Belonging and social participation:

The role of education in perceptions of belonging and experience of citizenship in Spanish youth

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Abstract

 Social participation and citizenship are key components of living in democracy. Citizenship, to different extents, is part of school curriculums as a means of building an engaging and participatory population. In Spain, fulfilling the democratic principles of participation are key to the objective of education, however, when looking at recent elections, participation rates in Spain barely exceed 50% of the voting census. The lack in participation can be due to a number of reasons, nonetheless, regarding Spain's multiple regional identities and social groups, it is clear that regions with stronger regional identity show higher percentages of participation. By comparing teenager's perception and experience of what it means to belong to a society, this thesis examines the constructions of belonging to understand how one learns to belong, national identities are made and how these affect social participation in Spanish youth.

Through a qualitative research consisting of semi-structured interviews to high school students in the regions of Catalonia and Andalusia, young people's perception of what it means to belong was gathered to understand its significance in social participation. The respondent's perceptions of belonging to different social groups pointed how individual identities are constructed through symbolic interactionism and, in performing and engaging, one's belonging is reinforced. Strong sense of belonging was therefore present when an individual's role in a social group is strongly delineated and specific. As social groups become larger and more abstract, such as that of a national collective identity, the role of the individual becomes blurred and participation diminishes. The study looks into informal and formal education and the role they play in making this sense of belonging, or citizenship, and the implications education has in the fulfilment of a democratic society. As fulfilling the democratic principles is core to the education's objective in Spain, one must criticize the current curriculum as it lacks a capability approach for building a population or participatory citizens.

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List of acronyms

ALM   Code for Almeria respondent

BCN   Code for Barcelona respondent

CIS   Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (Centre for Sociological investigations)

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

MECD   Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (Ministry of Education, Culture
           and Sports)

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

RTVE   Radio televisión Española (National television and radio)

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Foreword

Compared to the rest of my family and friends back home, I have not followed a normal education. Since I was young, I have been privileged to attend international schools and follow world renowned programs such as the IB, attended higher education and study abroad. A core principle that has always been present in my schooling has been the notion of critical thinking and living in plurality. Growing up in an international sphere, interconnectedness and plurality have always been the norm and when I speak with those who have not grown up in the same environment, there is a big difference. Feeling multiple belongings, I feel like I want to take part in multiple communities where, at the same time, I cannot fully engage. Experiencing these conflicting feelings, I wonder to myself how others perceive their own belonging and the extent to which they want or can engage with the world around them

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Growing up away from my place of origin has established some sort of some of nomadism in me in the terms that I do not feel completely tied to a place and I call many places my home. As a Spanish citizen away from Spain, I have grown up with a bird's eye view and a distance from the Spanish culture and current affairs. Registering as a citizen abroad in order to receive your personal voting ballot is a large process through the Spanish consulate and due to my constantly changing address, I was not able to receive my ballot for the historical 2015 Spanish elections. Months after, speaking to my cousin she mentioned she didn't vote because the 'the whole deal didn't go with her.' It wasn't a new position or something I had never heard before, however, this time hit me harder. Feeling disappointed by her lack of participation, due to my own inability to vote I wondered, what was it that made Spanish people so disengaged from politics or rather, what was missing for them to feel more encouraged to participate?

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and problem statement

Learning happens through different situation and channels, to understand the ways we learn, whether it is living in our surroundings and interacting with people around us, breaking down education helps separating and differentiating different kind of learning. To conceptualize and operationalise education, three kinds of learning are identified; formal, non-formal and formal (Eshach, 2007). These three key aspects of learning present how each individual learns to belong, participate and be part of today's social world. Contemporarily, formal education consists of public and private institutions which follow official national curricula. Formal education, structured learning, or schooling for the masses is concerned with the building of human capital. (Tikly and Barrett, 2013) that is, concerned with the building of a skilled population, that is capacitated with the means to understand, prosper and work in today's society.

Contemporary society can be defined by three key aspects: informatization, globalisation and a global shift towards democratic government (Castells, 1996; Hardt and Negri, 2007, Appadurai, 2007). Formal education and its systems are equally driving forces of these processes, as well as being driven by them. It is, however, not the task of formal education alone to raise and teach the population how to live in this society. We learn as much from school as we do from walking down the street, talking to others and playing with fire.

