

FOREIGN YOUTH 'S INTEGRATION IN CATALONIA **LA INTEGRACIÓN DE JÓVENES EXTRANJEROS EN CATALUNYA** **A INTEGRAÇÃO DE JOVENS ESTRANGEIROS NA CATALUNHA**

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<p>KEYWORDS: Integration Young Immigrants Social cohesion Social identity</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: This article 's purpose is to analyze social and educational integration process of young people of foreign origin in Catalonia, specifically, young people between 14 and 18. In order to meet these objectives we have developed a survey study, using the "social cohesion among young people questionnaire" (adapted from Palou, 2010). 52 schools in Catalonia were involved, constituting a sample of 3,830 young people. Given the nature of the variables were tested contrast Chi-square tests of contrast and non-parametric correlation, since the rate of knowledge of cultural diversity does not meet some parametric assumptions. The results obtained are committed to a concept of integration based on four dimensions: structural, cognitive, cultural, social and identity. In the structural dimension the time spent playing for a more open conception of the normative aspect of integration. Regarding the cognitive and cultural dimensions, we find that the use of Spanish as the common language in all contexts is predominant, although knowledge of the Catalan language is general and cases of bilingualism and multilingualism are common. Also stresses that the vast majority are involved in cultural activities; although only a third part do so in neighborhood activities. In the social dimension of integration, there are no differences between foreign and indigenous youth. However, the local youth are more involved in classroom and school activities, including a certain responsibility, and young people of foreign origin do so in neighborhood activities. Finally, in the dimension of identity only 16% of youth feel from their country of origin. The longer lead young foreigners living in the place of host country, elements such as standards and behavior, lifestyle of the people, the food, clothing and music, lost importance in favor of the elements typical of the host country. However, elements such as religion, popular celebrations, art and the tendency to form couples are more stable identity elements.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: Integración Jóvenes</p>	<p>RESUMEN: La finalidad de este artículo es analizar la percepción que tienen los chicos y chicas del proceso de integración socioeducativa de la juventud de origen extranjero en Cataluña, específicamente, de los jóvenes de entre 14 y 18 años. Se ha desarrollado un es-</p>

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<p>Inmigración Cohesión social Identidad social</p>	<p>tudio por encuesta, mediante el “cuestionario de cohesión social entre jóvenes” (adaptado de Palou, 2010), en el que han participado 52 centros educativos en Cataluña, constituyendo una muestra de 3.830 jóvenes. Dada la naturaleza de las variables se han realizado pruebas de contraste de Chi-cuadrado y pruebas de contraste no paramétricas. Los resultados obtenidos muestran un concepto de integración basado en cuatro dimensiones: estructural, cognitiva-cultural, social y de identidad. En la dimensión estructural el tiempo de estancia juega a favor de una concepción más abierta del aspecto normativo de la integración. Respecto a la dimensión cognitiva y cultural, se obtiene que el uso del castellano es mayoritario como lengua común en todos los contextos, aunque el conocimiento de la lengua catalana sea general y los casos de bilingüismo y multilingüismo sean habituales. En la dimensión social no hay diferencias entre la juventud extranjera y la autóctona. Sin embargo, la juventud autóctona participa más en actividades de aula y centro, incluidas las de una cierta responsabilidad, y los jóvenes de origen extranjero, en actividades de barrio. Finalmente, en la dimensión de la identidad, destacan datos como que sólo un 16% se siente de su país de origen. Cuanto más tiempo llevan los jóvenes extranjeros viviendo en el lugar de acogida, elementos del país de origen como las normas y conductas, la forma de ser de las personas, la comida, la ropa y la música, pierden importancia, a favor de los elementos típicos del país de acogida. En cambio, elementos como la religión, las celebraciones populares, el arte y la tendencia a formar pareja son elementos identitarios más estables.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Adolescentes, estilo de vida, tempo livre, lazer.</p>	<p>RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é analisar a percepção dos meninos e meninas sobre o processo de inserção socioeducativa dos jovens de origem estrangeira na Catalunha, especificamente, os jovens entre 14 e 18 anos. Desenvolveu-se um estudo usando o “questionário da coesão social entre os jovens” (adaptado de Palou, 2010). Participaram 52 escolas da Catalunha, constituindo uma amostra de 3.830 jovens. Dada a natureza das variáveis realizou-se testes de qui-quadrado e provas de contraste não paramétrico. Os resultados obtidos apostam por um conceito de integração baseada em quatro dimensões: estrutural, cognitivo-cultural, social e de identidade. Na dimensão estrutural o tempo de permanência joga em favor de uma concepção mais aberta do aspecto normativo da integração. Em relação a dimensão cognitiva e cultural, se obtém que o uso do castelhano como língua comum em todos os contextos é maioritário, embora o conhecimento da língua catalã seja geral e os casos de bilinguismo e do multilinguismo são habituais. Também se salienta que a maioria está envolvida em actividades culturais; embora somente um terço exerça actividades no bairro. Na dimensão social da integração, não há diferença entre jovens estrangeiros e autóctonos. No entanto, a juventude nativa está mais envolvida em actividades de sala de aula e da escola, incluindo as de uma certa responsabilidade e os jovens de origem estrangeira, nas actividades do bairro. Finalmente, na dimensão da identidade, destacam-se dados que revelam que apenas 16% sentem-se de seu país de origem. Quanto mais tempo os jovens estrangeiros vivem no país de acolhimento, elementos do país de origem como as normas e condutas, a forma de ser das pessoas, a comida, a roupa e a música, perdem a importância em favor dos elementos típicos do país anfitrião. Em vez disso, elementos como a religião, festas populares, a arte e a tendência a formar casais são elementos de identidade mais estáveis.</p>

