

**Academic Literature Review (Spain), WP1**

**Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF)**

Authors: Marta Rovira, Mariona Ferrer-Fons, Roger Soler i Martí

# Summary

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## 1. Introduction

Cultural literacy is a field of study that has been scarcely studied in Spain. Considering the area of literacy, preliminary studies started analysing the literacy of the Spanish population and their levels of literacy, territorial differences and explanatory factors. Even so, literacy studies have been limited until the 1990s (de Puellas Benítez, 1997). In the early 90s, one of the first academics researching basic literacy acquisition in Spain was Viñao (1990) who understood literacy as a historical process. He studied the historical evolution of the level of knowledge of written and/or oral languages among the Spanish population. According to Viñao, the advancement of literacy in Spain has been much more dependent than elsewhere on schooling and on urbanization through migration from rural areas. A most recent example of studies on literacy is the research of Macías Gómez-Estern et al. (2010) that problematises on the concept of literacy and cultural identity. In this work, the authors relate literacy and the way people discursively construct their cultural identity which is linked to cultural activity settings. For them, cultural identity is a flexible process that is constructed in relation to social settings (such as formal education) in which people participate. Empirically, they analyse the acts of identification performed by various groups of Andalusian.

Due to the lack of research on the specific field of cultural literacy, we search on different related areas of investigation in order to give an overview of the academic literature and debates related to CHIEF aims in Spain and Catalonia. The objectives and theoretical approaches of the CHIEF project take a stance for an open and dynamic conceptualization of cultural literacy that has not arrived yet at the Spanish literature. This is why we have adopted the strategy of reviewing different academic fields that do not explicitly deal with cultural literacy but that are core for the CHIEF conceptualization like intercultural dialogue, educational and civic competences, cultural identities, youth cultures, cultural participation or cultural heritage and memory.

In the next pages we start with the section on methodology where we explain the followed strategy of identifying fields of academic literature and the search of references is presented. In section 3 the existing literature in the different fields considered is presented and in section 4 there is a discussion of the main findings related with the CHIEF goals and challenges. Finally we present some concluding remarks.

## **2. Methodology**

The first search on academic search engines of CHIEF key concepts is done based on the three areas suggested by WP1 leads: education and intercultural competence; national identity and cultural diversity among young people; and cultural heritage, cultural participation and cultural consumption.

The characteristics of the CHIEF research questions opens the exploration of several spheres of research, and consequently, it makes difficult to focus on the academic literature review in only few research fields. Hence, our strategy has been to identify multiple research areas related to CHIEF goals and later on to try to identify common trends and evidence and literature gaps.

In the first review we have identified specific research areas linked to the ones suggested that have had a particular development in the Spanish literature which are the following: Education/Pedagogy, Youth studies, Cultural Studies, Cultural policies, Values and Identities. Other relevant subareas identified are: historical knowledge, teaching through competences, intercultural education, education using ICTs, transnational and national identities, cultural practices, leisure and participation the ICT as a new form of cultural consumption, media literacy and cultural policies.

The search for the available literature has been done through the searching engines of general academic platforms such as the Web of Science, Scopus, Google Scholar, Dialnet Academia.edu or Researchgate. We have also examined the webs of some institutions that work in youth and publish youth such as the INJUVE (with the Revista de Estudios de Juventud and other monographs), the Centro Reina Sofía sobre Estudios de Juventud, and the Catalan Youth Observatory, among others.

### **3. Findings**

#### **3.1 Cultural literacy and education**

##### **The role of historical knowledge as a background for cultural literacy**

As we already point out above, we have not been able to identify Spanish academic literature that uses the concept of cultural literacy literally. Consequently, our approach for discussing the research done on cultural literacy and young people in Spain has been to deal with other topics related such as historical literacy, historical and/or cultural competences, intercultural education and so forth. In this sense, a positive finding has been to look for examples of research that analyzes how cultural and social issues, understood broadly, are treated from education, for instance, starting from the analysis of the content of curriculums or subjects, textbooks or teaching through competences.

Among the studies that focus on the teaching of culture in different educational stages, we highlight the work of Zabalza (1996). Zabalza has studied the relationship between cultural content and early childhood education in Spain. This level of education is integrated and there are many cultural themes present in the classrooms. She mentions, for instance, education for peace, equality between the sexes, health, environment, consumption, the European dimension and multiculturalism. The author explains that the themes of the European dimension and multiculturalism were a constant demand of teachers and institutions at that moment. The main reasons were to open the awareness of the new international status of Spain and what the integration of Spain into the EC implied. Zabalza already argued more than 20 years ago: “A better knowledge of the European reality should lead to the formation of open, though critical attitudes about Europe. It is important, not only that Spanish children know more about Europe, but also that they consider themselves as European. The idea of Europe appears related to a deeper and richer notion of multicultural education (Zabalza, 1996, p.56).”

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in studies focused on historical teaching and learning (Carretero and López, 2009). An assumption that appears often in the literature is that historical learning has the disciplinary goal of fostering critical citizens capable of informed and effective participation in increasingly complex global societies, and the short-term and long-term problems facing the XXI Century. The idea is that the fully understanding of these problems from a social, economic and political points of view implies a historical point of view (Carretero et al., 2012). Based on such idea there are several educational studies about how the learning of history or culture takes place in school settings.

For instance, Carretero and López (2009) gather the most relevant studies that have been carried out on the cognitive psychology of the knowledge and skills that characterize history experts. The authors believe that greater knowledge about the characteristics of said experts is a fundamental aspect of understanding what objectives should be promoted to achieve adequate historical literacy. These characteristics revolve around three major capacities related to historical knowledge: the evaluation of evidence when obtaining information, reasoning and

problem solving, and the analysis and construction of historical narratives. This is a relevant issue as teachers, as experts, are intensively involved in the process of student learning adequate historical literacy.

Later, Carretero et al. (2012) discuss how students construct their historical narratives and concepts about the nation as a theme that, again to learn the background for understanding the past in a complex manner and the complex historical multiple causality, being able of relating the past with the present and the future. Their empirical research is based in semi-structured individual interviews to analyse the concept of nation and the evolution in the case of the Spanish state among 12-18 year old students. According to these authors, in the case of Spain, the concept of nation is not understood in a proper historical manner: “Students have a rather essentialist idea of nation, closer to a romantic than to a disciplinary conception (Carretero, 2012, p.167).” The nation, as appears in their analysis, is more ‘essentialist’ – using their terms- and linked to a territory, ideas that are more supported than before in the intense process of globalisation.