A national educational system is essential to the well-being of a nation, its progress and its people. Focusing on the quality of a system entails guaranteeing the knowledge and capabilities that members of society will need in order to be self-sufficient and sustainable in a society. An intricate part of membership to a society is citizenship; the relationship between State and individual is a mutual relationship of responsibilities and rights to one another. Interaction between State and individual is constant, however the degree of engagement of the individual with the State varies and is affected by different factors such as low interest, lack of knowledge or a lack of belonging. This relationship between education and political engagement is a topic that has been explored from many different angles and positions such as models of education (Robeyns, 2006), roots of social exclusion (Kabeer, 2000) and citizen literacy (Banks,

2004)(Robeyns, 2006; Kabeer, 2000; Banks, 2004). It is, however, important to notice that, looking at education research, the topic most commonly focused on is formal notions of education such as level of education and access to quality education, as well as its interconnectedness with socio-economic factors like social status and educational background of parents and family. It is key to point out the fact that other, more subjective and informal factors are still to be investigated, as they too affect social participation with regards to voting participation in a population. Social participation as a whole is a thoroughly studied social phenomenon in the realms of the social sciences, along with how belonging and feelings of community or collectivity affect the participation of a population. In the last general Spanish elections there has been an increase of political participation (voting), especially from youth groups, compared to past years (RTVE, 2015) and more recently in the last Referendum for the independence of Catalonia in October 2017 . Breaking down these numbers into autonomous communities, we find differences of participation between the regions which, if we look further, are consistent with the history of the country's young democratic life.

Insight into a possible relation between the underlying processes of belonging and how one learns to belong, is a dimension that yet lacks to exist. Additionally, understanding not only how we belong but who is allowed or entitled to belong to participatory member groups are questions that could render useful to understand contemporary Spanish political culture. Spain, is a widely diverse country, made up of 17 different regions, all with strong regional identities and cultures, of which some have their own language. In Spanish identity theory (Hernandez de Frutos, in Magone, 2009: 52) and through surveys made over the years by the Centre for Sociological Studies (CIS 2008, 2010; in Magone), the Spanish population primarily identifies with its regional identity over the national one.

Looking into the most recent numbers in Spain, Catalonia is the autonomous region with the high percentage of participation. Catalonia is a region with a long political history and even stronger regional identity. In the last two decades, a part of Catalonian population has been lobbying for independence from Spain through the rhetoric of not belonging to the mainland because of their culture and language. In the last general elections, Catalonia had a participatory rate of 56,62%, 3% higher than in 2011 (Ministerio de Interior, 2015). Following the last national elections, Catalonian government pursued their actions towards independence and in September 2017, declared a referendum to be held for the secessionism of Catalonia from Spain

amongst the autonomous region. Though this was declared illegal by the Spanish government a day later, Catalonia held their referendum for independence on October 1st, 2017.

Andalusia, on the other hand, is a region of the south of the country as well with a strong regional identity. However, this region is widely known for its low participatory rates in the country, alarming, due to its size and number of seats in parliament. Andalusia is culturally diverse within, with 7 provinces (Catalonia has 4) and is the largest autonomous community in Spain. The participatory rate in the general elections has decreased 2% since 2011 to a rate of 55.83% (Ministerio de Interior, 2015).

It is of further importance to point out that both regions also manifest different numbers of participation in regional parliamentary election. Both autonomous communities show significantly higher participatory rates when it comes to regional governments. Catalonia's participatory numbers from 2015 are 77.44% and Andalusia 63.94%. These numbers are important when understanding Spanish regional identity theory, belonging and social participation. The different rates of participation indicate a clear difference in attitudes towards regional and national politics, favouring the former, which is backed up by national identity formation theory, stating that the Spanish population identifies stronger with their regional identity rather than the national identity (Magone, 2009). In addition to all, the results of the 2017 referendum reported 90.18% of the Catalan voters voted 'yes' to independence of Spain, where only 43.03% of the Catalan census voted (RTVE, 2017). The low voter turnout is reasoned by the controversialist nature of independence but it is still a significant factor that such a vast majority of the population that did vote, opted for independence.

