of products related to the street youth groups detected on the on-demand video platforms. As stated in the previous section, this accounts for a total of 81 products.

5.2.1. Platforms

First of all, the platform with the highest representation of content on the subject matter of this research, street youth groups, is Netflix, with 35 products. This is followed by Filmin with 19, Amazon Prime with 17 and HBO with 10. As regards HBO, this low

figure may be influenced by the search options of the platform itself which, as has been shown in table 4, make it difficult to extract data. We also see that Netflix is the platform that gives most space to the theme (figure 21).

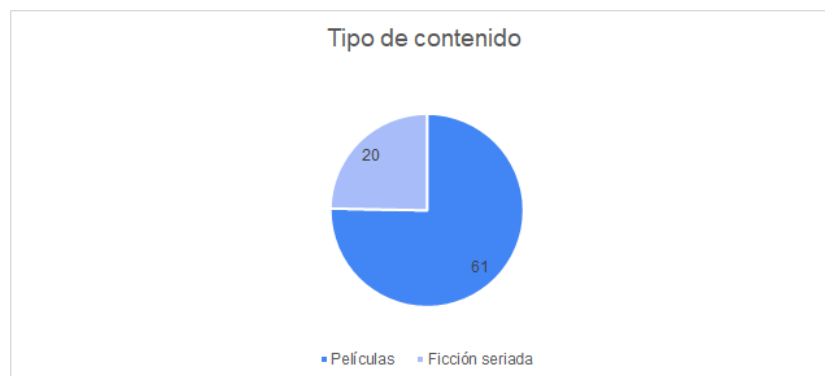


Platforms
Netflix
Filmin
Amazon Prime
HBO

Figure. 21. Products distributed by platforms

5.2.2. Type, genre and microgenre

In relation to the type of content that makes up the database (figure 22), 61 documents are films and 20 are serial fiction. Here we can see that there are more cinematographic products than series that deal with the theme of street youth groups on the analysed on-demand video platforms.



Type of content
Films
Serial fiction

Figure. 22. Type of product on the on-demand video platforms

As regards serial fiction (figure 23), the 20 products detected are divided into Serial (19) and Miniseries (1). None of these products are series. We can therefore see that serial fiction on street youth groups is usually presented through horizontal narratives that are found across various episodes. Furthermore, these serial fiction genres are long-running, since only one miniseries is detected.

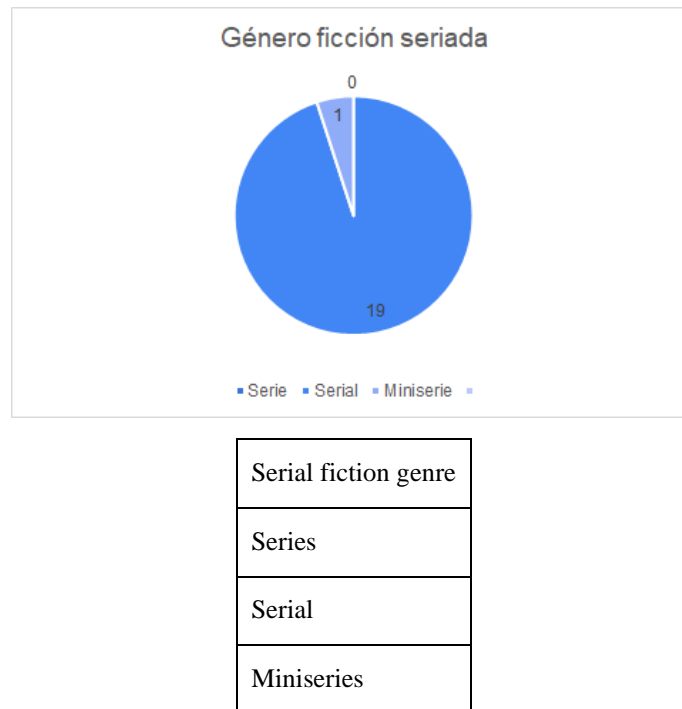
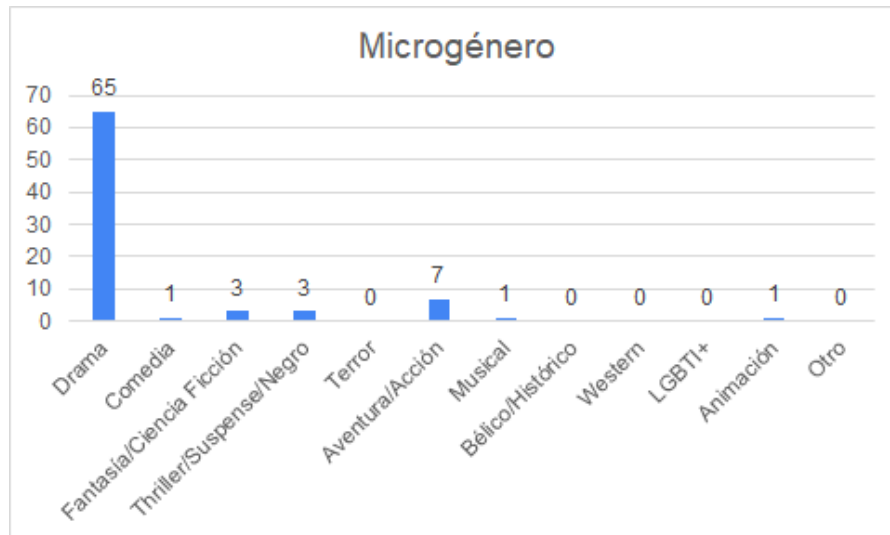