1. Introduction

Migratory flows of recent decades, whether within Europe itself or from developing countries to northern ones, bring cultural, national and ethnic issues for both migrating populations and native ones. Immigration involves challenges and opportunities for our society. Addressing these challenges (acknowledged in the Citizenship and Integration Strategy Plan 2011-2014 and in the Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2009-2012, Llorent and Terrón, 2013) means tackling, from a pluralistic approach, the inequality, racism and prejudice that immigrants face, with the explicit aim of creating a society with strong social, economic, cultural and political ties between all its citizens (Alarcón, 2010; Cachón, 2009; Goytisoló & Naïr, 2000; Palou, 2011a; De Lucas, 2012; Essomba, 2012).

Some studies (Aparicio & Portes, 2014; Marín, 2004; Samper, Moreno & Alcalde, 2006) have offered

a breakdown of the basic features which define our current multicultural societies, and evidenced the need to adopt new approaches in order to embrace complementary points of view: (1) that of *inclusion*, with the objective of eliminating disadvantageous situations caused by new citizens' differences in rights; and (2) that of *accommodation*, with the aim of managing areas of contact between public and private institutions and between foreign and native residents (Alarcón, 2010).

1.1. On the concept of integration

In a multicultural society, integration should be based on pluralism and active coexistence; each person's rights and duties would be grounded in their own autonomy, which in turn would be based on the ability of all to participate. Thus, the right to build a society would not be split between immigrants and natives, but would belong to the whole

society, composed of fully enfranchised citizens (Palaudàries, 2002, Essomba, 2012). Thus we would advocate integration adopting an approach which involves intercultural dialogue and exchange in conditions of reciprocity (Etxeberría & Elosegui, 2010). In this model integration is conceived as a two-way, voluntary and dynamic process involving closeness and reciprocal empathy between immigrants (individuals or groups) and the host society; a society where “the other” is recognized in their difference as well as their equality, in order to contribute to and enrich the whole social body (Bilbeny, 2010; Samper, Moreno & Alcalde, 2006; Torres, 2009).

We believe that integration involves the creation of a new space in which migrants and non-migrants share, where interaction can create mutual benefits, both socio-economic and cultural, and where everyone can accept giving up certain things and adopting others (Aparicio & Tornos, 2012; Favell, 2001; Borgström et al. 2002; Palou, 2010b).

We believe that the indispensable precondition, if we are to talk realistically of the immigrant population’s integration, is the recognition of their status as citizens, and also that the development of this citizenship should allow all the following dimensions of integration to unfold (Martínez, 2006):

The structural dimension (or the regulatory aspect of integration). This refers to the participation of the individual in the host society’s institutions on the basis of equal opportunities. This dimension has the following variables: the legal context, status with the education system, position in the labour market, economic resources, access to housing and welfare.

The cognitive-cultural dimension, or the process of learning the cognitive and other skills necessary for handling the host country’s culture. The variables of this group are: knowledge of the language and culture of the host country, political and cultural values, religious beliefs, and lifestyles.

The social dimension, referring to the individual’s social relationships and their development inside and outside their ethnic community, and their opportunities for participating in the host society. The variables of this are: the identity of family relationships, contact with members of one’s own community, contacts within the neighbourhood, friendships, and links with voluntary associations (NGOs, clubs, etc.).

The identity dimension, which includes subjective issues of belonging to and personal identification with ethnic and national communities. The variables in this dimension are: the subjective perception

of belonging (national and ethnic), attitudes of migrants towards the host society and vice-versa, the type and degree of identification with the latter, and the orientation of the host society towards intercultural relationships.

From this point of view, integration is a process through in which a person becomes an integrated member of a society on two levels: one more objective relating to participation in structures such as professional activities, social and political institutions and the adoption of common rules; and another, more subjective level taking the form of the development of a sense of belonging to a community (Palou, 2011a). Thus integration does not mean merely absorption into a state, or identification with a particular cultural identity, but feeling part of a society which includes us, and which at the same time we are actively building with our contributions and our respect towards the rules of work and co-existence. Integration begins with cultural adaptation, which involves being willing to embrace and adjust to certain new conditions. It is a process which affects everyone and in which one should not identify with the other’s culture, but open oneself to contact with it, interacting with it and being willing to both offer and receive all the influences that arise almost automatically from the situation (Bilbeny, 2010; Rodríguez, 2010).

