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Executive Summary

This report presents the results of qualitative research on the intergenerational dynamics at play in the cultural socialisation and transmission of meanings of cultural heritage and identity in Catalonia (Spain). This piece of qualitative research is based on semi-structured interviews with families.

As a starting point for this research, we considered that the historical context in which these generations have lived, as well as the significant change that has taken place in Spanish society over three generations, has had an influence on the patterns of cultural socialisation. The Civil War and the Post-war period living under a dictatorship marked the life experience of today's grandparents. From a cultural viewpoint, this has led to a drastic change in the supply and consumption of culture, and in the spectrum of cultural diversity. Whereas in the 1950s Spain was a closed society, lacking freedoms and capacity for expression, today the situation is very different. When it comes to culture, one must look at how migratory processes have infused diversity into Catalan society. Firstly, 1.4 million people from other regions of Spain moved to Catalonia during the 1960s and 1970s, giving rise to a novel process of interaction between the Catalan and Castilian languages, cultures, and practices. Later, the final part of the 1990s saw the beginning of a wave of foreign immigration, which ten years later would reach 1.3 million people in Catalonia.

On the theoretical level, we drew on the idea that cultural capital is transmitted through the family, as suggested by the studies of Bourdieu and Passeron (1973, 1979) and the results of surveys conducted by Ariño (2016) in the Catalan and Spanish contexts. Family biographies have allowed us to explore the relationship between the cultural and the economic capital of families. The typology of families recruited through young people involved in cultural youth group practices or in non-formal cultural educational settings offered us a sample of families whose cultural capital is not necessarily linked to economic capital. In contrast, families of young people selected during the fieldwork we conducted in secondary education schools do show a relationship between the cultural and economic capitals.

Thanks to the results of the qualitative analysis, we now understand how families, as an essential agent of cultural socialisation, combine the continuities and discontinuities of the intergenerational transmission and interpretation of cultural heritage and practices.

1. Introduction

1.1. Context information

Our research was carried out in three localities in Catalonia—a Spanish region that is recognised as a separate nationality with a language and culture of its own. The population is 7,619,494 people and makes up 16% of the Spanish population (Idescat 2019)[1]. Catalonia's population includes 15% foreigners, to which is added the presence of people (either themselves or their ancestors) who were born in other parts of Spain. These demographic factors mean that the Castilian language and the cultures of other Spanish regions are strongly present in Catalonia, apart from the cultures and languages of foreign people. This diversity has had an impact on the mixed composition that is seen across generations. In the case of grandparents, most come from other parts of Spain. In the case of parents, many are migrants from other parts of the world. This cultural diversity must be taken into account in our research on the acquisition of a family culture. At the same time, being such a dynamic society, it should be noted that families are spread out all over Spain, and over other countries and continents.

From a historical viewpoint, it is important to keep in mind that the generation of today's grandparents grew up after the Spanish Civil War, which means they lived through the Franco dictatorship. They grew up in a social context of repression, a socio-economic context of poverty and limited access to formal education, with a poor cultural supply. In the case of Catalonia, use of the Catalan language was censored and prohibited (e.g. at schools and all administrative tiers). The Catalan language was used mainly in private. The parents of today's young people grew up during the decade that saw the Transition to Democracy and the last years of the dictatorship in Spain. From the 1980s onwards, the new public institutions began new cultural policies[2] on the base of the cultural associations' proposals at the end of the Francoist Dictatorship.[3] In the case of Catalonia, after the first democratic elections and onwards, many agents from the cultural sector focused on preparing the implementation of local cultural policies. This context would lead to the creation of public cultural facilities (including adult schools, libraries, local festival halls, etc.) which helped to promote cultural activities among the young in working-class

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[1] Data taken from IDESCAT (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). *Population Data*. 2019
[2] After the dictatorship, the new democratic administration became the reference point for the creation of new cultural facilities in villages and neighbourhoods, leading not only to new libraries and theatres, but also to the new Catalan Public Television and new art schools (Rius, Martínez & Martín, 2018).
[3] A full programme of cultural policies was developed during the Cultural Catalan Congress by scholars, intellectuals and cultural associations between 1975 and 1977 (Rovira, 2020) for the recovery of language and folklore, developing a new professional framework for writers and new policies for the recovery of cultural heritage and architecture, theatres, etc.

neighbourhoods, where the population was increasing due to internal migration from other parts of Spain.

Moreover, better access to primary and secondary education and the growth and development of the information economy (Castells, 1996) have led to an increased capacity for accessing culture for a significant part of the Catalan population. Nevertheless, today's young people have suffered the effects of the economic crisis since 2008, with a high youth unemployment rate (of 19.5%, and an activity rate of 59%) and a low youth emancipation rate (only 22.6% of young people aged 16 to 29 have emancipated)[4]. Technological change has also effected a radical change in the system of cultural consumption: the rise of the Internet has led to TV, cinemas and theatres losing part of their hold on young audiences (Ariño, 2016), developing a completely new global industry that has little to do with local culture. The three generations present in our analysis — young people, parents and grandparents— have lived in very different social, political, economic and cultural contexts.

1.2. Theoretical framework and historiographical outline

In the academic literature, the idea of cultural transmission within the family is identified with the concept of *cultural capital*, which Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron used in their study *La reproduction* (1973), and which Bourdieu expanded in his study *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (1979). Cultural capital is the set of knowledge, education, skills and advantages acquired in the process of socialisation. Bourdieu and Passeron (1973) use the concept of cultural capital to indicate the distance between the (lack of) family-provided cultural capital in working-class students and the requirements of school, particularly the ability to acquire knowledge, skills and certain attitudes towards school-taught culture, the *legitimate* culture.

According to this theory, access to cultural capital accounts for the inequality of performance between working-class students and middle-class students (or the *bourgeoisie* itself), the latter having a high cultural capital and not having to work as hard to meet the demands of formal education, because their socialisation is grounded on the attributes of legitimate culture. Therefore, Bourdieu and Passeron's contribution to understanding students' cultural socialisation addresses both the students' position in relation to social structure, as well as the symbolic position of a particular type of culture —the *formal* culture that is taught at school— in the

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[4] See: Observatori Català de la Joventut (2019).

cultural field. The research we are conducting takes this duality into account when approaching cultural literacy: what do we mean by culture? Who is involved in cultural processes and how?