Figure. 23. Serial fiction genre of the serial fiction products

Lastly, in relation to microgenres (figure 24), one microgenre is seen to prevail over the rest, drama, with 65 products. The vast majority of products detected therefore adhere to this genre and the other genres are represented with a number below 10: 7 adventure/action, 3 fantasy/science fiction, 3 thriller/suspense/dark, 1 comedy, 1 musical and 1 animation. It is important to note that some genres such as ‘horror’, ‘war/historical’ and ‘LGBTI+’ are not represented. These data also help us to determine products used in the next qualitative analysis phase, as we seek to design an analysis sample that provides us with different perspectives and views, but also genres (and their conventions and ways of doing things).

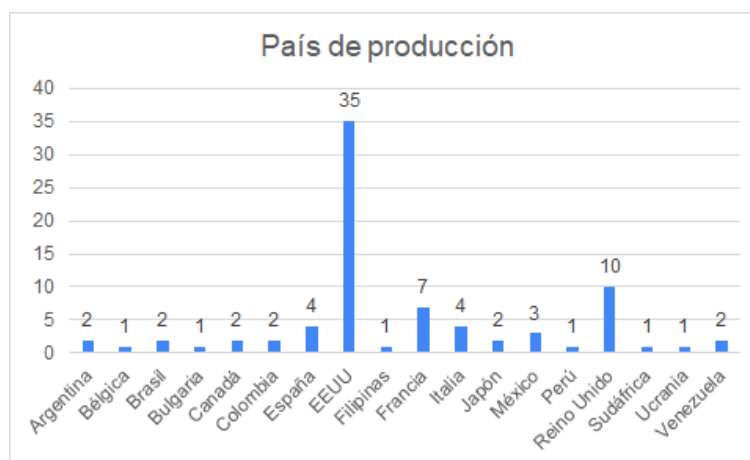


Microgenre											
Drama	Comedy	Fantasy/ Science Fiction	Thriller/ Suspense/ Dark	Horror	Adventure/ Action	Musical	War/ Historical	Western	LGBTI+	Animation	Other

Figure. 24. Microgenre of fiction products

5.2.3. Place of production

In relation to the country of production of the works (figure 25), we find that almost half of works included in the database have been produced in the US (35). The United Kingdom and France are the next countries with the highest production, but with a considerable difference, as they have 10 and 7 works, respectively. The other countries have an even lower production of works that represent youths from street groups. Italy and Spain have 4 productions and Mexico has 3. With two productions we have Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Japan and Venezuela. With one work we have Belgium, Bulgaria, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa and Ukraine. We also find these data useful in order to subsequently select the sample for qualitative analysis.