Numerous studies in Spain have brought to light two key aspects of the situation: on the one hand it is seen that coexistence between people of different cultural origins is a source of problems and difficulties, and on the other it is also observed that foreign groups also experience a range of problems in integrating themselves into society (Colectivo IOÉ, 1992, 1994 & 2002; González, 2002; Freixa, 2003; Palou, 2011a).

1.2 Youth, a key period for integration

Immigrants, children who have arrived in early childhood or been born in the host country have a different starting-point to their parents. Migrant youth interact socially from the beginning (for example at school), and it is important to understand this group in as much depth as possible in order to positively and educatively mould their access to full citizenship, and to avoid their marginalization or living with a permanent division between two worlds.

Youth is a decisive stage for immigration, since at this age characteristics, features and beliefs are adopted and fixed, and the individual begins to think autonomously and to concern themselves with their individual fate, with the ideas and opinions of family losing weight against those of the peer group.

Levitt (2007) shows the importance of young immigrants' transition to adulthood, above all those coming from countries with a low level of "westernization", who feel cultural pressure (very often from the family) to adopt adult roles (to get a job, start a family, take on responsibility for the family economy, and so on). In migrant youth the universal problems associated with adolescence are complicated by the difficulty of finding not only their own identity, but also their place in this new world; and aspects such as language, gender, religion, the image of the place of origin, identity, etc. assume a different profile in their process of incorporation into the new society, depending on their ethnic-cultural origins (Portes & Rivas, 2011).

Other factors which may influence immigrant youth's integration are: the parents' level of human capital on arrival, previous family structures, the manner of acquiring competences, the local climate, the general climate of deindustrialization, the mobilization of resources, and the current social capital (Aparicio & Tornos, 2012).

2. Method

Starting from this theoretical standpoint, the aim of this paper is to make an analysis of the socio-educational integration of foreign youth in Catalonia, specifically those between 14 and 18, in order to test our hypothesis that this group is less susceptible to the image of multiculturalism as a source of increased social problems, and that they find it easier to integrate.

The main objective is to identify the key aspects of young immigrants' integration in Catalonia through a survey exploring two viewpoints: that of foreign youth and that of native young people. This overall aim can be broken down into the following specific objectives:

- To prove the structural dimension of integration, investigating the youth's concept of citizenship, observing the relationship between law and reality, and analysing how participants see the mixing of cultures in the public sphere.
- To prove the cognitive-cultural dimension of integration, with special stress on the issue of language and the degree of engagement with issues in the social environment.
- To prove the social dimension of integration, analysing the areas and vectors of community participation amongst the youth, their social imaginary and their awareness of cultural diversity.
- To prove the identity dimension of integration, analysing the youth's feelings of cultural and civic belonging.

2.1. Data collection and analysis techniques

We used an adaptation of the *Social cohesion amongst young people questionnaire* (Palou, 2011a), which reflects the above-mentioned dual perspective. The questionnaire consists of 41 items, embracing the most relevant variables for characterizing youth and their integration process, as shown below in Table 1. The questionnaire was evaluated logically, by judges, and empirically; and it combines evidence of internal and content validity. The questionnaire also incorporates the *knowledge of cultural diversity scale*, which has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.715. In terms of external validity, or the generalizability of its results to the whole population, we believe the sample of young people to be representative, and that some results are in agreement with other studies, referred to in the discussion section. Thus the questionnaire has the scientific rigor required to be valid for our study.

The data obtained from the survey was analysed statistically using the SPSS package. Given the nature of the variables various Chi-square difference tests were carried out and in the *knowledge of cultural diversity scale* non-parametric contrast tests were applied, since the index of knowledge of cultural diversity did not fulfil some of the parametric assumptions.

2.2. Population and sample

The population selected for the survey totalled 3,830 young people from 14 to 18 years old and resident in Catalonia. 52 Catalan high schools were chosen through purposive sampling, since schools are outstanding areas where young people from 14 to 18 of different cultures mix, making up a heterogeneous field with an enormous diversity of personalities, characters, cultures, tendencies, etc. 45 of these schools were state-run, and the rest were either wholly private or mixed public and private. Seven were located in the city of Barcelona, 23 in the rest of the province of Barcelona, seven in the province of Tarragona, six in the province of Gerona, and three in the province of Lerida.

The size of the sample was calculated to take into account the population frequencies of the group of youth chosen for the study. Of the 3,830 young people taking part, the majority (72%) were in ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education), while there were also 24% in *bachillerato* (equivalent to British sixth form), and a smaller proportion in vocational training, open centres and centres with social work projects.