Worth mentioning is the contrasting approach of Paul Willis, who also studied the relationship between working-class boys and school-taught culture. In his study *Learning to Labour: How Working-Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (1977), he examines how informal cultural production practices contribute to producing and building "bottom-up" cultural worlds. Thus, Willis tells us that there are other cultures endowed with a valid social meaning, beyond the legitimate approach to culture according to Bourdieu. In the context of youth studies, Willis explains that there exists a culture that is produced outside of the power relationships that work "from-above", even though this culture does not break with the logics of social class reproduction. In his book, *Common culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young* (1990), he deepens on the idea of the creativity shown in everyday life by those who are in principle excluded from the dominant culture. Young people are continually expressing or attempting to express something about their own actual or potential cultural significance.

These two perspectives allow us to approach family transmission as a field in which the transmission of a cultural *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1973) takes place. It is, at the same time, a constantly renewed field of encounter between the culture of older generations and the youth cultures. This is especially so in the context of globalisation, where, as philosopher Byung-Chul Han claims in his book *Hyperculturality* (2005), cultural expressions are drawn from their historical contexts and juxtaposed with one another.

Does this mean that national/local cultures appear blurry to young people? In the Catalan case, the cultural market has traditionally been divided into two cultural offers that correspond to the two languages (Catalan / Spanish) (Rovira *et al*, 2020).[5] The consumption or creation of cultural practices in one language or the other depends quite sharply on family culture, given the high degree of attachment to the language of origin, even though young people are mostly bilingual in both languages (EULP, 2018). At the same time, democratic times have gradually led to the recovery of traditional Catalan culture and its renewal. Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the number of cultural associations (Rovira & Saurí, 2015). One such example is the "human tower" groups, which have multiplied exponentially across the territory. Like other expressions of Catalan folk culture, human towers exemplify this diffusion across all Catalonia of cultural practices that were once strictly local. These cultural practices haven taken deep root

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[5] Nowadays many young people also watch series, movies, and so forth through the internet in English (see Rovira et al. (2020).

in towns and cities thanks to the work of associations, and therefore involve the direct engagement of individuals (Rovira & Saurí, 2015). However, this cultural practice, which is linked to the promotion of the Catalan national identity, cannot be taken for granted. It forms part of the cultural offer that is available to today's generation of young people within their context; and, it forms part of the diverse simultaneity of cultures that, according to Han (2018), turns the postmodern subject into a cultural tourist offer, without the need for any connection with family or national histories. Today, both of these logics are possible. Hence, we need to explore how family is indeed the main source of socialisation for today's young generation in the process of acquiring cultural literacy.

This situation does not exclude the fact that, as studies in Catalonia and Spain have shown, the acquisition of "high culture" continues to include a social class component, as Bourdieu stated long ago. In this sense, we come across two or more forms of cultural participation. On the one hand, there is participation in which young people get involved, through their families and their cultural and economic capital, in the practices of high culture (going to museums, music education, etc.). On the other hand, there is participation which arises from the creative practices of young people (urban dance, freestyle rap, *improvised singing*[6]), and which does not partake of the dominant narrative of culture. Here we might also include the process of cultural empowerment of young people through their use of the internet and social networks. We do not forget that, in a Bourdian sense, these practices too could become part of the cultural and economic capital of the new generation, as a way of cultural accumulation and source of social distinction.

In this regard, Ariño and Llopis (2016) have observed the emergence of a new culture among people under 35 years of age, framed within the digital world. This would help explain why cultural consumption practices are more intensive among the young. Thus, in the digital era, where a good part of the culture consumed by young people is free, the problem of cultural exclusion would be due not so much to the lack of access to economic resources, but rather to the importance given to culture as a framework of personal references and tastes.

1.3. Note on methodology

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[6] A tradition of *improvised singing* became to be a new young cultural practice in recent years in Catalonia: *batalla de gallos* (a kind of freestyle rap in competition between two singers), *combat de glosa* (songs improvised by two or more opponents in a freestyle session based on traditional music in Catalonia, Valencia and Mallorca).

The 10 interviewed families were selected by looking at the young people involved in our previous fieldwork in formal and informal education settings. We took into consideration the profile of the young people, in terms of their cultural interests or activities, and the characteristics of the families, in terms of educational background, place of birth, geographical location and the convenience of accessing the participant's family. The locations where the research was conducted correspond to urban, semi-urban and rural places.

Many of the interviews were conducted at the interviewees' homes, but in some cases, the interviews took place in bars, non-formal educational settings or at school. On two occasions, families preferred a group interview with two members of the family. The interviewers always accommodated themselves to the schedules and needs of each family member, in order to make it easier for them.

A total of 25 people were interviewed: 5 people belonging to the grandparents' generation (between 75 and 85 years old), 10 people belonging to the parents' generation (between 47 and 56 years old), and 10 young people: 3 adolescents (15 years old) and 7 young adults (18-22 years old). In terms of gender, 18 women and 7 men were interviewed.

This gender bias is due to more mothers and girls having been interviewed than fathers and young boys. However, at the time of recruiting the young people, there was no premeditation for a gender-based choice; instead, other parameters affected the gender composition of the final participants, such as; differences in cultural milieu, origin, cultural practices, acceptance to participate, socio-economic status and education level. In the case of the parents, we found it easier to interview mothers, either because they were single parents, or because the father was absent from the family home, or due to a question of availability of time. For the grandparents' generation, however, we found no difficulties for participation in the research due to gender. There was, in some cases, a difficultly posed by the fact that there were no living grandparents, or that they could not answer the interviews for health reasons.

The selected families have different socio-cultural profiles, with some parents having a university degree (4), others educated to bachelor level or who had completed vocational studies (4), and others who had only compulsory secondary or elementary education (2). Among the grandparents, none of them possess university degrees, but some have secondary education. As mentioned above, there has been a change in access to education, noticeable when comparing the generation of grandparents to that of parents.

As regards territorial location, families in urban places have been more easily recruited, because they come from different fieldwork approaches of the project. These families represent 7 out of a total of 10. We interviewed 2 semi-urban families, and 1 rural family. We consider that our sample of families provides a good representation of the diversity of cultural components and different migrant backgrounds (from Latin America, in particular). However, since we worked with only 10 families, we were unable to incorporate as much diversity as would have been desirable. For example, it would be desirable to incorporate a family with cultural or migrant ties with Africa, especially Morocco, since this group represents a significant percentage of the migrant population of Catalonia.