Another approach of the academic literature has been to analyze the contents of textbooks or the historical narratives that students learn, especially in high school. In this context, we can mention several works. A research to highlight is the work of Pousa and López-Facal (2013), which examines the presence of Eurocentric bias in mainstream Spanish textbooks used to teach history in secondary education. Using the analysis of a sample of six textbooks, and their written information, pictures and maps, the authors reached the conclusion of an important bias towards the old colonial propaganda – for instance, minimising or ignoring colonial violence- and reproducing many stereotypes images of colonised and colonisers. The conclusions bring forward some proposals that could improve the teaching and learning of the history of colonialisms to avoid reinforcing the Eurocentric bias already existing among secondary students.

Sáiz Serrano (2013) also analyses, in the one hand, a sample of activities of Spanish history textbooks in secondary education (12-18 years old) and, on the other hand, levels of historical learning of students from a sample of exams Test Access University of History of Spain. He argued that the approach and problem solving, analysis of historical sources and the construction of narratives are historical thinking skills to be used to study the levels of historical literacy among young people. He concluded that there is a low learning of historical literacy skills and that they need to be reinforced in secondary education and its curriculum. These skills are related to critical thinking and creativity and the analysis of social and identity conflicts. Furthermore, he argues the need to use other material than textbooks to increase the historical thinking skills.

The study of the competences of historical thinking has gained popularity in recent years, likely due to the introduction of the concept of competences in the official curriculum of compulsory education in Spain. There is an understanding of the curriculum as a process of learning several competences and skills more than the traditional disciplines. However, a tension exists in this process because of the educational curriculum based on disciplines has been the dominant approach during decades in Spain.

Following the research on educational competences, Saíz-Serrano and López-Facal (2015) examine the competences of historical thinking of high school students and pre-service teachers in Spain, as well as their narratives about Spanish history using qualitative methods. The findings show that most of secondary school students do not use meta-concepts. The degree of complexity of historical thinking among pre-service teachers is related to their use of substantive content. The results point to the need to improve history education, including substantive knowledge and the development of specific historical competencies. They are quite critical to the weight of transmissive routines and memorization in teaching. They argue a need of more transversal knowledge.

Gómez-Carrasco et al. (2015) posit the need for a new cognitive model of historical learning. They discuss the link between the historical formation of students and the development of a democratic, critical and responsible citizenship. To achieve this, according to them, it is necessary that historical knowledge is conceived as the acquisition of complex cognitive abilities and social and educational competences. Hence “students must learn, from early ages, how the narratives of the past are constructed, as well as the disciplinary tools to interpret them appropriately and critically” (Gómez-Carrasco et al., 2015, p.11)”. For them, the introduction of the competences can be an opportunity for the students to acquire a specific ability to interpret and confer new meanings to the reality on which they act. It is also an opportunity for the democratization of evaluation and not using the examination as an exclusive tool.

### **The competences as a new model for cultural transmission**

The competences defined as transversal are those directly related to cultural diversity. They include, among others, artistic and cultural competence and competition communicative. Cultural education is still not understood in a transversal way in Spain and Catalonia, where it is often strictly associated with artistic competence (Carbó, 2015). Another example of the interest in social and cultural competences is Tiana Ferrer (2011). She presents an analysis of the key competencies as core curriculum of the compulsory education in Spain. The author relates the 8 basic competences with each one of the areas and subjects of the curriculum, emphasizing the integrating character that their development should have. The development of these competences involves reviewing other aspects of the curriculum: the teaching and learning methodology and the evaluation of the students. In addition, it means paying special attention to non-formal learning and to the influence of the organization and the school environment. She argues that in the case of historical literacy, learning cannot be conceived only as the acquisition of disciplinary knowledge; students must be able to apply knowledge in new situations and in their daily lives.

Digital literacy and the impact of new technologies in the learning processes of young people is another area of study. For instance, Garcia-Carrasco (2009) describes the different processes in which literacy as a pedagogical project has been transformed with the appearance of new technologies. He uses the concept of multiple literacy, that is related to the reconstruction of the historic process of cultural integration. He talks about three cultural processes: the introduction of oral language and cultures of orality, the introduction of reading-writing literacy and the

emergence of cultures that correspond to the introduction of digital technologies and the emergence of the so-called information society. According to him, "when digital technology enters different scenarios, it modifies the living conditions in vital domains (....). Literacy (...) can never be understood as a process of learning to read and write because it has passed to the need to be a process of reading to learn, a process of personal training to deliberate, a basic process to learn to live." (García-Carrasco, 2009, pp.72-73). A very recent book written by Pérez Escoda (2017) describes the challenges of education processes in the context of a digital society. The author posits that students should achieve 'media literacy' in formal education, a concept related to the use and knowledge of the ITCs and the digital competences. She explains several examples of the increasing use of the ITCs tools in schools.

### **Cultural and intercultural education**

Intercultural competence is an aspect of cultural literacy. Intercultural education has also been an area of increasing interest among both teachers and academics. Some authors consider the development of competences in the educational curriculum as an opportunity for cultural and intercultural education (for example, Arroyo González, 2013; Carbó, 2015; Escarbajal Frutos, 2015). Intercultural education "is based on diversity as a positive value, not centred on the difference and the static nature of cultural identities, but on the process of permanent dialogue between individuals and groups" (Carbó, 2015, pp.15-16). In this context, we find the study of Arroyo González (2013) that discusses two concepts: intercultural education and educational incorporation. She argues that the intercultural education (a dimension of cultural literacy) is, today, one of the best ways to obtain the education incorporation. It focuses on the specific needs of each student and not individual groups, emphasizing the diversity of each school.

Another good example of academic work on intercultural learning is the book edited by Escarbajal Frutos (2015) collected several proposals on how implement intercultural education in response to the challenges of inclusion in increasing diverse societies and how to create more intercultural and democratic communities. The difficulties and opportunities to face intercultural education between students and teachers are analyzed. In this regard, it should be noted that the book aims to go beyond formal education in schools. The learning process of intercultural competences goes through the school, the community, the neighbourhood and the family. Another thesis of the book is the support for the implementation of policies of inclusiveness towards immigrant students, respecting their uniqueness at the same time.

Escarbajal Frutos and Morales Cánovas (2016) published a research about the intercultural skills in secondary education teachers. The authors posit that in order to respond to the demands of the multicultural and changeable Spanish society of XXI century, it is important that teachers are properly trained and have the necessary intercultural skills to properly perform their educational work. Therefore, the target of study of their research was to analyze the intercultural competencies that teachers of secondary education have and involvement in the development of interculturality in their schools, in order to, when necessary, suggest some alternatives that promoting inclusive education. They did a survey among teachers and the results shows the lack



of training of the analyzed teachers and the need to implement training in intercultural skills, both as in university initial training and as in continuing education.