These numbers suggest that populations, through formal and informal modes of education, learn to belong stronger to those communities closest to them and there is a fragmentation between regional and national belonging, which ends up affecting the political engagement of the population. Voting participation in Spain is an important issue to look further into due to its close past of dictatorship and young status as a democracy. In addition, it is important to point out Spain's turbulent journey through this very path towards democracy, filled with corruption, poor representation and leadership by politicians in power. It is accordingly alarming that, though numerous scandals have seen the light in regards to politics and Spanish leaders, only

half of the population is engaged in voting participation and the two same parties have been in power since the declaration of the constitution and the transition to democracy.

Looking into informal education and understanding how culture, surroundings and social interactions shape a population gives depth into social participation as a concept; it is by examining the national curricula in Spain and its purpose towards societal education, where a more comprehensible approach can be developed to understand the place politics hold in the national education system and its interrelationality with the population itself. As the Spanish national constitution states, the objective of the national curriculum is the full development of capabilities according to democratic principles of co-habiting and fundamental rights (Article 27, 2011). In this statement, it would therefore be safe to assume that learning to live in democratic society, along with its rights and responsibilities and how to make use of them, would be core to the national curriculum. However, when one examines the national curriculum, which is split into obligatory, specific and elective subjects; social values and civic education are placed into the elective category to be chosen instead of catholic religion.

Even so, in the curriculum for the subject of social values and civic education the learning objective is stated as integral human development. For this, the curriculum states it is essential to incise in the individual the development of personal attitudes and values that will contribute to create a more just and developed society. The course objectives stated in the subject's curriculum refer more to cohabiting and living in a pluralistic society which, as important as they are, do not tackle or answer questions about how a democratic system works and what our position is as citizens, or even to understand the concept of citizenship.

Citizenship can be understood from many different perspectives; whether it is conceptualised as a formal or informal integral part of living in a nation state, one can look at citizenship as a process of participation or a means of inclusion and exclusion. What most aspect agree upon, is that citizenship entails not just the belonging to a geographically denominated group but also a legal aspect to it which includes the aforementioned responsibilities, rights and duties that link the person to the state and vice versa. A citizen's set of duties include, following the law, providing to the economic well-being of the country through the paying of taxes and participating in the democratic process in order to attain a just and representative government. Performing these duties are essential to achieving a full democratic society; knowing how to

fulfil these duties and, more importantly, understanding the civic responsibility of each individual within society, is key to do so. This therefore requires a specific set of knowledge and values taught that go beyond pluralistic living and moral ethics of co-habitation, which are not present in the contemporary curriculum.

The strengthening of a citizen identity and developing citizenship education doesn't only benefit one individually, but it is an assertive tool to tackle problems of social marginalization by enabling all to engage with the democratic system through political participation (Banks, 2004). Furthermore, it is a tool to understand the interconnectedness of society and to look beyond the otherwise individualistic learning that is common in Western education which is focused on exact sciences and subjects that yield economic value. Such a model of education and focus on the individual can be re-evaluated through citizenship education and the notion of belonging and participation. Citizenship education aims for a transformative citizenship in which the individual participates on the premises of change for the common, equitable good, where interconnectedness is core to the learning outcomes. In addition, as our politics become transnational, as is for example the case with the European union, they too become more complex and we are still presumed to vote within these groups. Citizenship education should create literate citizens that are able to be reflective, moral and active citizens in an interconnected world. Furthermore, they should have the knowledge, skills and commitment needed to make such changes (Banks, 2004).

To sum up, given the aforementioned drawbacks of the status of citizenship education, the research questions the following. How, and to what extent, does a feeling of belonging affect the social participation of a country? In order to answer this question, the research extends into more inquiries about how does one learn to belong. What affects said feeling of belonging? What is the perceived feeling of belonging? Although these questions are wide and demand a wide study that includes many respondents, this research focuses on the regions of Andalusia and Catalonia due to their unique regional cultures, and will consist of teenagers ranging from 14 to 18 years of age because of the stage of identity formation that they are in and their moment within the education system.

1.2 Theoretical framework of the study

This research was carried out in order to understand Spain's political culture further. The main focus is to explore how a sense of belonging affects participation, in specific what is perceived as belonging, how we learn to learn and to what extent does a strong feeling of belonging affects social participation, illustrated by engagement in politics. The conceptualization of belonging is therefore essential to the core of the study as it aims to understand social participation its meanings and implication, and how it is perceived by teenagers. Furthermore, understanding how said feelings are linked to participation and how they form part of one's identity requires a strong and critical analytical framework that gives structure and guidelines to an otherwise very subjective and abstract matter. In addition, a framework for nationalism and the formation of the national identity is important to tie it all together to the context of Spain.

Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) offers an analytical framework that differentiates between the processes of belonging, what they entail and how identity is formed attached to these processes, and the politics of belonging, which go deeper on the different levels of belonging and how these are linked to systemic reasons. As the research is interested in an intersectional perspective towards belonging, through informal, formal learning and different perceptions, Yuval-Davis' distinction between belonging and the politics of belonging provides the necessary multi-level analysis. The framework provides with guidelines for analysis and categories for further coding and literature saturation.

In order to understand and deconstruct a respondent's perception of belonging, Yuval-Davis breaks down the processes of belonging into three levels of analysis:
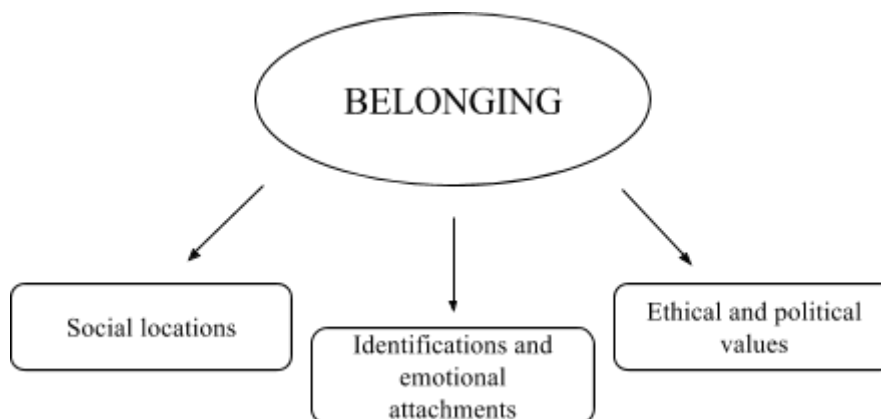

FIG. 1 PROCESSES OF BELONGING.

In first place, there are social locations, which are to be understood through intersectionality and implications facing the grids of power relations. The categorization of social locations and divisions have too, positionalities along axes of power, which are fluid and contested. Social locations should therefore not be analysed as made of items adding up but as constituting to each other, meaning, when analysing a respondents account of group belonging, the research must take into account that being a white woman from a middle-high income family that is part of an all-girls basketball team are all factors that relate into each other make up for the overall perception of belonging and should not be separated into three different categories. It is important to point out that there some social division, such as age and gender, that wider spread than others, such as race.

Social locations are webbed in the construction of one's identity as they define the individual position and within a social group, regardless of the scale. The social location of an individual narrates the relation to a larger collective, thus when a respondent comment on their position in the family, the framework points out that the perception of belonging is reinforced by that role within a group, delineating one's performance and limitations. Understanding a respondent's social location identifies their personal narrative and primary identifications with their social groups, creating collective identities. This is necessary to understand the role assumed by respondents in their close circles but also when approaching participation, the respondent's personal view on their role or position in society gives depth into their perception of belonging.

The creation of individual and collective identities entails an emotional attachment to such, which is what the second level of analysis is concerned with; identity narratives., the identification and emotional attachments to one's individual and collective identities. Identity narrative can be individual or collective, the latter usually functioning as a resource to the former. They form self and other's perceptions of relations of individual attributes and being part of a collective, but these narratives, however, need to be understood as shifting in different time and situations. Constructions of belonging and the emotional attachment have a performative dimension through ritual, social and cultural spaces, which link individual and collective. Identity narratives help understand the levels of emotional attachment to attributes such as language, tradition or spatial surroundings. When a respondent identifies with a place or a group, these feelings are formed through the emotions attached to them, whether they bring up feelings of confidence, safety or, more generally, belonging.

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The last level depicted in the diagram gives light to how attitudes and categories that make up identities and categorical boundaries are (or should be) drawn. This can explain for the permeability and exclusivity of particular categories and it is in the realm where ethical and ideological themes contest and how social locations are used to legitimatize narratives of belonging and where the politics of belonging brew. By identifying and performing certain ethics and following a set of values, belonging is active, rather than passive. Following these set of morals depict an identification with the group's core values and an active engagement by following them. Through the interviews, questions about responsibilities, right and duties, respondents are probed through different levels of belonging and participation from the family to the societal realm.