The interviews were analysed in two stages. First, we produced a summary report of each family based on the main items in the interviews' script and the main research questions. Second, all the interviews were coded on NVivo by three members of the CHIEF team. Material from both sources was used for the analysis of the results. Each member of the family was codified for the purpose of anonymisation (see Appendix). All the names of the families are pseudonyms. In all the interviews, the participants were informed about the project and the researchers obtained their informed consent.

2. Research findings and discussion

2.1 The family as environment and as an agent of cultural socialisation

In terms of cultural environment and cultural socialisation, we found two types of situations. On the one hand, we can observe within some families a clear gap between grandparents and grandchildren in terms of cultural capital. This group comprises families 1, 2 and 4 (see the Appendix). A common feature of these families is that they lived through the difficult Civil War and Post-war periods. The grandparents received up to primary education, or at most vocational education, but they have subsequently benefitted from the social mobility brought about by the changes that took place in the Spanish economy since the 1960s. In some cases, these families have a foreign background and a stable economic position (this situation corresponds to families 3, 5, 6 and 10).

On the other hand, we have another type of family, where transmission of cultural resources and cultural interests is very clear. Such is the case with families 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10. This does not necessarily mean high incomes, as among these families we find different economic situations,

but all of them are families that have had contact with high culture or other forms of local culture, and that engage in cultural practices such as theatre, dance, music or sports, in some cases even on a professional or semi-professional level. In this group, we found a family (Family 2) characterised by its strong linkages to the traditional and popular culture expressions of their locality. The family boasts a very ample and diverse cultural capital, which shows up in several aspects. The history of the family has been influenced by their close involvement in local theatre and local traditional festivities, activities that are artistic and associational at the same time. These experiences began during the generation of the great-grandmother, but they intensified in the 1990s, a time when culture and traditional festivities (the recovery of traditional forms) were very active in Catalonia.

> It was 1979, right? But not only that, it was the generation that wanted to vindicate the "Saints"[7]. So, this group of people, a lot of people, were from the Cabanyes Theatre. And my husband was up here at the Cabanyes Theatre, because he practically lived in the Cabanyes Theatre. (Mireia, female, 53, F2, Semi-urban)

In terms of context, a characteristic that is specific to rural areas can be observed in Family 7. In this case, the three generational interviews provide a glimpse of how the cultural and educational offer has evolved from the grandfather's youth days to our present days. In the Post-war period, the cultural options were quite limited in the village—that same space which, years after, would end up hosting film and dance sessions, present in all the towns of Catalonia as leisure spaces for the young. Today, the local cultural offer has improved, with the building of a theatre, sports facilities, music schools, etc. Although there are no cinemas or exhibition centres, the mother used to travel to the closest large city, or even to Barcelona, to attend concerts, visit museums, or go to the theatre or cinema. Thus, the cultural supply is also an aspect to consider when we talk about the socialisation context of today's young people.

> There was very little culture. There was a cinema and a theatre that put on some pieces from time to time. Now they are doing more. (Octavi, male, 75, F7, Rural)

> Yes, yes, I think that's what they do most. I mean, when they are eighteen years old ... Well, of course, if you have one, and you get your ID card ... And so they go to nightclubs in one city nearby or to concerts in another. That's everywhere, because, of course, I also need my mother to take me to all places. But, of course, when you

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[7] A local celebration that is characterised by many activities, both traditional (masses, and representations with devils and different traditional characters) and modern (concerts, foam parties, etc.).

are eighteen, you already have a car to drive, you are of age, and you can go to more places and ... Yes. (Berta, female, 15, F7, Rural)

As for the socialising agents, family cultural transmission appears to play a significant role in young people's cultural practices. This means that the influences come from many members of the family: grandparents, parents, uncles, etc. It also implies, in the case of families with a migrant background, that socialisation involves a crossing of various cultural backgrounds. Such is the case with families 1, 3, 5, 6 and 10. Indeed, the influence of grandparents on cultural transmission depends a lot on the migratory factor that bears an impact on a family's trajectory. Also important is the existence of a transnational situation, as is the case with families 5 and 10, where the grandparents have remained in the country of origin.

But there could be some exceptions, where a new context of socialisation outside the family could change the cultural references of young people. This seems to be the case of Marco (male, 24, Urban, Family 1), who came from a family with a conservative and Spanish background and changed his context of cultural socialisation when he joined an *Esplai* (a leisure children/teenager group[8]), where he gets another cultural background (youth music, Catalan language, social and politic interests, etc.). In this sense, the involvement of some of the families in associations shows that local, traditional or modern cultural associations constitute spaces for cultural socialisation.

What do grandparents transmit to their grandchildren? The answers can be divided into three types: values, ideological commitment, and cultural practices. The latter is the most common among our selected families: grandparents were conveying their love of reading, music, theatre, and other cultural aspects from their country or culture of origin. In several families, grandparents had an important role in transmitting cultural or associational resources to their grandchildren (2, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10).

I also consider myself a smart person, because my grandfather always taught me how to read, he transmitted to me a great love for musicals, for music, too, and I got from him a lot of culture, in that sense, from a very young age. In that sense, I always want to be like him. (Cristina, female, 19, F8, Urban)

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[8] To find out more about *Esplac*, visit the website https://www.esplac.cat/en/

Well my grandmother is very artistic. She is a woman who has probably lived a lot, because of her husband and all that, but, in essence, she has always been a person who wants to do a lot but who doesn't. So, she is pretty much the artist type: a lot of music, piano and all that. And she always wanted her children and grandchildren to do that, because she didn't, so I find that there is a connection in everything. (Lila, female, 20, F3, Urban)

In their narratives, grandparents talk about transmitting and sharing values. In some cases, these are empowerment values (freedom, principles) (families 2 and 6). In other cases, they mention the values of respect, effort, commitment (families 3, 6 and 7), which are closely linked to a way of life that is not as current today as it was before. Finally, in the case of Family 9, we mainly noticed an ideological and political activist commitment on the part of the grandparents.