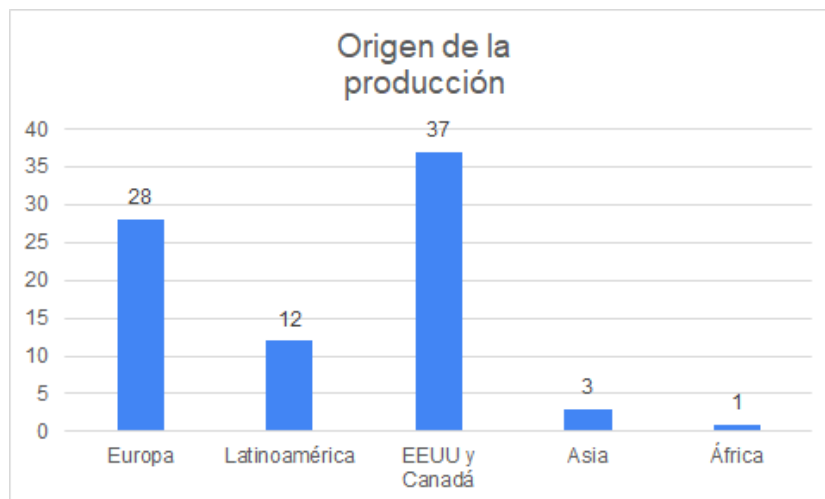


Country of production

Argentina	Belgium	Brazil	Bulgaria	Canada	Colombia	Spain	US	The Philippines	France	Italy	Japan	Mexico	Peru	United Kingdom	South Africa	Ukraine	Venezuela
-----------	---------	--------	----------	--------	----------	-------	----	-----------------	--------	-------	-------	--------	------	----------------	--------------	---------	-----------

Figure. 25. Country of production of the work

If we group countries together geographically (figure 26) we see that the majority of production is concentrated in the US and Canada (37) and in Europe (28). Africa and Asia are practically not represented at all, with 3 and 1 productions, respectively. As for Latin America, it has 12 productions.

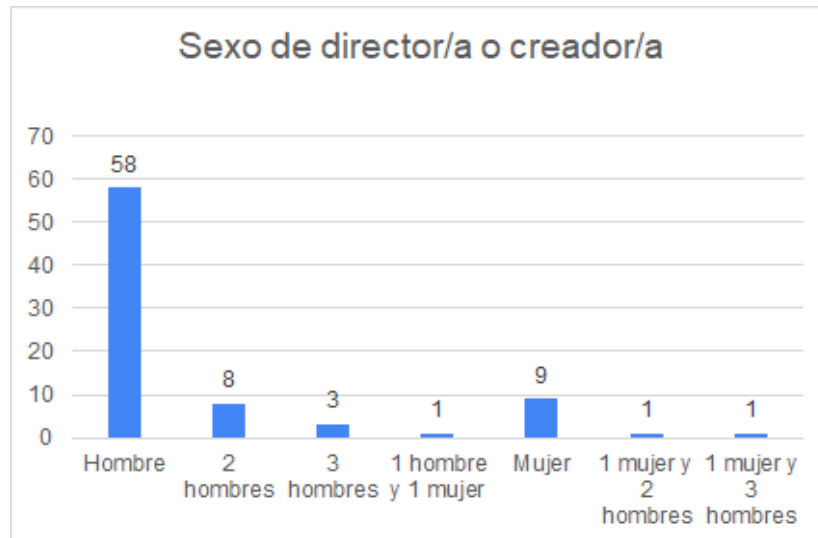


Origin of production				
Europe	Latin America	US and Canada	Asia	Africa

Figure. 26. Continent of production of the work

5.2.4. Authorship and Genre

In relation to the sex of the director or creator of works (figure 27), we see that it is predominantly male, as was the case with the SDP. In this respect, 63 works have been created or directed by men only. Whereas just 9 works have been created or directed by women only. Lastly, 3 works have been co-created or co-directed by men and women.



Sex of director or creator						
Man	2 men	3 men	1 man and 1 woman	Woman	1 woman and 2 men	1 woman and 3 men

Figure. 27. Sex of the director or creator of works

Figure 28 helps us to clearly see this difference in sex in fiction production concerning street youth groups.