Another type of studies goes beyond the formal education sphere and focus on the cultural learning of young people outside of the formal education sphere. Solé Blanch (2006) proposed a phenomenological frame for the investigation about the different models of enculturation of the youth. He related these processes with the main elements of the youth cultures in the XXI Century. He posits the need that youth pedagogy incorporates cultural materials, forms of consumption and spaces of creativity in which youth develop their processes of construction of cultural identities. These spaces include groups of peers, the Internet and new technologies, music, film, commemorative centers, series culture, etc. In short, include the daily life of young people in their educational processes.

Other authors question the division among formal, non-formal and informal education. In that way, Vidiella (2016) explains how the terms formal education, non-formal education and informal no longer respond to the traditional excluding division due to the complex and hybrid situation of the current educational processes (Vidiella, 2016, p.59). In her work she presents the challenges and tests facing culture and education policies for this potential and hybrid space in Catalonia. She suggests many actions and measure that, in some cases, can be related to cultural literacy dimensions.

Finally, a PhD thesis, written by Carbó (2015), is one of the most elaborated texts reflecting on culture from education in Spain. Carbó, an expert on cultural and educational policies, recognizes that the school constitutes the basic guarantee institution and universal access to culture although beyond formal education, non-formal learning (outside school) and informal education is a decisive contributor to cultural 'literacy'. She also calls to pay attention to informal learning inherent in all socialization experiences, including learning activities that are carried out in the workplace, in the local community and in daily life (self-taught) or in the family or in the family the society. According to her, “in our society, there is an increasing awareness of the fundamental role that citizens have as creators, producers and cultural consumers, especially young people, and how their critical capacity in relation to knowledge and diversity is vital to guarantee the bases of public and democratic government systems (Carbó, 2015, p. 4).”

### **3.2 Cultural identity and Young People**

#### **Youth cultures research and identities**

From the end of the II World War the study of youth cultures, as the analysis of the norms, values, practices and symbolic systems of young people, have had a fast development in some Western countries. However, in Spain we needed to wait until the decline of the Francoist dictatorship to find the first research on youth cultures (Feixa and Porzio, 2004). As a relevant precedent, it must be mentioned the contribution of Ortega y Gasset in the 20's that, beside Karl

Mannheim, has been one of the first thinkers in conceptualizing the sociocultural singularities of youth as the fundamental engine of social change (Ortega y Gasset, 1923).

In two different articles, Carles Feixa and his colleagues, offered an exhaustive review of the studies in youth cultures in Spain from its beginnings in the late 60's until today (Feixa and Porzio, 2004; Feixa and Sánchez, 2015). In this review the authors show the relation between the academic (but also mediatic and popular) visions of youth with the general political, social, economic and cultural context. For that purpose, they analyse the different labels used to define youth and youth groups and describe the state of the discipline (theoretical frameworks and methodological perspectives) in that moment. The dominant discourses on youth highlight the social transformation of Spain. The first studies on youth cultures coincided with the decadence of the Francoist regime and the democratic transition. Thus, with uncertain times of a growing social and political changes, cultural modernization processes and openness with the exterior. In this context, the academic studies are very related with the ideological and mediatic discourses that try to face the issue of the “problem of youth” or “youth as a problem” (Feixa and Porzio, 2004, p. 23). This worried vision on youth is present in the very first studies that have focused on the new consumption habits and countercultural trends, but there are still there during the 80's, already the democratic period. The interest is in analysing the emergence of urban tribes and a certain careless attitude (“pasotismo”) that the Transition generation assigned to their next generation.

Along this period the quantity and quality of the studies have increased, but in the mid 90's there is a turning point in the production of studies on youth cultures: Feixa and Porzio (2004) identify this moment quantifying the scientific production on youth cultures in Spain reporting books, articles, PhD thesis but also reports and press monographs. This period corresponds with the emergence of subcultural groups such as the “okupas” (squatters) or the skinheads. Even though, in this period there is still a lack of a more transversal research putting together the analysis of different groups or the links of this youth subcultures with more general trends on youth identity, attitudes and social patterns and there is still a very weak relation with the more consolidated international research on youth cultures (Feixa and Porzio, 2004).

However, in the new Century the studies of youth cultures in Spain have undergone an exponential growth in terms of number but also with the contribution of scholars from other disciplines and the international integration mainly through European projects but also with a productive exchange with Latin America scholars (Feixa and Sánchez, 2015). From this period, Feixa and Sánchez highlight three crucial subjects in the study of youth cultures: (1) the impact of the ICTs and the emergence of the so-called cibercultures, (2) the study of the Latin gangs (“bandas”) within the new phenomena of the foreign immigration in Spain and the transnationalism and (3) the incorporation of the analysis of social movements from the hand of the antiglobalisation movement and, particularly, the *indignados* movement from 2011.

In terms of identities, the recent literature on youth cultures develops three approaches of new insights that tackle the complexity of youth identities. First, the idea of migration and transnationalism. The phenomenon of foreign immigration is relatively new in Spain: In 2000 the percentage of young people with a foreign nationality was the 2,2% while now is around the

21% in the whole country, but significantly higher in the main urban areas. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of many researchers from many fields. Youth culture studies have focused on the practices and subjectivities of young people from minority migrant groups, specifically from Latin America and Northern Africa. This research, that has taken into consideration the impact of migration both in Spain and in the countries of origin, has contributed to rethink the foundations of identity in a global world with the idea of hybrid cultures and decentralized subjectivities (Sánchez, 2010; Romaní et al., 2012).

Another area of research has placed the emphasis on the effect of the changing living conditions on youth and their transitions to adulthood into their subjectivities. In the line of the globalization trends in Western democracies in the last decades, Spain has experienced a process of deregulation of the labour market with a specific impact on youth. Among other socioeconomic transformations this process has led to a more long, uncertain and vulnerable youth trajectories. Andy Furlong and Fred Cartmel (1997) in his influential book “Young People and Social Change” explain how these transformations impact on young people’s identities. A summary of the book has been translated by the Catalan Youth Observatory in 2001 with a significant influence on youth studies in Catalonia and Spain (see, for example, Miret et al., 2008 or Serracant, 2012). In the same approach, several studies in Spain have aimed to analyse the impact of those general social changes into youth and their identities and the role of inequalities, adapting the thesis of the great thinkers of the late modernity like Beck, Bauman, Lipovetsky or Sennett, to the particularities of young people. An example of this orientation is the research of Bernat Albaigés (2003) or Isaac Gonzalez (2010) that analyse the complexity and the reconstruction of common references on youth identities.