51% of the sample was male and the rest female. The average age was 16, and by province, 61% were from Barcelona, 19% from Gerona, 14% from Tar-

Table 1. Specific items in the Social cohesion amongst youth questionnaire

DIMENSION	INDICATORS	Type of item
Socio-demographic: school, city, school year, sex, age, birthplace, family origin, length of residence.		
Social image of immigration	Prejudices, stereotypes and labelling	Open answer items
	Degree of knowledge of cultural diversity	5-point Likert scale (8 items)
Evaluation of cultural mixing in the public sphere	Acceptance of cultural diversity	Items with varying answer options
	Evaluation of cultural diversity	Items with multiple answer options
	Type of relationships	Open answer item
	Attitude towards and treatment of migration	Items with multiple answer options
STRUCTURAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION	Reality and the law	Item with various answer options
	Equality of opportunities	Open answer item
COGNITIVE-CULTURAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION	Adoption of common rules	Open answer item
	Learning and use of Catalan	Open answer items
	Knowledge of the social environment	Cases with various answer options
	Understanding of public issues and problems	Cases with various answer options
SOCIAL DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION	Areas of participation	Items with multiple answer options
	Vectors of participation	Items with multiple answer options
IDENTITY DIMENSION OF INTEGRATION	Feeling of belonging to the community	Open answer items
	Ethnic-cultural identity	Items with multiple answer options
	Feeling of civic belonging	Items with multiple answer options

ragona, and the remaining 6% from Lerida, in total 39 different Catalan municipalities.

In terms of origins, the great majority of participants were born in Catalonia (73%), while 3.3% were born in different regions of Spain. Amongst those of foreign origin, 10% were from the Maghreb and 9% Latin America, followed by 3% from other European countries, and a smaller minority from Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. It is worth noting that

3% were born in other parts of Spain. As for the length of residence in Catalonia, 13% had been living here for between two and five years and 9% between five and ten years. 15% had been living in other foreign countries before taking up residence in Catalonia. 5% had also been living in other regions of Spain.

3. Results

Results obtained were divided into four sections corresponding to the four dimensions of integration identified by Martínez (2006) and included in the *Social cohesion among youth questionnaire*: the structural, cognitive-cultural, social and identity dimensions.

3.1. Structural dimension of integration

Regulatory aspects of integration were approached through the optic of who participants thought could be considered Spanish citizens. 31.1% were of the opinion that citizens were those who had “their pa-

pers in order,” followed by 30.8% who stated that they were those who “live and work here”. There was a higher proportion of youth between 14 and 15 who gave importance to having one’s papers in order: 35%, in fact, compared with 27% of those older than 16. The latter group was also notable for prioritizing those who “live and work here” (34%, compared with 28% of the younger participants). These differences, shown in Table 2, are statistically significant ($X^2=44.2$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$).

13.7% of the youth in general had a relatively closed and exclusive concept of citizenship, stating that only “those who were born here” could be citizens, and 10.9% based their ideas on the criterion of nationality.

Table 2. Age groups and citizenship status

			Citizenship status					Total	
			Only people born here	Anyone who has their papers in order	All EU residents	Anyone after a number of years	Anyone who lives and works here		Only people with Spanish nationality
Age groups	14-15	Number	276	683	80	154	544	222	1959
		% within age groups	14.1%	34.9%	4.1%	7.9%	27.8%	11.3%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	56.0%	60.2%	60.6%	44.9%	48.9%	55.8%	54.2%
		% of total	7.6%	18.9%	2.2%	4.3%	15.1%	6.1%	54.2%
	16-18	Number	217	452	52	189	569	176	1655
		% within age groups	13.1%	27.3%	3.1%	11.4%	34.4%	10.6%	100.0%
		% within Citizenship status	44.0%	39.8%	39.4%	55.1%	51.1%	44.2%	45.8%
		% of total	6.0%	12.5%	1.4%	5.2%	15.7%	4.9%	45.8%
Total	Number	493	1135	132	343	1113	398	3614	
	% within age groups	13.6%	31.4%	3.7%	9.5%	30.8%	11.0%	100.0%	
	% within Citizenship status	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	13.6%	31.4%	3.7%	9.5%	30.8%	11.0%	100.0%	

More than 30% of the native-born youth had a concept of citizenship based on having papers in order, while 36% of foreign-born youth held that it meant living and working in the host country. These differences are statistically significant ($X^2=60'03$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$).

3.2. Cognitive-cultural dimension of integration

This dimension refers to the youth's learning and use of a common language and their understanding of and exercise of critical judgement on public issues.

Spanish, the dominant language

The young people's linguistic situations coincided broadly with their origins and feelings of belonging. Most commonly they spoke only Spanish with their families (48%) and friends (44%). 19% always spoke Catalan at home and 15% both languages. 11% spoke only their native language at home, while 5% used this together with Catalan and Spanish. Among friends, after Spanish, the second largest tendency was Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (33%). 14% stated that they only spoke Catalan with their friends, and 7% said that they spoke Catalan, Spanish and other languages with friends.

Turning to the linguistic scene at school, the trends were found to be significantly different to those among family and friends. The most usual in this context was to use Catalan and Spanish interchangeably (47%), followed by 28% who stated that they only spoke Catalan at school.

Public issues close to the youth

To analyse what the youth understood and how they acted when faced with public issues, we presented them with three situations (cases) where they had to take up a position: a Christmas campaign, a situation in the classroom, and a situation in the residents' association. The engagement of the youth in these cases was, in general, rather passive, although with some exceptions. 53% of the youth only participated in the Christmas campaign if they were asked, compared with 28% who said that they always took part. In the classroom situation, perhaps since this was closer to their real lives, there was a greater active involvement: 66% said that they always participated, while 31% would need to be asked. Finally, in the neighbourhood context, 37% stated that they always got involved in these cases, while 33% participated in a more passive way, and 23% openly stated that they never took part.