Sex of director or creator		
Only men	Only women	Mixed
Only men	Only women	Mixed

Figure. 28. Sex of the director or creator of works

5.2.5. Year of premiere

In relation to the year of premiere of works (figure 29) included on the on-demand video platforms on the date of this study, the majority are seen to be spread out over the last 10 years (2010-2020) and the highest peak is in the last 2-3 years (2018-2020). This is because platforms tend to give more space to current products. Nonetheless, we see that there are products in the 1980s and these have mainly been selected on the Filmin platform, which backs alternative scheduling.



Figure. 29. Year of premiere

5.2.6. Synopsis

The synopses of all the works included in the database have been collected and a word cloud has been created with these, getting rid of any words that do not provide information relevant to this study (for example: articles, connectors, pronouns, etc.). As can be seen in figure 30, there is a series of words that stand out from the rest: 'gang(s)', 'lives', 'stories', 'district', 'year', 'youth', etc. It is therefore revealed that narratives are centred on the experiences and stories of the youths who are part of these groups.

If we take a look at these concepts, we can find some interesting data. For example, there is a series of words related to young people and belonging to or the feeling of being in a group: youth, teenager(s), group, gang and family. Others tell us about the main spaces where the stories take place: Manhattan, the Bronx, New York, Los Angeles, city, district, streets, etc. As we can see, specific spaces such as streets and districts are stated as key parts. In turn, there are words that tell us about activities or similarities of the narratives of these youths: love and music. Some words are also related to violence and criminality, such as crime, jail, drug, violence and police.



Figure. 30. Word cloud with the synopses of works

5.3. Preliminary notes on close reading

5.3.1. The group as a family against uprooting and hostile environment

At a narrative level, the three films analysed focus on the stage of adolescence and early youth and, specifically, on the processes of identity construction and development into adult life. These are some experiences which the main characters go through individually, but also collectively through youth groups. The three films deal with boys and girls who are in vulnerable situations (lack of mother and father figures, violent environments, education systems from which they are expelled, etc.) and who find a new home and family in the ‘gang’, which gives them support and accompanies them in this development stage. In the three cases, the crowd represents a youth group which seems to have a lack of opportunities and has been forced to grow up in a complex and, to a certain extent, hostile environment, in crisis. This need to build their own space therefore arises, the “new homeland” (Balló and Pérez, 1995), represented through the group, its relationships and ideals.

In the case of *This is England* (2006), the main character, Shaun, tries out a new identity typical of a rebellious pre-teen, whose disagreement and discontent result in loneliness and a longing to transgress. This identity starts from his situation as a fatherless child and member of the working class in a social context of crisis which offers him few opportunities. His integration with the social, family and school environment is conflictive or unbalanced, and this is expressed by the way in which the film represents his character in dialogue with his routines. Shaun is a lonely boy who is bullied at school, who in moments of escape and entertainment, keeps himself amused alone without the company of friends, and who fights with the shopkeeper in his town in a

working-class neighbourhood deprived of a support network. It is clear that as an individual, he suffers from uprooting and the absence of a ‘tribe’ with which to identify himself and experience a feeling of belonging. This tribe or ‘new family’ appears with Woody and his group and this is the point at which his identity starts to be constructed as a member of the gang. In *This is England*, ‘the gang’ turns Shaun’s initiation and individual journey into a collective search. It is through the crowd that the “hero’s journey” (Campbell, 1959; Vogler, 2002) is accompanied by the group. The crowd is the place in which Shaun finds his aspirational figures for development and also for replacement in the absence of a father.

As for *Bande de filles* (2014), the main character, Marieme, has a fatherless and dysfunctional family, with a mother who has to work late at night, a violent older brother and two younger sisters whom she often looks after. Marieme is a girl who is unable to make hardly any choices about her life and has practically no future prospects, who is denied a second chance by the education system to get high school qualifications and is virtually condemned to follow in the footsteps of her mother, who is a cleaner. In her attempt to find herself and rebel, Marieme joins a crowd of girls led by Lady, and made up of Fily and Adiatou, starting a process of personal acceptance and growth, and of empowerment, becoming “Vic” (short for Victoria), while she begins to experiment with love and sex with Ismaël, her brother’s friend. The film therefore gives an audiovisual representation of European socio-economic precarity (van der Waal, 2019) from a feminist and intersectional perspective, since its main characters are black girls, daughters of immigrants and lower-class, showing how “young, Black, working class, female experience simply cannot adequately be encoded” (Bainbridge, 2019, p. 10).