Finally, we identify another contribution from youth cultures studies to the understanding of youth identities that comes from the analysis and the problematisation of the relation of youth with power and politics. The financial crisis and the *indignados* movement in 2011 represent a turning point in the dominant social discourses and academic perspectives of young people as agency and their own political identities. From that point this line of research tries to combine the classical discourse on the individualization, political apathy and disaffection of youth with a new view of the young generation as a political agent with a great capacity of indignation and spontaneous mobilization (Benedicto, 2013; Feixa and Nofre, 2013). In these new perspective, the literature in Spain devotes a lot of effort to incorporate the role of ICT as an indivisible component of the new political identities (Fernandez-Planells et al., 2014; Anduiza et al., 2014). Even before the global crisis and the appearance of the wave of youth mobilizations initiated by the Arab Spring and followed up by the *indignados* and the occupy movement among others, the Mexican anthropologist, Rossana Reguillo, had developed an original approach to understand these sociopolitical identities of youth. Young generations look for political and moral meanings in the traditional institutions, but these are too much distant that it does not make any sense. And is from this disenchantment that arise new forms of organization, political participation and peer solidarity (Reguillo, 2000 and 2012).

## **National, European and Global identities of youth in Spain**

Due to the plurinational nature of Spain, the issue of national identity has been largely addressed by different disciplines (for instance, History, Political Science, Sociology or Social Psychology). In addition, the national conflict between the Spanish nationalism and the so-called peripheral nationalisms (mainly Catalan, Basque and Galician ones) has been one of the main political cleavages since, at least, the last century. Thus, there is not only an academic interest on identities but also a social and political debate. In the line of CHIEF interests, in the last years coming together with the independentist process in Catalonia, it is remarkable the debate around the role of Catalan schools in the transmission of a Catalan national identity. Ciudadanos and Partido Popular (the center-right wing Spanish parties) have denounced an indoctrination strategy by Catalan public schools aiming young citizens to take a stance against Spain and rising secessionism. Even if this has been a repeated discourse from some political and mediatic actors, the pedagogic sector and the academia has, in general, defend the democratic and pluralist orientation of Catalan school system (Lomas, 2017; Casanovas and Caño, 2018).

In the academic field there is a large literature on national identities leading with the complexity of identities in plurinational societies. For example, the impact of the new cultural diversity in plurinational contexts (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009), the formation of identities in different levels (Vicente and Moreno, 2009), the evolution of nationalism and Spanish identity (Muñoz 2012, Balfour and Quiroga, 2007), or the role of identities in the political preferences (Tormos, Muñoz and Hierro, 2015).

Focusing on youth, the quantity of studies on national identities is significantly lower, some of them analysing on the role of education or, for the case of Catalonia, the centrality of language in defining and transmitting national identities (Pujolar and González, 2013; Rovira and Solà, 2008). The Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, carried out 20 years ago a specific survey to young people on national identities in Spain, asking also on European attitudes (see Moral and Mateos, 1998). However, this survey hasn't had any continuity. Thus, the empirical quantitative information on youth national identities must be found both in age analysis of surveys not oriented to youth or in the political attitudes questions from youth surveys. This is the case of a very recent study from survey on political orientations of youth in Catalonia in the context of the rise of the independentist movement. In terms of national identities, the study highlights that young people tend to use few identitarian arguments to explain their position both in favour or against independence. In other words, young people's national identities determine less their political positions than other age groups (Guinjoan, 2019).

In relation to European identities, Spain has been one of the member states with a more enthusiastic population to the European project. During the 80's and 90's the integration process was seen, for younger generations, as an opportunity for economic and social modernisation. However, the standstill of the integration process and the perception of a growing bureaucratisation with few democratic control has led to an increasing scepticism on the European project. The economic crisis, with a severe effect on Spanish youth has been a turning point in the perception of the European Union among young people. The result is that EU institutions have now the lower levels of trust among Spanish youth than ever. However, beside this disenchantment with the formal European process, European integration has offer new

opportunities for the emergence of a common European identity. The *Revista de Estudios de Juventud* devoted in 2016 an issue on the effect of European mobility on transnationalism that addresses, from different cases, the impact of European mobility politics and intra-European migration into transnational and European identities (Navarrete, 2016). The growing mobility of youth, favoured partially by EU policies, is generating new transnational identities that interact with traditional national and territorial identities (Malaina, 2016), although this transnational identification does not always is perceived as an attachment with European institutionality. Ricardo Zúñiga (2016) argues that the European identity, understood as an identification with the EU and their institutions, only appears as a consequence of a mobility experience when this experience is between two-member states and when it is successful in terms of labour or educational integration.

Youth Studies in Spain have also devoted attention to the emergence of a global identity among youth (see Espin, 2015). Pam Nilan and Carles Feixa (2006) book relates, through different case studies around the globe, how economic and cultural globalization impacts on youth local identities. The thesis is that the “global youth” must be understood as hybrid as their subjectivities and identities are constructed through hybrid materials that come from local and global cultures, consumptions and resistances.

### **3.3 Cultural Participation of Young People**

#### **From consumption to cultural participation**

In the late 1990s and especially at the beginning of the 21st century, different waves of official surveys on cultural practices of the population have been carried out in Spain and Catalonia. Therefore, the Ministry of Culture of the Spanish government has the Survey of habits and cultural practices in Spain. The latest edition is 2014-2015, the fourth edition since 2002. The segmentation of the survey sample by age allows us to obtain some results on the cultural practices of young people. According to the results of this survey, young people have the highest cultural participation rates practically in all cultural areas: they visit more museums, monuments, attend stage or musical performances, read more, go to libraries, perform more active cultural practices. In fact, these cultural practices are decreasing as age increases. On the other hand, the level of studies is the most determining variable to explain the intensity of the individuals in the cultural participation.

For its part, the Catalan government has carried out a series of surveys on practices and cultural consumption (2001, 2006, 2013, 2014), which in recent years has adopted the concept of "cultural participation". This survey also allows segmenting the results referred to the young population and analyzing them specifically. We have a set of studies based on the results of these surveys for the young population. Through them, we highlight the study of Ariño and Llopis (2016), who adopt a more complex perspective towards the cultural participation of young people, regarding the differences between the cultural practices among generations, on the one side, and among different ages on the other.

They start from a critical perspective on the concept of cultural consumption, which was used so far in the official surveys in Catalonia. For the past few years, the concept of "cultural participation" has been introduced as a paradigm of understanding the cultural practice of young people as a non-passive process, but considering the subject and its intentions, and recognizing that in any cultural practice there are processes of creation, recreation and interaction. Therefore, the central question does not lie in knowing how many different practices young people do, but how they articulate their interests and practices according to certain rules. That is, how they form a pattern of cultural practices.