Something, my father, and my mother more than anything, she more than politically, because she had three brothers. Then she explains that she rebelled a lot with my grandmother because ... I mean, with her brothers wanted to exploit her. And they expect she was bringing them the water when they had finished working, but she had also worked. And she said them "you go and get the water, because I also come from work", right? More than politically, well ... at home, right? Because she was fighting to assert her rights. (Agnès, female, 51, F9, Urban)

In the parents' generation, we observed that there are different families in which the role of the mother is fundamental in the transmission of cultural values. This is achieved through cultural practices that bring their children closer to high culture (such as music, theatre, and films in the original language), as well as cultural practices of empowerment, which include involvement in associations and politics, and transmitting values of personal autonomy and trust. Such is the case for families 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10. Again, when we asked what it was that the parents had passed on to their children, the question of values became prominent, and the same ideas were repeated that had come up with the grandparents: values of respect and effort, but more often values of freedom, trust and political commitment.

QUESTION: Are you more active in demonstrations?
ANSWER: Yeah, yeah. We have always been there. (Judit, female, 50, F7, Rural)

I believe that I am a reference for my children in education issues because I fight for them to study, because they not only study at the institute, at the university, but

because they learn other things that can better prepare them for the future. And in terms of culture too. And politics, because I have political activism, and I generate cultural diversity in the sense that I fight for things to change in the face of immigration by participating in social activities with other women from my country and from other countries. (Francisca, female, 55, F10, Urban)

In the interview's references appear to the family's gatherings for celebrations, or for common encounters, such as when some families meet together every Sunday for lunch. As regards traditional celebrations, Christmas is mentioned most frequently by all families, along with the different meals and activities that typically accompany this festivity: *fer cagar el tió*[9], the nativities, the Three Kings day, etc. In second place, Easter festivities are also mentioned by the interviewees. Then come the celebrations of patron saints, the local celebrations, as well as Carnival Day in the case of families coming from countries where it is a popular tradition (for instance, Ecuador, as is the case of Family 5). Lastly, another set of family activities include the sharing of traditional foods, like the Catalan crème brulé or the Argentinian *mate*, as well as traditional dances. Actually, cooking and eating together are mentioned as central family-run activities by almost every family.

Oh, that too! Yes, u-huh! And it got into him for a certain time to have chicken with curry, so we just gave him curry dishes to eat. I don't know what he thought of it! (Octavi, male, 75, F7, Rural)

Yes, well, we need to work a lot in order to make this sauce. Consider that we are a lot of people, so this year we had 3 kg of mushrooms and 3 kg of onions, and the mushrooms had to be cut...
Question: ... and also the onions.
Answer: And in very, very small pieces, and then we had to bake them (laughs) and it is a terribly hard job. But, well, afterwards we enjoy eating it more, because we like it. (Esteve, male, 83, F4, Semi-urban)

2.2 The family as a factor that enables/constrains cultural participation

The intergenerational transmission of leisure activities is central for understanding the role of family as a key socialising agent, involving parents and grandparents. As we saw in the results of

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[9] "*Fer cagar el tió*" is the name of a popular Catalan Christmas tradition.

our study with secondary school students (Rovira *et al,* 2020), one of the most popular activity (as a cultural practice) is travelling during vacations. Travel is a time when families can explore cultural sites —such as museums— together. Only two families did not mention it as one of their common practices.

> *Question: Do you enjoy travelling?*
> *Answer: A lot. We went with the children to Vienna to see different kinds of cultures, and also France, Italy...*
> *Question: Mainly Europe...*
> *Answer: Europe and wherever, we went to Norway to…*
> *Question: Beyond Europe?*
> *Answer: Not with children, not yet, we're trying to, but something happens every time and we don't.*
> *Question: What do you mean by "trying to"?*
> *Answer: What do we mean by "trying to"? It means that one year, during the Three Kings day... I'm explaining it as if it were a story! Well, the Three Kings brought us some presents, and these were a piggy bank and an atlas, and they said we had to save for the trip of our life and that, until we saved enough money, we could leaf through the atlas to look for the places where we would like to go.* (Júlia, female, 47, F4, Semi-urban)

Another family-friendly cultural activity (mentioned by seven of the families interviewed) is going to watch movies. Theatre (families 2, 4, 7 and 9) and concerts (families 3, 7, 8 and 9) are also mentioned, although these two activities are done by fewer families, those with a higher cultural capital. The rest of the activities are only mentioned by a few families and have to do with the tastes of the parents or grandparents: going to the beach, to the mountains, to the park, watching football, doing sports, having lunch together.

Aspects of cultural practices that go beyond culture understood as artistic expression or as a form of cultural consumption must be considered as well. This is important because it allows us to expand the concept of culture by means of the idea of "participation". Thus, the interviews also feature cultural community activities, such as participation in the local celebrations (families 2 and 10). This participation should be understood as involvement in the organisation of local festivities and related cultural activities, whether helping to put up a theatre play or preparing a meal as a kind of political activism (Family 6). Associational or community activities were mentioned by seven families. Interestingly, the degree of family involvement in cultural,

associational or community activities does not necessarily depend on economic status. For example, Family 10 has a high socio-cultural capital but not much economic capital. This is also the case of Family 8, with its many cultural concerns but a downward mobility profile. They have not been able to have a home of their own since the mother split away, and they have a worse financial position than their grandparents. However, they get involved in many cultural activities: cinema, reading, music, concerts, etc. The daughter learns singing, plays an instrument and performs theatre.

> *I feel like going to a concert? The first person I think of going with is my daughter. If I go with her, I don't even plan it. I can go with my partner sometimes, right? You might say. But no, it's not that I'm going out with her, it's just that we share this desire to share things.* (Ángeles, female, 53, F8, Urban)

Within this set of cultural activities and resources that are passed on as a family, we have also included the educational activities engaged in by the interviewees. Only two families did not mention educational activities (1 and 5). Learning languages and music training are the most common educational activities (7 families). In addition, there are activities related to dance, sports, pillow making, and history.

As to knowledge of languages, understood as a cultural resource, we asked which languages were spoken by the family members. The usual pattern is that young people speak Catalan and Spanish perfectly (one or both are their mother tongue), and that they have a good knowledge of English, whereas among grandparents English is not a language resource that they acquire at all. However, there are some families that share a good knowledge of foreign languages across the different generations. This is the case particularly of Family 3, whose members have lived in different countries (in Europe and Latin America) throughout their lives. The members of this family have high-level knowledge in music, film, arts and dance. In addition, we can see a family with a special interest in learning foreign languages, such as Japanese or Chinese, due to their consideration of how the culture relates to knowledge acquisition, not simply enjoying or performing.