Two important elements are the youth's concept of citizenship and the extent of their knowledge of cultural diversity. Those young people with the most closed and restrictive concept of citizenship were also those who engaged least in the three example cases, while those with a more open concept - their idea of citizenship being those who live and work here - involved themselves most in the three situations. Lastly, the greater their knowledge of cultural diversity, the greater their engagement also in the cases where public issues were evidenced.

3.3. Social dimension of integration

In order to assess this dimension we analysed the young people's areas of participation, their knowledge of diversity, and the type of relationships they had.

A profile of foreign youth's different participation habits

Almost half of the sample participated in sports activities, with some nuances due to gender differences. Curiously, we found no statistically significant differences between native and foreign-born youth in this respect.

There was a higher rate of participation in school activities. The young people born in other countries had a participation profile differentiating them from the rest. In general, those born in Catalonia took part more in all the activities mentioned in the survey, with the exception of those organised outside the school centre, where foreign-born youth participated more ($X^2=10'02$, $p=0'007$, $a=0'05$). The foreign-born youth were also those who participated less as year representatives ($X^2=10'6$, $p=0'005$, $a=0'05$) and in school assemblies ($X^2=62'4$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$).

Cultural diversity as passive coexistence

53% of participants stated that: *I don't mind if people with different cultures live in my neighbourhood as long as everyone minds their own business*. Cultural diversity and immigration were accepted on the basis of passive coexistence, without the mutual recognition which would imply a further step towards more actively living together, which in addition only 17% of the youth accepted. A worrying 13% openly stated that: *I don't like people from different cultures living in my neighbourhood*.

41% of participants born in other countries had an inclusive vision of cultural diversity in their neighbourhood, while only 10% of those born in Catalonia shared this vision ($X^2=482'3$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$).

These figures do not show statistically significant differences between the young people of 14-15 and those older than 16 ($X^2=4'2$, $p=0'241$, $a=0'05$).

The youth with a closed concept of citizenship were those who most frequently rejected neighbourhood cultural diversity ($X^2=538'6$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$). Only 22% would accept Roma neighbours. From the most accepted to the least, we found: Spaniards, Catalans, Europeans, Latin Americans, Asians, people from Eastern Europe, people from the Maghreb, Africans, and Roma. This rejection of the Roma was higher in boys than girls ($X^2=25,9$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$). Participants born in other countries had much higher levels of acceptance than their native peers, mostly of foreign groups.

When we asked how they saw cultural diversity at school 38% stated that "it raises interest in getting to know other cultures." However, 37% also said that "it causes more conflicts."

We found some differences referred to young people's educational status and gender. The girls rated cultural diversity more highly than the boys (for more detail on this point see Vilà et al, 2012).

Once again, the youth with a more restricted sense of citizenship were precisely those who less

frequently valued cultural diversity as "an opportunity to raise interest in knowing other cultures" ($X^2=118'1$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$), or thought that it could achieve greater understanding between people ($X^2=100'1$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$). The young people with a wider concept of citizenship, in contrast, were those who less frequently chose the answer that diversity caused more conflicts ($X^2=80'7$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$) or lack of discipline ($X^2=94'8$, $p=0'000$, $a=0'05$).

When participants were asked about working in multicultural groups the answers were relatively similar. 43% valued the enrichment of work deriving from diverse viewpoints, and 35% stated that discussions were more interesting. However, 37% affirmed that cultural diversity brought greater difficulties in understanding among group members. Curiously, when referring to these communication problems there were no statistically significant differences between participants who used one language or another at school ($X^2=5'01$, $p=0'542$, $a=0'05$). Only 15% thought that the quality of work was lowered by having to work in multicultural groups. Those studying *bachillerato* saw multicultural groups most positively.

Table 3. Views on coexistence and birthplace

	TOTAL		Cataluña		Rest of Spain		Other countries	
	Agree	Disagree	A	D	A	D	A	D
It makes people more open-minded	51,5%	48,5%	43,5%	56,5%	55,8%	44,2%	77,2%	22,8%
It's more fun	47,2%	52,8%	38,5%	61,5%	46,9%	53,1%	75,3%	24,7%
It causes problems in understanding each other	58,4%	41,6%	64,6%	35,4%	64,4%	35,6%	37,0%	63,0%
It enables you to get to know other cultures	82,6%	17,4%	80,3%	19,7%	79,3%	20,7%	90,4%	9,6%
It changes people's habits	24,9%	75,1%	23,2%	76,8%	22,2%	77,8%	30,7%	69,3%
It causes conflicts in daily life	53,4%	46,6%	59,9%	40,1%	51,3%	48,7%	32,2%	67,8%
It makes it easier to learn languages	56,1%	43,9%	49,3%	50,7%	44,2%	55,8%	80,0%	20,0%
I don't like it, better everyone with the same culture	29,7%	70,3%	34,1%	65,9%	33,9%	66,1%	14,8%	85,2%
More understanding and tolerance	55,2%	44,8%	51,0%	49,0%	52,5%	47,5%	70,3%	29,7%
It causes more crime	53,6%	46,4%	58,6%	41,4%	53,4%	46,6%	36,8%	63,2%

Similarly to previous questions, girls and youth of non-Spanish origin were those who most favoured working in multicultural groups. They stressed the enrichment of work and discussion created, and less frequently thought that these groups lowered the quality of the work or caused communication problems, compared with the opinions of the boys and native-born youth, respectively.