Thus, through the study *Cultural participation of Catalan youth 2001-2015*, done by Antonio Ariño and Ramon Llopis (2016), we can have an in-depth analysis of the evolution of the cultural practices of young people from this perspective. The authors make the difference between generation and age, as a factor to explain the variability of cultural practices between young people and older one. Age is a very important differentiation factor in the results of surveys, in all cultural practices. It is also a factor of social stratification. If we observe the dynamics of the labour market in Catalonia, where half of the contracts for young people do not last more than one month. In the study we can also discover that gender influences cultural interests. For example, women are less user-friendly of internet for cultural practices than men.

On the other hand, we can observe the effect of public policies on cultural practices. We do not refer to the campaigns, which are difficult to evaluate their impact, but to what has been the universalisation of formal education and its extension to 16 years. One of the consequences has been that with the new generations there are more potential readers. This may explain that the level of reading books on paper is higher among young people than adults, but this is a basically motivated reading of the studies. We can also see the emergence of a new culture among people under 35, framed in the digital world. This would also explain why among young people cultural consumption practices are more intensive. Thus, in the digital era, where a good part of the culture that young people consume is free, the problem of cultural exclusion would not be so due to lack of access as to the importance given to the culture of a personal reference framework (or if you want, a *habitus*). In short, cultural taste is modeled by the social class, as Pierre Bourdieu (1979) said.

In reality, according to Ariño and Llopis, the educational capital and the social class maintain a direct correlation with all the cultural interests and practices of young people, as can be seen in the same native concept of culture. There is a humanistic and creative conception (art, literature and museums) that are significantly defended by people with the highest educational level. Also, the educational capital is related directly to the importance that is granted to the culture: the more capital, the more relevance is granted to him. While in lower educational levels, less personal cultural life is given (Ariño and Llopis, 2016).

Therefore, public policies that do not consider this weight of educational capital and social class may be producing what is called the "Mateu effect", which means accumulating cultural resources in people who already have the ease of access. Basically, middle and upper middle classes. This is an unwanted effect of cultural policies. More if we consider that the youth conception of culture is essentially the legitimate culture since it reproduces the prevailing canon

in which it has become socialized. But it is also more open, varied and secular (in the sense of subtracting sacredness from practices and conferring it on others), and the entertainment function is of relevance.

Roger Martínez (2013) have gone further and pointed out that the class is not only a determining element of cultural practices, but rather an element of its production and reproduction. This approach is framed, undoubtedly, by the research of Paul Willis (1990) on common culture. Martínez's study is based on the relationship between social class and musical tastes as an experience of authenticity. "Authenticity" means the belief in an individual (or also an artist or cultural artifact) not corrupted by social influence; that is to say, the absence of deformation of a supposed "essence" or "truth" individual or artistic because of the influence of money, modernization, fame, technology or social pressure.

Through this search for authenticity, social hierarchies and differentiations are a central aspect in the lives of young people and their cultural practices. Thus, young people, like adults, separate, exclude, and differentiate in a multitude of totally trivial and imperceptible practices, as irreflexive, of their everyday life. In other words, young people are constantly producing social boundaries and distances through language, practices and tastes: for example, whenever a discotheque is chosen or evaluated, judged or labeled an individual or a group of young people from the photo of their Facebook profile or their way of talking, dressing and dancing. In this regard, Martínez combines the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu in his analysis of the strategies of cultural distinction and the look of Paul Willis in his perspective of a working class that develops its own cultural strategies to emancipate from the encotillaments that it imposes legitimate culture through the construction of authentic forms of expression.

From the same survey as Ariño and Llopis, in the 2014 edition, Laporte and Bobes (2015) draw the classification of young Catalans into four groups of cultural practices: A first group is more oriented to the use of internet, video games and music listening. In fact, the younger ones are those who use more the Internet (100% in the 14-19-year olds), listen to music (98% in the 14-24 year olds) and those who play the most in video games (58% in between those who are 14-19 years old).

The other side of the currency of these practices is observed in the reading of newspapers and television consumption. Young people are increasingly substituting the content of television and the internet press. Indeed, 89% of young people aged between 14 and 34 declare watching TV, a percentage that is high due to their magnitude, but which is decreasing in time and lower in relation to other age groups.

A third group is constituted for the assistance to the cinema, concerts and spectacles, as well as the reading of books. Apart from reading books, which we will discuss later, all the practices have a strong negative correlation with age, although lower rates are observed in the first section of 14 to 19 years.

## **Leisure as a cultural learning context**

Part of the Spanish and Catalan academic literature has been devoted to studying cultural practices that are closely linked to leisure. Cebollada, García and López (2012) propose an analysis of the leisure activities of young people as forms of cultural learning, based on data from the Youth Survey of Catalonia 2012. The Catalan Youth Survey is an official statistic of the Government of Catalonia that focuses on living conditions among young people and on processes of transition to adult life every 5 years. The work of the referred authors, is one of the chapters of analysis of the results of the survey.

The conclusions of their analysis suggest that youth leisure activities are influenced by the relationship needs, approximated by age, and the expression of gender differences and the social position of the family. They also show that the technological change influences the way of doing traditional leisure activities, which are partially replaced by their technological variants. The economic crisis accentuates this effect.

On the other side, the habit of doing relational activities is associated with privileged social indicators, gender (women) and age (young people). Instead, the habit of doing recreational and digital activities is associated with non-privileged indicators. Young people with a lower social position, specifically of immigrant origin, are those who attend more religious activities and at the same time those who have more isolated cultural practices as a social group.

In this study, the authors find that the leisure practices of other social groups are more influenced by age or gender, than by social class. This differs in part from what Ariño and Llopis point to when they observe cultural practices beyond leisure, therefore taking into account the most traditional cultural practices (museums, theater, etc.).

For his part, Caballo, Varela and Nájera (2017), present the relationship between the forms of socialization and leisure of young people in Spain. Through the study "From educational times to social times: the daily construction of being young in a network society. Specific problems and social-pedagogical alternatives", analyze the use of free time through a questionnaire applied in the course 2015-2016 to a sample of 2,694 students in Post-Compulsory Secondary Education. The predominance of practices associated with leisure, cultural and festive entertainment aspects, with the solidarity dimension being residual. Of particular note are temporary barriers and the literacy deficit in leisure activities.

Once again, class differences emerge. Socialization in valuable leisure experiences generates differences in the construction of youth identities. The set of know-how, skills and interests that can be developed in disadvantaged contexts differs widely from the opportunities with which they are counted in educatively enriching scenarios. The differentiated roles that boys and girls assume in this stage of the life limit the possibilities of women to participate in leisure activities they wish to undertake.