> *My son is studying Japanese, my daughter is studying Chinese. He plays the trumpet, the guitar and the viola. My daughter has a gift for the arts, for music. She studies at the university. For me it is important that they learn languages, very important, that is why I have been in it for years, it has been a real sacrifice and I hope I can continue to do so. Because for me it has also been important, since over there in the*

Dominican Republic I studied German. German is the language that I like the most, and that is why I spent some time studying it. But I have quite forgotten German and English, because I have not been able to use them, given my work situation, since I arrived here. (Francisca, female, 55, F10, Urban)

2.3 Generational differences and dynamics in the production of cultural meanings and practices

We have seen already how the family has an influence on the cultural socialisation of young people, according to their cultural resources and lifestyles. Families with more cultural resources and cultural capital show a line of continuity in cultural practices across the different generations, especially between the parents and the young people. In fact, every family in which the young people get to know their grandparents shows a transmission of some kind of cultural practices or interests. However, in some cases those interests, which are transmitted from the grandparents, rooted in the family's past and, therefore, become a cultural resource/reference that it is rather limited in the current context.

For example, the young girl from rural Family 7 learned farmer skills from her grandfather, but in her cultural context as a 21st century teenager, this did not create an interest in her to further these practices. For her part, the girl from Family 2 (living in semi-urban locations and committed to local traditions) received knowledge about a host of religious holiday activities, most of which she does not see herself as ever performing. However, it is assumed that it would be possible for young people to take part in certain local and traditional activities that are more liked by them, such as the *devils* (*diables*)[10] performance and the local festivity, as other relatives used to do. Therefore, the type of cultural practices taught by the grandparents may determine whether they can connect with the cultural practices of the young. This is the case of families 3, 6 and 8, where the artistic concerns of the grandparents have turned them into referents for present-day cultural practices. The young girl from Family 8 stated clearly during the interview that her interests in reading, cinema and music came from her grandfather, who took care of her and her brother when her divorced mother went to work. At any rate, such a discourse of cultural learning being transmitted from the grandparents to the young people is not present in all of the families, and there is a certain discontinuity in the passing down of traditions, including the family religious practices and beliefs (families 1, 4, 5, 9 and 10). In this respect, generational

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[10] This is a popular culture group disguised as diables (translated literally as devils). There are almost 300 groups in Catalonia, which make performances during local festivities. During the performance, they dance and burn fireworks fixed on their pitchforks accompanied by sounds of rhythmic drums, emulating hell in what is called Correfoc (literally run-fire). (www.diables.cat)

change is very visible. That is, the grandparents tend to be Catholic believers (either practitioners or not), whereas the parents can be divided into believers and non-believers. The young people see religion as something pertaining to the older generations.

Well... I don't really like going to church, but well...
Question: And why don't you like it?
Answer: I don't know, I find it's a little boring… (Martina, female, 15, F5, Urban)

Both my brother and I have done catechesis and communion ... [they laugh]. But that was because my mother wanted. When I was little I believed in God, but that was because... because he told me, but then I realised how dark the world is, and that he doesn't... [laughs] (Alicia, female, 22, F10, Urban)

In fact, upon asking them about their view of culture, we saw that the gamut of possibilities broadens between the grandparents and grandchildrens' generations. Some grandparents relate culture mainly to language as part of the heritage and a central issue of it (families 6, 9 and 10) and to what they learned as children (Family 1). For their part, parents see culture as including traditions and customs, academic knowledge and artistic expressions. As for young people, an element that must be added to their vision of culture is cultural diversity and, in some cases, a critical view of how culture is considered by society (families 3, 6, 8 and 10).

One must consider that the consumption of culture is one thing... the cultural level of the population, depends also on... the country, the importance that it gives to it. If a country gives more importance to culture and education, well... in general, everything will not be so simple, it will not be... ah, how can I say this? (Alicia, female, 22, F10, Urban)

Moreover, while grandparents and parents talk of a *national* culture (Catalan, Spanish, Argentinian, Cuban, etc.) and of a *local* culture (of the city or neighbourhood where they live), young people define culture itself by focusing on other aspects: women's culture, culture of participation, non-commercial culture, mixed cultures. We may venture to say that young people's idea of culture relates more to experience than to heritage.

One of the potential conflicts between the generations is derived from the youths' lifestyle, especially as regards sexual and LGTB rights. It is clear that there are huge differences in this regard between older and younger generations. Also, with respect to cultural transmission, we

realised that young people acquire their cultural background and knowledge not only through the family, but also through other frameworks (non-formal settings, such as leisure education, art schools or the Internet), and other socialising agents (peer groups, cultural referents in the Internet or on TV). The youths also seem to be more international- or global-oriented in terms of their horizons and life expectations. In the end, sexuality and gender identity are often the aspects more frequently discussed, even between grandparents and youngsters (families 3 and 6). For example, Luna's grandmother does not want Luna's boyfriend to stay at their home for the night. In Family 9, the topic of gender has led to discussions because the mother considers that the children are too open about sexual diversity and gender identity. In Family 10, Alicia feels misjudged by her mother because of her (Alicia's) sexual orientation.

> *Personally, I think that everybody is partly bisexual and that the reasons why they are not... they are not like that, but the contrary, that's because society does not want these things to show, you know.* (Alicia, female, 22, F10, Urban)

However, still in terms of gender issues, an interesting difference is the generational gap that we found between mothers and grandmothers. The grandmothers did not grow up in a society with sexual rights and freedom, and they have generally accepted a submissive gender role in their families, with some exceptions (Families 2 and 3). The interviewed mothers have an opposite perception, and they see women today as having much more freedom than older generations of women. We also observed distance in divided families with migratory trajectories from their cultures of origin. In this case, there was also a gap dividing the grandparents and the grandchildren in terms of cultural identity.

> *Well, no, I am aware that in the age of my parents it would have been fine, but for me it is not ... As women I think we did not have freedom for anything, we were nothing. My mother has always been three steps behind. And, well, I've realised what we can do nowadays and everything that couldn't be done before. I think of the freedom we now have ... We can express ourselves; we can do what we want. We don't have to depend on anyone. We can think however we want ...* (Carmen, female, 56, F1, Urban)

The use of cell phones is also a source of conflict between generations, because it leads to a breaking of good table habits or the rules of sociability within the family. The grandfather of Family 7 complained about the laxity of rules of his granddaughter and people of her generation.