The concept of citizenship once more played an important role. Participants with more restricted concepts, based on birthplace, nationality or the limits of the EU, were those who rated multicultural groups lowest, and with a higher number of negative opinions.

Lastly, on issues of the cultural coexistence in the public sphere, all participants showed a similar posture, as Table 3 shows.

Turning to coexistence in the public space, the girls, the foreign-born youth, and those who had the most open concept of citizenship, were again those who valued intercultural coexistence most highly, agreeing more frequently with its positive aspects and disagreeing with the negative ones.

Friendships within the same cultural group

Finally, participants in general stated that they had fairly varied friendships. However, the native-born youth and those from other Spanish provinces were those who had more friendships with other natives; and those born abroad were those who related least exclusively with natives. This is statistically significant in terms of friendships at school ($X^2=562.2$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$), in other contexts ($X^2=965.2$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$), and in the neighbourhood ($X^2=869.8$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$). 20% of young foreigners mixed solely with young people of the same origins out of school, 33% of those born in other provinces of Spain mixed only with young Spaniards, and 55% of these young people mixed only with young Spaniards in the neighbourhood context.

3.4. The identity dimension of integration

When participants were questioned about their general feelings of belonging, 49% said that they felt Catalan, while 17% felt Spanish, 16% from their country of origin, and 10% Catalan and Spanish at the same time.

The country of origin's religion and food in cultural identity

Regarding the ethnic-cultural identity of participants, we identified as key these two aspects: re-

ligion (76% of young foreigners) and food (72%). these figures do not show differences between young people under and over 16 ($X^2=1.46$, $p=0.48$, $a=0.05$ and $X^2=4.37$, $p=0.11$, $a=0.05$, respectively).

Popular celebrations, music and partners are also important elements of identity. On the other hand, 77% preferred the host country's clothes.

Religion and endogamic love relationships are two especially fundamental elements of identity for the girls. 82% of foreign girls valued their country's religion, compared with 71% of the boys, and accordingly the boys valued more the host country's religion than the girls ($X^2=9.6$, $p=0.008$, $a=0.05$). At the same time, 62% of foreign girls chose to form a couple with a partner of the same origin, while only 33% of boys did so ($X^2=41.2$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$).

Speaking the official languages, important for civic identity in Catalonia

Lastly, the young people's feeling of civic belonging in general was linked to their place of residence. However, 51.3% stated that they felt themselves to be citizens of their birthplace. This feeling of belonging showed differential profiles according to the time that participants had been living in Catalonia. 69% of those living here for more than ten years felt citizens of the place where they lived, compared with 33% of those resident for between two and five years ($X^2=286.5$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$). Accordingly the highest proportions of those who felt citizens of their birthplace were those who had been living in Catalonia between two and ten years ($X^2=72.001$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$); similarly to those who felt citizens of other places ($X^2=44.7$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$).

One of the aspects stressed by participants as particularly relevant for feeling themselves to be citizens of a place was the language: 77% stated that speaking the official languages was very important. Other highly rated aspects, as table 4 shows, were: being respected by others, following the rules and customs of the locality, and having friendships. Native-born young people gave the most importance to speaking the official languages ($X^2=99.2$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$), following the rules and customs of the host area ($X^2=144.4$, $p=0.000$, $a=0.05$), and being respected ($X^2=14.2$, $p=0.001$, $a=0.05$).

Table 4. Civic-cultural Identity and birthplace

SEGÚN EL LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO				
	TOTAL YOUTH	Catalonia	Rest of Spain	Other countries
Language	77,1%	81,2%	75,4%	65,1%
The institutions	31,8%	32,6%	29,4%	29,8%
Having friends	53,6%	54,4%	57,9%	50,7%
Rules and customs	54,8%	60,8%	41,3%	38,6%
Taking part in associations	19,5%	19,1%	14,3%	21,1%
Solving problems	23,1%	23,2%	24,6%	22,3%
Being respected	59,6%	61,4%	55,6%	54,6%

Foreign youth, greater knowledge of cultural diversity

Lastly, in the identity dimension it was important to investigate the youth’s social image of immigration. We found that their degree of knowledge of cultural diversity was relatively low. This was measured on a scale of eight items of five points each, making up an index of awareness of cultural diversity where the theoretical scores available varied between eight and 40 points, with a median of 24. The participants in general scored an average of 20.8%. Overall, 75% of the lowest scores did not exceed the theoretical median (24 points).

Birth site was a distinguishing feature which showed statistically significant differences ($X^2=31,9$, $p=0,000$, $a=0,05$) between young foreigners in comparison with natives. Foreign-born participants had wider knowledge of cultural diversity.