The obtained results show that the young people who study Post-Compulsory Secondary Education, in their free time, develop fundamentally practices linked to the playful dimensions (sport, digital leisure), creative (cultural activities) and festive (Caballo, 2015). It should be noted the lack of civic involvement of young people in volunteer work or through associationism. The authors considered that the solidarity dimension of leisure is fundamental for the construction of



youth identity by reporting important personal and social benefits. Because the time being shared voluntarily and disinterested is oriented to the exercise of active citizenship. However, the internet and social media are changing the ways of exercising the solidarity dimension, giving rise to virtual volunteering (Herrán and Viñals, 2011). New forms of citizen participation in online mode modify the ways that people have to interact (Subirats, 2011), generating links and horizontal ties that suppose a deep change in the conception of solidarity leisure.

Other studies seek to guide policies and pedagogies towards an entertainment, as a basis of cultural learning for young people. This is the case of Ricoy and Fernández-Rodríguez's study (2016), which uses a qualitative approach to understand how young people develop good leisure practices. Therefore, the study seeks to guide adolescents through the practice of leisure activities in order to facilitate healthy behaviors, which is considered to have a positive impact on their academic performance.

Activities associated to sports, music and the digital world were especially highlighted as relevant. Among the latter activities, the subject sample mention watching TV, chatting, net surfing and playing video games. Using social networks is not rated as an especially relevant activity. On the other hand, they show preference for activities carried out individually and with other people within their age group. Activities carried out with family members and indoors are not frequently reported. Consumerist habits do not have a relevant role.

### **Informal cultural practices**

The most creative cultural practices of young people have also been analyzed in different projects based on qualitative techniques, such as Ricart and Saurí (2009) on the artistic projects of community intervention carried out by young people in Catalonia. According to the conclusions of their study, many of the activities offered to young people to participate in creative cultural processes are very conditioned by the organizers and very determined by the pre-established meanings. On the other hand, they observe that art and artistic expression remain practically annulled in the context of formal education and only find space to develop in very informal areas. For authors, it is necessary to extend the concept of art to the existence of creative manifestations of the youth field, but certainly away from the most orthodox and elitist concept of art. Creativity expressed through art is related to cultural practices, to a particular context and social structures. Awareness of the artistic fact as a social construction is the key to achieving greater democratization of art while at the same time approaching many young people from a new perspective.

### **Media Literacy**

The studies on the use of ICTs by young people have obtained a major interest in the last years, as we have seen. So is the study of Bernete (2007) about the use of ICTs and the cultural, linguistic and informative practices that are derived from them. The study of Bernete put on the table the fact that young people nowadays have their own spaces for cultural creation thanks to

ICT. However, the elements that take part of this youth culture are quickly consumed and expire immediately. This rapidity in the consumption and the expiration of the language and the cultural contents of online communication contrasts in an extraordinary way with the cultural transmission model of formal education. For this reason, the use of ICT as a cultural practice arouses many distrusts between experts and adults, and above all by teachers.

As Ariño and Llopis (2017) pointed, new technologies (or as they say, socio-technologies), are changing the way of generating culture. Therefore, it is not just about cultural participation of young people, but about the creating and producing cultural practices through networks and mobile applications.

Reig and Vilchez (2013) claim that the extension of the use of mobiles as a source of information is changing the way young people learn. Self-learning, new educational contexts and non-formal learning that ICT facilitates and empowers should be aspects to be considered by teachers, parents and policy makers. They are often reluctant to recognize the educational possibilities in non-formal contexts of non-controlling means. To do this, it is necessary to take consider the different components of education that ICT imply: cognitive development (sequencing, spatio-temporal schemes and cognitive structures), individualisation (emotional-affective, ethical and moral consistency) and socialization as to person and as a citizen.

They understand that smartphones have not invented or created the problems of today's teenagers. They simply offer a new scenario of and for the lives of young people, at a stage in which the processes of socialization and of opening to the "other" are fundamental for the construction of their personality.

On the other hand, media literacy has been consolidated as a relevant concept in Catalonia, but it is closely linked to the international studios compass about media and the new communication formats. Some studies address the question of how media can contribute to the cultural literacy of young people. One of the featured works are the ones by Pérez Tornero. In his latest book (2017), he proposes how new communication environments make new forms of literacy necessary and have a direct impact on the social contexts of education. Technology poses a strain on the distribution of traditional educational resources (classrooms, spaces, and time). It is a factor of change in the educational panorama, but it exist an important gap between the spatio-temporal configurations of formal education and the ones that provide the new communication environments, created by the convergence between media and digitalization. A situation that will undoubtedly lead to processes of innovation.

In fact, according to Brazuelo and Gallego (2011), the emergence of mobile technologies (MP3, PDA, iPad, eBooks, mobile phones, etc.) is causing the emergence of a new educational paradigm: Mobile Learning. They are committed to integrating mobile devices, especially the telephone, as educational tools inside and outside the classroom, considering that the mobile phone has become the most widespread media in the world and especially among young people.

## **Cultural policies as a form of cultural democratization**

Ariño (2010) distinguishes between the concepts of 'cultural democratization' and 'cultural democracy'. The first concept refers to the capacity of cultural policies to facilitate access to cultural assets in large areas of society. The second concept refers to the recognition of the various cultural expressions existing in society as part of legitimate culture. According to Ariño, changes in access to cultural devices such as television, telephone, computer, etc. have produced a transition in the meaning and legitimacy of cultural policies. They undermine the historical nexus that associated reading to high culture. That is why he believes that the most effective cultural policy would be a powerful and modern educational policy that would combine access paradigms (cultural democratization) and recognition (cultural democracy). But this cultural policy should also consider inequalities. Therefore, its action should be based on correcting these inequalities through educational policy. In fact, Ariño is talking about how cultural literacy should be based on the connection between school cultural socialization and the informal and diverse cultural practices that young people practice in their sociability spaces.

Regarding cultural policies in Catalonia, Xavier Fina (2010) how these have been implemented since the National Youth Plan of Catalonia in 2005. There is a change in the cultural space that is puts more emphasis on the dimensions of creation and dissemination. It reinforces the democratizing role of culture and connect with the processes of the construction of youth identities. This model is reflected in the Local Youth Plans of the Catalan municipalities, which have included new areas of action in youth policies over the last decade. Specifically, cultural programming is the field of action that concentrates more efforts on the part of town halls, with a heavy supply of young people in the major festivals and local leisure activities. The co-responsibility of programs shared with the councils of culture is an extended and consolidated fact.