And sometimes I say to her, although sometimes I don't, but I keep saying it, even during lunch when they come here on Sundays: "Gosh, girl, how can you allow this?" [the smartphone] (Octavi, male, 75, F7, Rural)

In some families, the ideological differences between grandparents/parents and young people are evident. For example, in Family 1 the grandfather is clearly a Spanish unionist, while the grandson is in favour of Catalonia's independence. In Family 9, the issue of Catalan independence is also a source of conflict. While the children are pro-independence, the mother is not, and she finds it very difficult to understand why some young people are so pro-independence.

2.4 Family vs. local/national/European cultural heritage/identity

We observed certain changes in cultural identities within generations. We found families that share common narratives about their national identities, whether a feeling of being local, or having a Catalan (or Spanish or both) national identity (families 2, 4, 7, 8) or a mixed intercultural identity[11] (families 3, 5, 6). In other cases (families 1, 9, 10), the identity of the young people does not match that of their grandparents or parents. These are young people who have acquired a local or Catalan identity in opposition to other identities. On the other hand, we can see that grandparents are linked more closely to their national identity of origin (that is, the culture of the country of origin). In the case of the mothers, we also found that some of them identify themselves with a "global identity", as "citizens of the world".

In the case of young people, they generally identified themselves as Catalans more often than their parents and grandparents, but not solely. They also identify with other aspects of cultural diversity, as well as with a global identity. It must be taken into account that the grandparents have travelled less, and so their cultural experience focuses more on experiences on the local and national level. By contrast, the parents have travelled more with their families, and so we find more European cultural references in their discourse.

Nevertheless, it is the grandparents who recognise that their roots form part of European culture, whereas parents are more critical about European culture (seen as individualistic and unfriendly by some of them). As for young people, some of them feel European, but for rather practical reasons (being European gives them easier access to benefits such as travelling, rights,

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[11] Meaning mixed intercultural identities as a sum of diverse cultural (national) backgrounds.

fellowships…); and they are critical of European politics and figures. We cannot have a clear conclusion here about why grandparents are more open to European cultural identification, but we have to remember that Spain's entrance to the European Union was during the 80s, and it was seen as an achievement of the Transition to Democracy after the Francoist dictatorship. For that generation to be part of Europe represents an important shift towards modernity and perhaps we can figure that at that moment (1986) it meant 'to be part of the world of democratic countries'.

2.5 The family and cultural inclusiveness/exclusion

10 of 25 participants were born outside of Catalonia. That is to say, there are six families with different cultural backgrounds other than the Catalan culture. In the case of Family 1, this means that the grandparents have socialised within an exclusively Castilian culture ("My grandfather is unrelated to the Catalans" says the grandson), but the father is Catalan, and the grandson defines himself as a Catalan *independentista* in favour of cultural diversity. In the case of Family 3, they all have different cultural backgrounds. They were born and have lived in different countries and continents; Argentina, Germany, England and Catalonia. Family 5 shows a more homogeneous cultural pattern: they come from Ecuador and have been living in Barcelona for many years; they identify particularly with the Spanish culture. Family 6 comes from Argentina and Uruguay; they have many cultural interests and a wide relationship with people from other countries. Family 10 is Dominican-Spanish, having many connections with the Dominican community in Barcelona. In Family 7, the step-grandmother and the father are Cuban. Finally, in Family 4 there is a brother-in-law who is of Moroccan origin. Thus, among the interviewed families we have a wide representation of families with mixed cultural heritage and roots. In addition, families 8 and 9 have relationships with people from other cultures in their daily life, as well as people from the neighbourhood where they live and from the artistic non-formal settings where young people are involved.

Therefore, accepting cultural diversity —inside or outside the family— is an idea shared by all generations and interviewed families. Only one of the people interviewed expressed reluctance towards foreigners (Jose, male, 85, Urban, F1). In that same family, the mother showed reluctance against the excessive number of migrant people in her society, but she volunteers at an adult school to teach reading to immigrant mothers.

> *They had to wait a year to get their papers... They are really in pain, and when you get inside their world, you see things differently. So, I thought, well, it's because they want to work... What is going too far is what the children of all these people are*

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doing. They are flooding us with their culture. We are forgetting ours. How can I explain this? The case of reggaeton[12]... There seems to be no more young people's music, and this way of dressing up... I don't know, it's like they are subduing us and we're staying... (Carmen, female, 56, F1, Urban)

In contrast, the same mother commented that she has been stigmatised in Barcelona for coming from Madrid, so she has experienced a feeling of exclusion herself. This is also the case with Lila, the young daughter from Family 3, who feels stigmatised by her father's family because she is white, and they are black. And the case with the mother of Family 10, who experienced racism and stigmatisation for being Dominican. She explains how men expect from her to have very *sexual* conduct with them.

But you Dominicans do this", I don't know what as in sex. "Excuse me, but I'm not going to do those things because I'm not a prostitute. I'm not a prostitute. (Francisca, female, 55, F10, Urban)

2.6 The current concerns

Regarding the impact that culture can have on young people's development, families agree that culture is important, but few families have an elaborate discourse on this. Such discourse does appear in families with an intense motivation for and involvement in cultural activities, such as families 2, 3, 8, 9 and 10. In the case of Family 2, the mother stated that they have done much in order to make culture relevant to her daughter's life. The mother of Family 3 says that culture has clearly been a fundamental element in her daughter's personal and social development. She says that they are both aware of the role that music and the arts have played in their education and in their professional future.

Families that do not have such a strong link with cultural and artistic practices involving training or associational participation are more likely to rely on education as a foundation for their young people's future. Such is the case for families 1, 4 and 5. They expect them to study —ideally at university— and to choose their own path to happiness. In this sense, we have to think about how cultural capital transmitted within the family is creating a habitus in terms of Bourdieu. The first group of families socialises young people to be committed to a network of cultural practices

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[12] Reggaeton and trap are the most popular music among young people in Spain, according to Spotify statistics of 2019, and it is usual to hear this style of music on the street from teenagers' smartphones. This music is also identified with the immigrant people of Latin America.
https://open.spotify.com/playlist/37i9dQZF1DXdo9iIZiH7LB. Accessed in May 2020

and community cultural associations. The second group expects to be 'instructed' from the outside to achieve some potential skills.