Ya no estoy Aquí (2019), however, is different. In the film, Ulises, the main character, embarks on a journey of abandonment and of returning home through a migration process. This process is the opposite of the previous ones. Ulises is forced to break away from the group and embark on a solo journey. However this is a journey which is very far from reflecting the mythical structure of the “hero’s journey” (Campbell, 1959; Vogler, 2002), in which the main character leaves behind their ordinary and ‘monotonous’ world in response to the call for exotic adventure and embark on a transformative journey that will ensure they return stronger and victorious to their place of origin. The ordinary world of Ulises, a deprived neighbourhood of Monterrey (Mexico), is not monotonous, although it is marked by the musical routines of the gang, but it is more of a happy oasis of “street brotherhood” (Troncoso, 2020). Thanks to cumbia, in its Kolombia version, and their ‘Terkos crowd’, the group of friends, brought together by their love for music and dance, manage to stay away from the violence and wars between gangs of drug traffickers that are characteristic of the reality of the neighbourhood. The trigger for Ulises’ journey is not therefore a call for adventure, but it is more of a misfortune: after receiving death threats following a misunderstanding, Ulises has no other option but ‘forced migration’ to the United States, travelling illegally in a van. This is how a solo journey is portrayed and, unlike the previous films, he lacks sorority and group support, which was left in the prelude to his hero’s journey.

5.3.2. Structural violence across the experiences and relationships of the group

Talking about the violence present in the three films cannot be avoided. Not only are there constant swearwords and rude language in the interactions between characters, but there is also physical violence across the various experiences that the boys and girls from the crowds have to face up to in their day-to-day lives. In fact, the three films repeatedly show these violent environments surrounding the crowd members. These are youths who have grown up in vulnerable and deprived environments characterized by a lack of affection, the absence of resources and violence, and whose only tool or resource to face up to problems is this very same violence. The structural violence in which the young crowd members have grown up therefore ends up pervading their day-to-day lives and everyday nature. This is a symbolic and direct violence which is expressed in different ways and moves through various spaces, from school to home and also public spaces where groups meet. Youths who are part of these types of street groups are therefore surrounded by violence and are socially immersed in it. Thus, violence becomes normalized and standardized, and it is directly involved in the construction and representation of their identity (Giliberti, 2016). As explained by Martel (2007), these youths experience different forms of violence at the same time and on a daily basis, which are all mixed together. The most obvious form is structural violence, exercised by a system that socially deprives these youths, who find themselves in situations of economic and social precarity, and excludes them from legitimate forms of welfare.

As for *This is England* (2006), physical violence can be seen from the start of the film. It seems that Shaun needs to physically release his discontent, his anger and his pain through violent acts. In fact, in the very first scene, Shaun physically attacks a schoolmate who is bullying him and afterwards, he buys a catapult which he uses to throw stones at abandoned objects. Violent release is perhaps the only thing that Shaun knows or is able to do, as it is the only way that he and the other youths in the group have learned to tackle problems. In fact, it is Woody's group which, one way or another, will channel this anger and violence. On the contrary, when the antagonistic character Combo arrives, this violence results in racism and intolerance.

In *Bande de filles* (2014), one of the fundamental characteristics for dealing with the theme of violence lies in a storyline shaped by the determinism of the girls in the gang and their closer context. Marieme and her friends live in the suburbs of Paris, in a socioeconomic context that forces them to follow a path from which it would be difficult for them to leave. The group, therefore, is formed as a symptom of the problems of today's society and perhaps as a metaphor of the decline of a system (Giliberti, 2016). In this respect, the fact that it is impossible to get out of this circle forces the main characters of the film to use violence as a resource to deal with the discontent in their lives and, as a result, in the context and the violence used on them by the system. In the case of Marieme, this is a kind of violence which is apparent throughout all agents of socialization: school, which does not allow her to keep

attending, family, which forces her to have a servile role at home, her brother, who uses psychological and physical violence towards her, Abou, who tries to prostitute her, and even her friends in the gang, who are also connected with other rival gangs through fighting. Symbolic violence also occurs in the group, which is used both on and by the members, which constantly goes hand in hand with physical violence, both towards rival groups and in the group itself. The first time that Marieme happens to meet the girls from the gang, it is in an atmosphere of threat and alert, just like when they run into another group of girls on the underground, where they verbally criticize and threaten each other.