### **Memory policies as part of cultural policy**

The European research Myplace (2012), which included 14 European countries and 17 research groups, had as an objective to investigate how young Europeans today are involved in the processes of transmission of the memory of recent past, considering conflicting stories that take part in it, and how this influences them in their civic-political involvement in their environments. This study shows that there is an explanatory relationship between having received knowledge about the past through family memory and the political involvement of young people. The family is a framework of first-class political socialization. That's why memory plays such an important role. This is, in turn, a demobilization factor for those young people who are socialized in the context of fear of the past, and in return for conflicts.

Since the end of Franco's dictatorship, there is an important gap between the institutional memory policies and the action carried out by associations which represent the repressed people of the dictatorship. Historically, the two major Spanish parties (PP and PSOE) have had little interest in carrying out a memory policy about the victims of the civil war and the Franco regime. In fact, the Partido Popular has adopted a hostile position in any act of reparation or recognition of the victims of the Franco regime from the government of José María Aznar.

In this sense, memory policies differ substantially in Spain and Catalonia, as shown in the Rovira study (2014) on the construction of the memory of the Political Transition in Spain. The difficulties in establishing a consensus in the Spanish Congress on memory policies have prevented a clear policy of repair and restoration of the memory of the victims of the Franco regime being carried out, while the symbols of the dictatorship (such as the Valley of the Fallen and the names of the streets referred to the leaders of the Franco regime) have remained in many places in Spain.

In the case of Catalonia, the creation of the Democratic Memorial in 2007 represents a turning point. This institution is born from the pressure of civil society. At the same time, it makes an exercise of return to this civil society through the dignification of the victims, organized in Catalonia in numerous associations. The Democratic Memorial also plays an educational role of the highest order, aimed at schools, with various activities and exhibition itineraries. The Memorial counts, in this sense, with the recourse of the Museum of Exile and other museums, such as the battle of the Ebro.

As explained by Ferrer-Fons, Rovira and Saurí (2012), educational curricula have introduced in recent years the history of the Civil War and Francoism from a more solid perspective, but it is mainly through the activities promoted from the Democratic Memorial, with the students' work on the effects of war and the Franco regime in their immediate surroundings, that the school curriculum has been incorporating a critical look at the recent past.

On the knowledge that results, there are not many studies that evaluate the knowledge that students of the past have. And therefore, it serves as a reference to how memory policies affect cultural literacy. However, we can consult the study by Sáiz and López (2015), about the historical competences and narratives that we can find among students and future Spanish teachers of secondary education. The study is about the historical narratives of the students in the secondary education teacher training program. Most of the student reproduce in an uncritical way the narrative developed during the Political Transition, which represented the Franco regime and the same transition in a story based on the idea of exemplarity. The lack of criticism regarding the past may have an impact on the formation of students' knowledge.

On the other hand, as Rovira (2014) has pointed out in his thesis on the memory of the transition, the media have played a preeminent role in the creation of a mythified knowledge of the past, ignoring the knowledge from the socio-political context in which the events were developed, and places the leading role and the successful strategy of the political leaders at the center of the narration.

## 4. Discussion

We begin from the fact that there is no literature in Spain and Catalonia explicitly devoted to cultural literacy. Our discussion is based on the three search parameters we have used to embrace the set of studies dedicated to cultural formation, identity and cultural practice. Once this frame of analysis of the academic literature has been obtained, we can adapt the existing literature in relation to the objectives and research questions of CHIEF.

### **Towards intercultural education?**

The most interesting thing is that the concept of 'cultural literacy', despite being absent, allows us to understand very clearly the connections between formal education and informal cultural practices regarding the formation of the cultural background of young people. We can say that formal education and informal cultural practices are the poles of a continuous of possibilities. On the one hand, through studies on formal education we can see how the school curriculum is incorporating a series of 'new' subjects among traditional subjects. Through these cross-curricular subjects, the new referents of education have been incorporated, especially those referring to European values and the incorporation of new citizen rights, gender, respect for diversity, the environment, etc. The assumption of the European context as a multicultural and multilingual dimension has clearly affected education in Catalonia and Spain. However, this has not completely transformed the central trunk of the curriculum, which continues to be articulated around the traditional division by subjects (mathematics, language, history, technology, etc.).

On the other hand, we missed studies on how intercultural education is articulated in practice. From the Bonal and Rambla study (1999) on the recontextualisation process of education diversity, we know that the school tends to fit the diversity in compartments in order to manage it, either by classifying students through levels in different classrooms, either by encapsulating the contents from a predefined structure. In their study, Bonal and Rambla demonstrated how teachers recontextualize the new educational proposals in traditional schemes. The complexity of a school with increasingly diverse students and a multicultural context forces us to ask ourselves again if the school is assuming a change that really leads to a cultural literacy that connects with the social reality of young people, or a recontextualization of new content is occurring from old schemes. Is the role of history as part of the cultural background transmitted by the school changing enough to incorporate this multicultural dimension? Is it part of the migratory trajectories of young people in order to make them understand the cultural background they have acquired at home and what they can acquire at school?

Studies have focused a lot on historical literacy as part of cultural literacy, but it is only a part and there is an important gap in academic literature. In the context of historical literacy there is a preference for better training the future teachers in a much more complex and less factual vision of history. Causality, past-present-future relationship must be interrelated. To get historically more trained students, teachers need to learn how to build bridges between knowledge about the past and their implications in the social context of the present.

### **Do new approaches of teaching based on competences will increase cultural literacy?**

New approach on how formal education is incorporating competences as a basis for the transmission and evaluation of knowledge in the school allows us to glimpse a new change that can have deeper consequences. It must be assumed that greater flexibility in content, guiding education based on competences, can help to build a more open cultural framework, and more permeable to the diversity of society. In this sense, it would be interesting to be able to incorporate studies on how teachers are preparing themselves for this change. And how students received. Can the teaching and learning through competences increase cultural literacy? Studies on the identity and cultural practices of young people indicate that in Catalonia there is a new generation of young people living in a context of cultural diversity and hybrid identities. But what about the teachers who have to train these young people? Have they a multicultural background to teach in a multicultural context?

Various basic competences such as digital, communicative or social competences are closely related to cultural and intercultural learning. There is also a consensus that currently, when studying the processes of cultural learning of youth, formal, non-formal and informal education must be taken into account. Also, it is necessary to consider the processes of youth identity creation that are often in contradiction with the adult's eyes. New technologies appear as a relevant element to keep in mind. CHIEF project should consider that digital literacy can be a dimension of cultural literacy.

### **Hybrid youth identities, but who?**

The context in which many young Catalans build their identity is undoubtedly transnational. At the same time, autochthonous young people share a context of high cultural diversity in their learning and leisure environment. We have qualitative and theoretical studies that tell us about cultural hybridization as part of the new youth identities. This relational analysis of identity is an important contribution to the understanding of certain youth dynamics in specific social spaces. But we need to know how these dynamics are transforming the assumption of national frameworks.