About the current concerns that the families have about their youngsters' expectations, we realised that there are some differences between generations. The concerns in the case of the grandparents are quite diverse: health, politics, economics, etc., but what they are particularly concerned about is the economic and employment situation of today's young people (precariousness, rent, lack of employment for young people, the economic crisis…).

Parents are very critical in some of their concerns. Some of the most discussed topics have to do with economics: working conditions, inequalities, unemployment, difficulties in accessing housing, public health and education cuts. Another relevant issue is discrimination: sexism first (violence against women), but also racism and the lack of response to the refugee crisis. The third issue that emerges in various families in the parents' generation is politics: some mothers are either concerned with politics or involved in politics. Corruption is a topic of concern, as well as the topic of the independence of Catalonia, which has been prominent in Catalan society in recent years, sometimes in favour and sometimes as a source of worries and even reluctance. More rarely, there are other issues, such as climate change, human rights, and the situation in their country of origin in the case of migrant families. In the next quotation the mother of Family 4 (semi-urban and Catalan background) the mother is referring to the *Tsunami democràtic* (Democratic Tsunami), a protest movement against the sentences condemning pro-independence leaders (who were former members of the Catalan government) in October 2019[13].

> *Answer: I haven't been sent to jail yet because of the Tsunami! [laughs]*
> *Question: But, I mean, at home you are in favour of independence...*
> *Answer: Oh, yes, yes! Very much!* (Júlia, female, 47, F4, Semi-urban)

The parents' interests are closer to the interests of young people. In some cases, fear about the increase of the far right and extreme conservatism are expressed, because it may lead to a limiting of the freedom of expression. In other cases, their discourse has a more global scope:

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[13] After October 1st of 2017, the Supreme Court of Spain imprisoned and judged the ministers of the government of Catalonia accused of a crime of rebellion, sedition, and embezzlement of public funds. After a long trial, they were condemned to 9-14 years in prison. That produced a reaction by the supporters of independence in Catalonia with many protests in the streets. These protests were promoted by an anonymous Telegram profile named *Tsunami Democratic*, which attained 400.000 members.

COVID-19[14], the situation in Hong Kong, the refugees and so forth. They are also concerned about gender diversity and violence against women, and social injustice and inequality. However, young people do not express as much concern about their own economic situation and precariousness as their parents and grandparents.

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[14] At time of carrying out the interviews' fieldwork (January and February 2020) the Covid-19 pandemic was mainly affecting China and Asian countries.

3. Conclusion

It is important to understand the concept of cultural literacy in a very broad sense. Families showed us that cultural practices can be very diverse - a grandmother who makes pillows, a grandfather who reads westerns in a factory, a young girl who has just discovered *anime* on the Internet, and young people who devote themselves to artistic practices (dance, singing, theatre, painting, etc.) in a context of fluctuating (sexual, global and ideological) identities.

In this sense, it should be noted that the necessarily reduced number of selected families determined the characteristics of the empirical findings. Thus, we see that families recruited through fieldwork in secondary schools (Rovira *et al*, 2020) have the scarcest cultural capital, compared to that of the families of other young people selected based on their involvement in non-formal and informal cultural settings. The children of these families are teenagers who have not yet shaped their personal trajectory around cultural practices that allow for richer narratives. At the same time, these families in general have less cultural background than the other interviewed families, especially those who come from the urban school from a working-class district.

In contrast, families recruited through their participation in the study of non-formal education and ethnographies about youth cultural practices (Ferrer-Fons, 2020; Castellví & Hansen, 2020) have brought us into contact with young people who engage in more intensive cultural practices. The characteristic features of the non-formal education settings and the practices analysed in ethnographic case studies (urban dancing and Catalan folklore practices) introduced us, in this case, to middle-low and low-income families but with a relatively high cultural capital. In fact, this led us to a group of families in which there is no direct relationship between the economic and the cultural capital. The family trajectories have shown us how cultural practices of young people are a result of their parents' and grandparents' relatively high cultural capital.

The scheme proposed by Bourdieu (1979) of a relationship between economic position and cultural capital would therefore not be exactly confirmed here. In the case of the families that we studied, reproduction of the cultural disposition occurs when there is an investment on the part of the families in non-formal arts education (music, dance, theatre). This investment also takes place when young people begin taking English classes. In this sense, it is also not possible for us to endorse Paul Willis's theses about the social reproduction of the working class (1977), although our findings demonstrate that less socio-economically affluent groups are able to develop their culture from below (1990).

Thus, while cultural participation constitutes a social capital transmitted from one generation to the next, cultural consumption as such is not necessarily transmitted from grandparents to grandchildren. The differences in their historical contexts of socialisation, acquisition of educational capital, and changes in the opportunities for cultural practices (from Francoism to democracy). It means that cultural participation has suffered a complete change from one generation to another.

The results of this study seem to confirm that schooling does not guarantee inclusion, and least of all the participation of young people in artistic and cultural practices. We did not find any evidence of how school is socialising young people in cultural participation beyond the family framework. As we have seen, this depends rather on the families' cultural practices and decisions about education made beyond formal schooling. However, as in our study involving students and teachers in secondary education (Rovira *et alt*, 2020), we found that family holiday trips offer space for cultural socialisation as a family, due to the time spent together cultivating knowledge of the cultural heritage of the places they visit, as well as visiting museums, monuments and historical sites there. Moreover, the choice of non-formal and leisure educational options may be crucial in introducing young people to a more creative, more participatory and even more socially committed context than the school.

Given that four of our families were recruited through our fieldwork in the non-formal education settings (i.e. research carried out with civil society organisations), we need to make it clear that these are economically accessible spaces with an inclusion philosophy that makes it easier for families with modest incomes to gain access. In Catalonia, more places like these exist, but they are not the most common. Music schools, for example, often charge fees that are not easy for working-class families to pay, even if they are public (apart from the fact that public music schools are scarce in urban locations). In medium-sized urban cities, these schools are usually only found in the city's downtown. On the other hand, the cultural practices of informal groups, which we studied in the ethnographies on youth cultural practices, appears to be another way of accessing participatory cultural practices that are closely linked to the local social network and groups of young people. It is also a way for youngsters to acquire social capital.