4. Conclusions and discussion

Conclusions of this study are summed up in the overall view of youth integration shown below in Figure 1. The main results in the four dimensions identified by Martínez (2006) are represented, marking out two particular features which emerged here: the social image of immigration and cultural coexistence in the public sphere.

In the **structural dimension** a large majority chose having a “legalized” situation and “living and working here” as criteria for citizenship, although it is curious that the more restrictive option was chosen among the youngest and young immigrants with less than one

year of residence. Recently arrived youth (most probably influenced also by the most recently arrived adults), prioritized the need to regularize their situations as soon as possible (Cachón, 2009), reflecting their own process of integration, while later drawing closer to a more experiential concept, more in line with our desired sense of citizenship.

Length of residence acts in favour of a more open concept of the regulatory aspect of integration. As Aparicio and Portes (2014) note, this process is gradually naturalized with the passing of the years.

Turning to the **cognitive-cultural dimension**, the learning of cognitive skills and handling of the host country’s culture, we can conclude that the use of Spanish as a lingua franca is the most widespread in all contexts, although knowledge of Catalan is also generalized, and bilingualism and multilingualism are normal (Vilà, 2006). On the one hand these results may be due to the large size of the group of Latin American youth, and on the other, in many cases, to the perception that, with the knowledge of the common language of the Spanish state, people have a better chance of being able to settle in different areas.

It should be noted that the great majority of participants engage in cultural activities, although only a third do this in their neighbourhood. The closeness of the school environment, compared with the lack of knowledge of and interest in the wider context, may explain the differing degrees of involvement (Palou, 2011b).

Gender and the cultural group are important to the degree of engagement, with the girls and the foreigners being those who engaged most. The data on

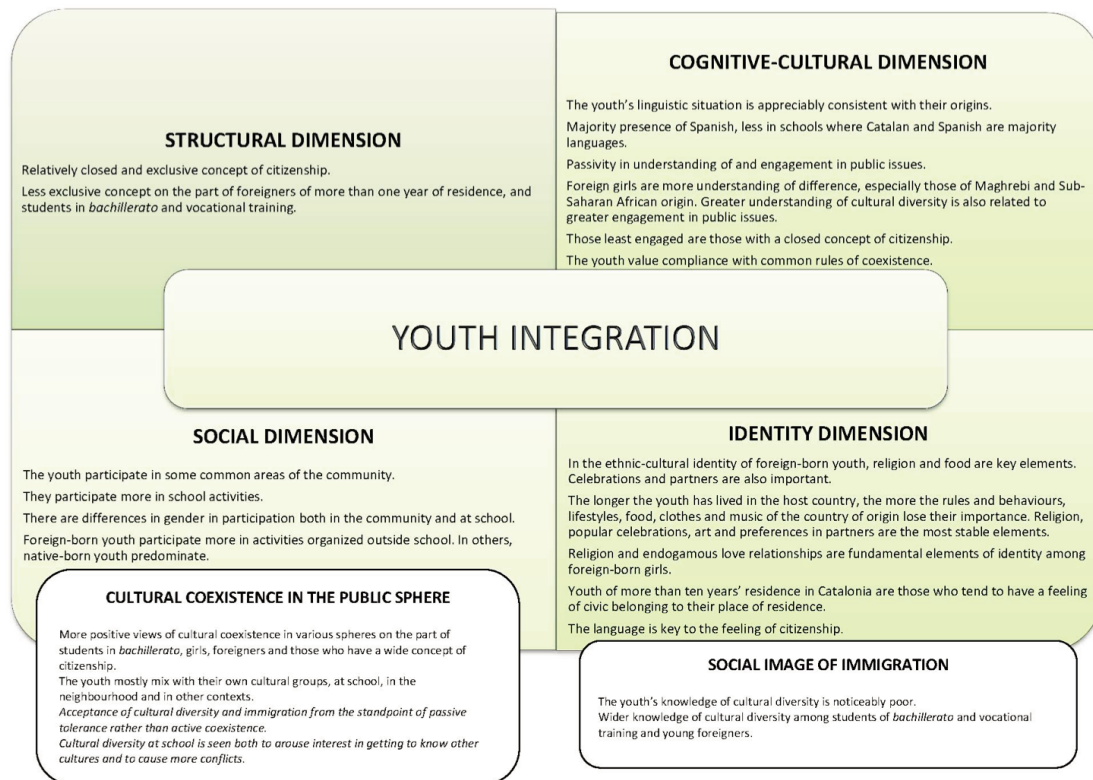


Fig.1. Concept of youth integration.

the girls does not offer us any more information than that which any teacher can verify in their classroom. That foreign youth are more engaged, especially Africans, may stem from cultural values and intercultural competences (Vilà, 2008); and undoubtedly the situations suffered by many of the groups represented here will have sharpened their sensitivity towards those less favoured and made them reader to act in solidarity with others. Finally, that the Asians registered the lowest score would seem to imply that the cultural groups furthest from our own environment tend to engage as little as possible, which may lead us to ask whether the reason for this is lack of knowledge of the host culture (Vilà, 2010) or the fear of losing their own cultural identity.