Through research on youth and national identity in Catalonia, we can observe the two national frameworks in competition in Catalonia (Spanish and Catalan) and how the processes of institutionalization of these two national identities can affect young people indirectly. We do not have many studies focused specifically on the young population. In spite of this, there are some studies, such as Pujolar, González and Martínez (2010), about the linguistic behavior of young Catalans, who point to a clear tendency towards the assumption of bilingualism and a dual culture, while reinforcing a Catalan identity with different intensities and combinations with other identities. But we still need other studies to tell us what cleavages occur in this context of diversity. What new forms of institutionalization of cultural and social identity. What relationship is established between the social class, or the gender, and the new hybrid youth

identities. And finally, what relationship exists between youth transnational identities and the accommodation of young people in a complex national context.

### **A new cultural generation?**

If traditionally the youth culture has been studied as an *age* culture, it is necessary to consider to what extent new youth cultural practices include genuinely *generational* components. If the cultural literacy is transformed, it is necessary to count that the current Catalan youth is transmitter of a new generational culture. As Ariño and Llopis (2017) say, new technologies are changing the way of generating culture. Therefore, it is not just about cultural participation of young people, but directly creating and producing cultural practices through networks and mobile applications.

Therefore, it is important that academic research allows us to point out the generational change that occurs in the way of interpreting and living the culture. For younger generations, the concept of culture extends and embraces other forms of culture apart from those that had been conceived so far, even when talking about high culture. The gastronomy, the cinema, the intangible heritage, the popular culture, the history of modern music and so forth. Even so, it is observed that the cultural literacy acquired in the field of formal education has its weight when it comes to establishing what is the 'legitimate culture'. This is very interesting because it indicates that, although the cultural practices associated with the stage of youth are very influential in social relations, they do not completely change the notion of legitimate culture that has been internalized. In the same way, it is important to know that the cultural practices of the young Catalans are very influenced by the educational level and the social class of adscription. On the other hand, we also know that young people are more active (with more practices) culturally than adults.

### **ICTs as a new framework for 'cultural literacy'?**

The contribution made by the academic literature on the role of ICT as an indivisible component of the new political identities is interesting. The studies on the use of ICT by young people and the cultural, linguistic and informative practices that are derived from them, put on the table the fact that young people nowadays have spaces of cultural creation (which include a language and some own referents) very easy to manage and build as exclusive spaces thanks to ICT. On the other hand, the educational system is also analyzed from the point of view of its ability to incorporate the use of ICT as a learning tool. The academic literature, from different contributions, indicates a space of convergence between institutionalized knowledge in formal education and spontaneous cultural practices of young people. But there is still a need for research in this area.

### **Some shortcomings**

One of the fields in which interesting practices of non-formal or informal education in Catalonia are being developed are the projects that relate the school to cultural institutions. One of these projects is what is known as 'Tandem Schools' and is promoted by the La Pedrera Foundation. This program, started in the 2011-2012 academic year, links each school that participates with a cultural institution, whether it be a museum, a music school, a language school, etc. The project is inspired by the model of the Magnet Schools, creating in each case a new educational project that revolves around a specialization in a singular subject that vertebrates the curriculum of the participating educational centers. To achieve this, a partnership is established for 3 years between these educational centers with reference institutions, with the advice, monitoring and financing of the Fundació Catalunya-La Pedrera, and the collaboration of the Department of Education, Teaching of the Catalan government.

There is a lack of studies that analyze how these new projects are focusing on 'cultural literacy' and their understanding in the context of formal and non-formal education. There are other projects that work in the same way. For example, In Residence, a program of Barcelona City Council that incorporates an artist into a high school during a year to develop a project with the students. In general, we find missing gaps in the literature about the artistic practices of young people in Catalonia and Spain. In the reports published by the National Council of Culture and the Arts (CoNCA) in Catalonia there is not much attention to young people as creators.

On the other hand, there are studies that connect cultural literacy with leisure and education, which has a strong roots in Catalonia, with hundreds of organizations and thousands of young people involved. There is a lot of guides and good practices. But there are no queries about the implications of these practices, also in terms of intercultural education and learning to participate in society.



## 5. Concluding remarks

As we mentioned before, we have not been able to identify a research line that responds exactly to the perspective of CHIEF, although we have observed how the concept of 'cultural literacy' is already used in the field of media research. In fact, this research tells us how media and new technologies are forcing a new way of understanding education and cultural participation. Internet does not only represent a new technological environment, but a new learning environment. From this point of view, the research on education can no longer ignore the challenge that represents the possibility of learning and acquiring the cultural background by the new generations in a way radically different from what has been done until now.

With regard to the challenges posed by the CHIEF project, through the literature consulted in Spain and Catalonia it becomes clear that there is a gap between the culture transmitted through formal education and this new great cultural space that is internet and the new technologies. The capacity for access and cultural participation that they allow are giving young people the opportunity to be the protagonists of their own cultural training. As the surveys on cultural practices and studies on formal education prove, this still has a very important role in defining the cultural framework in which young people are formed. But as Pierre Bourdieu explained many years ago, the culture transmitted through the educational system, school culture, is above all the culture of the middle classes with cultural and educational capital. Should we expect new technologies and the internet to break through this classical social inequality? This is what research still has to respond to us. At the moment, studies on the use of new technologies raise pedagogical and psychological issues around learning processes, such as the possibility of making more interdisciplinary and flexible teaching, or the ease of acquiring knowledge individually in the case of disadvantaged students, as it showed a study on the reception classrooms for immigrants from Rovira and Saurí (2009). But we would need more studies on how the culture is being acquired in non-formal and informal settings, to know to what extent it connects or disconnects the culture transmitted by the educational system, as we are thinking of in the CHIEF project. We need to go further the dichotomy formal vs non-formal and informal educational spheres. If not, we lost part of the history and in this sense, CHIEF research design works in the right path exploring the different contexts.

On the other hand, the academic literature tells us that there is a process of cultural hybridization that is quite marked in the case of young Catalans. It should be taken into account that in 10 years, 2% of young people of foreign origin have gone from 2000 to 20.9% in 2017, in the context of the greatest exponential growth in a European territory of international migrations during the first decade of 2000. This demographic change is changing the Catalan society in a profound way that the academic literature can not yet fully grasp. There are partial approaches, some ethnographies, as well as some statistics on young people and cultural practices of young people. But we still need to go deep in this field in order to understand how cultural diversity is building new frames for the socialization of young people in a coexistence environment. This is one of the challenges that we hope to tackle with the CHIEF project.

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