Policy recommendations

1. Facilitating access to the institutions, NGO and experiences that provide extra-curricular cultural training for adolescents and young people is needed. This involves overcoming

economic barriers by resorting to measures like "social pricing", as is done by other educational institutions (Saurí, 2019). Also, it would be necessary to facilitate the incorporation of diverse families through inclusive policies, in view of the fact that, contrary to what we have seen in this part of our research, populations of immigrant origin tend to have less access to this type of extra-curricular cultural education. They also participate less in the network of associations of local and popular culture in Catalonia (Rovira & Saurí, 2012).

2. To incorporate more participatory and creative dynamics in the cultural learning that is imparted at schools. The results of our study so far do not indicate that visiting museums or theatres, as a part of the school curriculum, has any influence on the students' practices. But cultural consumption on the Internet does have a direct impact on young people and is creating a gap between generations in the families, as we saw in the analysis of this research. This change may be effecting a change in the roles of cultural transmission, in this case moving from the older generations in the family to the youngsters. A new process of acquisition of skills (via smartphones, Internet series, YouTube activists/creators, software, etc.) is developing the capacity of the youngsters of the family to teach their parents and grandparents.

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5. Appendix

Participant's pseudonym	Age	Gender	Location	Languages fluent	Highest education qualification	Occupation / Employment	Members of the household	Parent's highest education qualification	Parent's occupation	Religious or spiritual affiliation	Citizenship(s)
WP5_E_GF_U_F1_Jose	85	Male	Urban	Spanish	Vocational	Small business owner, retired	Wife	No specific qualification	Army, housewife	Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_U_F1_Carmen	56	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish	Secondary, vocational	Unemployed, administrative	Husband	Vocational	Small business owner, housewife	Believer	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_U_F1_Marco	24	Male	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	University	Social education	Two flatmates	Secondary, vocational	Taxi driver, administrative	Not a believer	Spanish
WP5_E_GM_S_F2_Rosa	75	Female	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish	Vocational	Secretary, cleaner	Husband	No specific qualification	Electrician, home cook and housewife	Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_S_F2_Mireia	53	Female	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish, French, English	University	Library worker	Two children	Vocational	Electrician, cook	Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_S_F2_Arlet	22	Female	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	University	Student	Mother and brother	University	Library worker, working on spectacles	No	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_U_F3_Raquel	52	Female	Urban	English, German, Italian, Spanish	Vocational (manual therapist)	Therapist, dancer	Partner and daughter	No specific qualification	Driver, housewife	Spiritual	Italian, Argentinian
WP5_E_YP_U_F3_Lila	20	Female	Urban	English, German, Italian, Spanish, Catalan	Bachelor in Arts & Musical Training	Music teacher	Mother and Mother's partner	Artistic formation	Therapist & dancer, musician	No religion	British, Italian
WP5_E_GF_S_F4_Esteve	83	Male	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish	Bachelor, Real Estate Agent	Retired, Real Estate Agent	Alone	No specific qualification	Factory worker, factory worker	Catholic	Spanish

Participant's pseudonym	Age	Gender	Location	Languages fluent	Highest education qualification	Occupation / Employment	Members of the household	Parent's highest education qualification	Parent's occupation	Religious or spiritual affiliation	Citizenship(s)
					Course						
WP5_E_MO_S_F4_Júlia	47	Female	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish	University (teaching)	Director of Kindergarten	Husband and two children	Bachelor	Real Estate Agent, housewife	No	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_S_F4_Hèctor	15	Male	Semi-urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Secondary	Student	Parents and daughter	University	Director of Kindergarten, consultant	No	Spanish
WP5_E_FA_U_F5_Fausto	39	Male	Urban	Spanish	Primary	Supermarket worker	Wife and 3 children	Primary or no studies	Workers	Catholic	Ecuadorian, Spanish
WP5_E_YP_U_F5_Martina	15	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Secondary	Student	Parents and two siblings	Primary	Supermarket worker, housewife	Catholic	Ecuadorian, Spanish
WP5_E_GM_U_F6_Paula	75	Female	Urban	Spanish	Bachelor	Social education and secretary	2 daughters, 5 grandchildren			Catholic	Argentinian-Spanish
WP5_E_MO_U_F6_Susanna	46	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish	Secondary	Administrative	Mother, daughter, sister, 3 nieces	Bachelor	Printing, social education	Spiritual	Argentinian-Uruguayan
WP5_E_YP_U_F6_Luna	22	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Secondary, vocational	Recreational monitor	Mother, grandmother, aunt, 3 cousins	Secondary	Ranchman, administrative	No	Uruguayan
WP5_E_GF_R_F7_Octavi	75	Male	Rural	Catalan, Spanish	Primary	Electrician in factory	Wife	No formal education	Farm workers	Non-practicing Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_R_F7_Judit	50	Female	Rural	Catalan, Spanish, English, French	Bachelor, lifelong learning	Wood craftsman	Daughter	Primary	Electrician in factory, housewife	No	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_R_F7_Berta	15	Female	Rural	Catalan, Spanish, English	Secondary	Student	Mother	Bachelor, lifelong learning	Wood craftsman, electrician	No	Spanish

Participant's pseudonym	Age	Gender	Location	Languages fluent	Highest education qualification	Occupation / Employment	Members of the household	Parent's highest education qualification	Parent's occupation	Religious or spiritual affiliation	Citizenship(s)
WP5_E_MO_U_F8_Ángeles	53	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Vocational studies in Draftsman ship	Administrative	Mother, son and daughter		Bank worker, lottery, housewife and informal work	Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_U_F8_Cristina	19	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Bachelor	Student at University	Mother, brother, grandmother	Vocational studies in Draftsman ship	Bar owner, administrative	No	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_U_F9_Agnès	51	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English, French	University (teaching)	Teacher	Alone (some days) & with her children		Administrative, ceramic shop	No	Spanish, French
WP5_E_YP_U_F9_Pau	18	Male	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English	Bachelor	Student at University	Two sisters and sometimes with mother	University	Teacher, doctor (father died)	No	Spanish
WP5_E_MO_U_F10_ Francisca	55	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish (English)	University (Psychology, Master in Gender Equality)	Psychologist	Two children		Administrative in public service, dressmaker	Catholic	Spanish
WP5_E_YP_U_F10_Alicia	22	Female	Urban	Catalan, Spanish, English (learning Chinese)	Bachelor	Student at University	Mother, brother	University	Psychologist, textile craftsman	No	Dominican, Spanish