This is similar to *Ya no Estoy Aquí* (2019), where the main characters find themselves in a desolate neighbourhood of Monterrey, which appears to be completely taken prisoner by violence and the sound of police sirens. This represents a violent environment from which it seems there is no possible way out or salvation. Ulises actually embarks on his 'forced' journey fleeing the violence of drug trafficking and, when he returns, he finds that there appears to be no possible way out or happy oasis, as some of the gang have been murdered and the music that 'protected' them as a group is no longer played.

5.3.3. The gang from a gender perspective

It is important to note that in the majority of films on street youth groups detected on the on-demand video platforms and included in the database of this study, predominantly male youth groups are represented, and femininities take up extra space on the outside. In these films, scenes of guidance and close friendship are common between male characters, but they tend to be non-existent between female characters, who are only in shots and narration when they talk about male characters or their relationships with them. On this basis, we find that in the majority of narratives analysed, there are various central points shaped by gender which define the crowd and it is important to emphasize this. From the male configuration around violence to the presence of toxic male models and the dependence on them, while considering the relationship with the female gender and femininities and the ideological matter.

This is why the team included the film *Bande de filles* (2014) in the analysis, where a group of girls plays the leading role and their day-to-day lives in the suburbs of Paris are the main focus. This film is an exception to the large number of fiction products detected where the core narrative is based on the dynamics and objectives of the male members of the group and omits or leaves female characters in the background. It is interesting, in this case, to see how the dynamics of the girl group are constructed in these contexts of structural violence quoted in the previous section. As regards the girl group in *Bande de filles*, this violence takes on an even more exaggerated form due to the fact that they are women. This is a kind of violence which is apparent through all agents of socialization surrounding the group of girls. Marieme, for example, is oppressed by her family, who forces her to have a servile role at home, by her brother, who uses psychological and physical violence towards her, and by Abou, who tries to prostitute her. In one way or another, all of the aforementioned plays a part in the

process to make Marieme more masculine, which she uses to try to escape from this structural violence that she suffers and this is increased due to the fact she is a woman.

6. Conclusions

One of the main values of this study lies in the methodological tools designed and tested, which are expected to be useful for future research in this regard. The tools have been designed following guidelines from previous studies, expert reviews and with the use of reliability testing. All of the aforementioned is used to complete an existing shortage in this type of study and a lack of methodological tools to conduct analysis of media representations of youth groups.

In relation to the results obtained, it is important to note that the project gives rise to some lines on which future research projects can be reflected and constructed around the media representations and street youth groups. On the one hand, the analysis of the press reveals a stereotyped and stigmatizing construction of the groups, which almost exclusively focuses on violent events and criminality. Furthermore, the contexts, life stories and realities of the youth group members are left out, which are data that would help the audience to understand their realities and complexities.

On the contrary, it seems that fiction provides more complex and enriching perspectives. The films analysed tell us about the structural violence surrounding groups, the lack of opportunities, the migration processes and other oppressions that fall on the members of these groups. This all helps to construct narratives that present more complex groups and realities. It is actually common to find narratives that present them as a new family which accompanies the characters in their development into adult life.

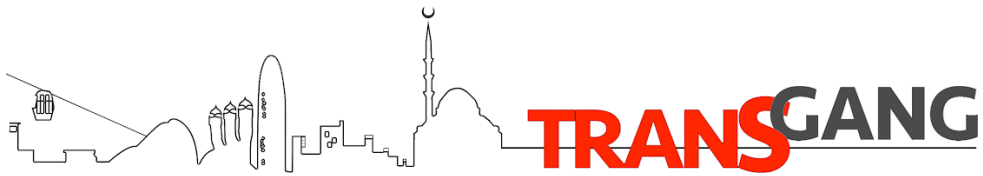
The analysis of fiction products conducted in this study is therefore particularly interesting, since it alerts us to the importance and functions that these products may have as they are put together as 'counter-narratives' (opposite non-fiction products), which help us to explore the life stories and complexities of street youth groups. It would, in fact, be interesting to explore the educational possibilities of these narratives.

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