The youth with the most restrictive concept of citizenship engaged least in the local culture. Also a greater knowledge of diversity may directly influence the degree of engagement shown. These results clearly indicate the need for education for citizenship (Hernández, 2012).

Finally, familiarity and compliance with rules and regulations is important for the great majority, which would seem to be a significant step forward in relation to previous studies and leads us, again, to conclude that time acts in favour of a decreasingly troubled process of integration.

When we focus on the **social dimension** of integration, we see that there were no differences

between native and foreign-born youth. However, native youth participated more in class and school activities, including those carrying a certain responsibility, and foreign-born youth in neighbourhood activities. As previous studies (Palou, Rodríguez & Vilà 2013) have shown, many adolescents do not consider school to be the best terrain for integration, and feel easier in more leisure-oriented after-school activities, which respond more to their needs.

Concerning diversity and migration, it is worrying to note that half of the young people surveyed adopted an attitude of tolerance towards immigration, but from the standpoint of passive acceptance rather than authentic integration. Only a small number of the youth advocated greater interrelationship, while a similar fragment showed openly racist attitudes, admitting that they did not like having foreigners around them. Almost half the youth born outside of Spain recognized and accepted diversity, while only 10% of Catalan youth adopted this stance. Probably the current economic crisis has not helped to improve this situation.

These postures are clearly shown in the study carried out by Briones, Taberero and Arenas (2011), where it was found that both native and Ecuadorian adolescents had more positive attitudes towards their own ethnic groups, thus confirming that adolescents tend to value their peer groups more

highly as a means of achieving a positive self-concept and social identity. Nevertheless, these authors also found that Moroccan adolescents did not show such a bias, and that they thus perceived, much more than natives, a two-way cultural enrichment (Palou, 2010b).

Once more, we believe that the analysis of the social dimension of integration highlights a clear need for education for citizenship as a means of overcoming these limitations, by adopting an educational model based on collective identity and the values and features of an expressive culture by everyone and for everyone, alongside the struggle against prejudice and stereotyping stemming from ignorance and lack of interaction (Essomba, 2012).

Coinciding with the findings of other authors (Freixa, 2003; Alegre, 2008; Palou, 2011a), a sizeable group here thought that diversity at school increased conflicts. Others saw diversity as an opportunity (coinciding also with a more open concept of citizenship), the female gender being again more inclined towards this option. When questioned about working in multicultural groups, the youth tended to stress the positive side of this (again more among girls and foreign youth); and the group which saw it as a source of communication problems was insignificant. It seems once again, then, that closer knowledge leads to greater respect for one's fellows (Portes Aparicio, Haller & Vickstrom, 2011). Thus, working in culturally heterogeneous groups would also appear to be a fruitful approach in education. Lastly, despite the apparent diversity in the youth's friendships, we found a certain cultural endogamy.

In the **identity dimension**, it is worth noting that only 16% felt that they were from their country of origin. It seems logical that people build their identities taking elements from all their cultural models. The length of residence in the country influences enormously in this dimension, since the longer the youth had lived in the host country, the more features of the country of origin such as rules and behaviours, lifestyles, food, clothes and music, lost their importance, in favour of the equivalent features of the host society. In contrast, aspects such as religion, popular celebrations, art, and the tendency to form couples were the most stable elements of identity. The issue of the partner was very different among girls and boys, where the males were much more open to "mixed" relationships and the females much more endogamous.

The sense of civic belonging was mostly linked to the place of residence, although the great majority of foreign-born youth felt themselves to be still citizens of their country of origin, and had a wider vision of the concept itself (citizens of Eu-

rope, the world, etc.; Marín, 2004). Even so, time is again the decisive factor, since our analysis showed that the majority of foreign-born students living here for ten or more years considered themselves to be from their place of residence. Gualda (2011) reaches similar results, with an optimistic outlook for the integration of young and adolescent immigrants in Huelva, and confirming the multidimensionality of social integration, with specifically differential results for "second generation" youth coinciding with our results for the "length of residence" variable.

As an overall conclusion, we would affirm that the integration of foreign-born youth is still under way. The achievement of coexistence among different cultural groups and the psychological well-being of minority groups seems to require measures aimed at promoting positive attitudes towards other cultural groups in our society (Briones, Tabernero and Arenas, 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008). This implies recognizing the customs belonging to each culture and guaranteeing an environment of positive contact between the various cultural groups (Paloma, García-Ramírez, de la Mata & AMAL-Andaluza, 2010).

But it is also necessary also to coordinate policies of inclusion directed towards the immigrant population without dispossessing the rest of the populace of rights and benefits. It is often in this area that friction between these groups surfaces, since the it is the native-born majority receiving the most direct impact of newly arriving residents (normally in the middle-to-low classes) that feels threatened (Essomba, 2012).

Lastly, it should be noted that while it is known that the impact of migratory flows is local, their origin is global, and for this reason there is a clear need to educate people about immigration according to a vision that goes beyond their own local environments, thus countering half-truths and falsehoods that only can cause division, rather than integration, amongst the population (Goytisolo & Nair, 2000; Palou, 2010b; Essomba, 2012).

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