These three processes belonging render useful to answer the question of what it means to belong and analyse a respondent's perception. The levels help conceptualise and categorise the possible perceptions of a respondent and link them further to topics of participation and the role learning and education play in the making of belonging.

Yuval-Davis makes a clear distinction between belonging and the politics of. In her analytical framework, the latter are to be used to explore and root boundaries of social participation. The politics of belonging are, by nature, both exclusionary and inclusionary as the construction of boundaries delineate membership of groups and individuals. These boundaries are what Benedict Anderson calls 'Imagined Communities' (1983), as he expands on these communities being created through an abstract shared sense of sameness. Anderson's imagined communities render an explanation to the formation of nationalisms. It is important to note, however that this feeling of collective, which is situated and differs on context, construct nationalisms with different boundaries. These differences on nationalism depend on people's social locations, experiences and definitions of the self, meaning, though a collective may feel a sameness, each individual experience their nationalism differently. The politics of belonging include these contestations as well, differentiating through context and position, on determined boundaries of what belongs, membership and the roles specific social locations and narratives of identity play. These contestations happen in relation to social participation (such as citizenship) and the entitlement and status that membership provides or conceals.
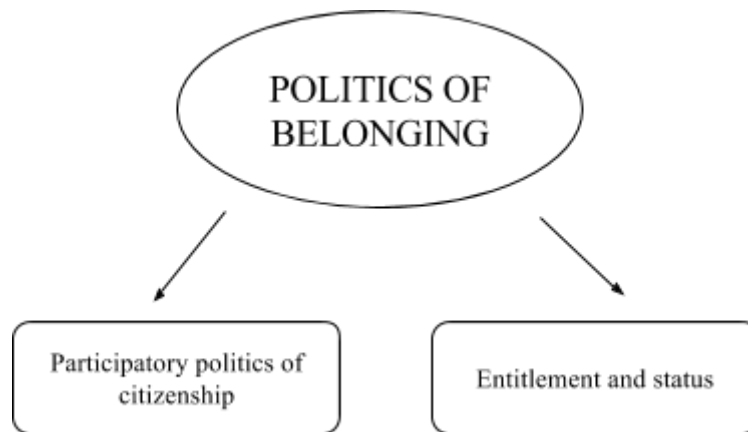
FIG 2. PROCESSES OF THE POLITICS OF BELONGING.

Using this analytical framework, gathered perceptions of belonging can be analysed to obtain a general conclusion and still maintain each respondent's contextualised experience. Furthermore, the distinction between belonging and the politics of that the framework offers gives an extra plane to understand underlying processes of inclusion and exclusion and get a deeper understanding of the disjuncture in the Spanish population's sense of belonging and social participation.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between identity, belonging and social participation and see the extent to which a population's feeling of belonging affects their degree of social participation. Within this purpose, the research looks further into the role formal education plays in the making of a collective national identity and the attitudes and approaches to the making of a democratic and civically literate population.

1.4 Research questions

As it has been described previously in this introductory chapter, the goal of the research is to understand the factors and their interrelationship that form and affect a teenager's feeling of belonging. As belonging is part to one's individual identity in relation to a collective, a big part of identity formation is learnt. The main source of this passed knowledge comes from the informal realm, by the surroundings one is brought up in, however, formal education also has a function to pass on knowledge on how to live in contemporary society. Given this, the research seeks for answers to the following questions:

- How do teenagers perceive belonging?
- How does one learn to belong?
- What is the implication of formal education in the making of a national identity?
- What are the factors that influence one's belonging?
- How does one's sense of belonging affect social participation?

1.5 Relevance of study

Given Spain's low participatory rates in political elections, it is a fair question to ask regarding the factors that affect these percentages. Political engagement is a key aspect to a democratic and just society, and necessary to have a representative government. The disengagement in politics in Spain, especially within the younger generations is a phenomenon to be taken seriously, as there are important underlying reasons as to why they are not engaging. The lack of attention given to politics and civic engagement from the national curriculum, along with critical thinking, is resulting is a disassociated generation that does not believe to be connected with each other. The study aims to fill the knowledge gap and bridge together the contemporary culture and informal education to the formal

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

The research is limited in the sense that it only covers two small groups of teenagers from only one province in each community and thus it may not be comprehensive enough to make generalizations in a broader context to the whole national situation. As it entails a completely qualitative methodology, the study lacks a positivistic view on the question at hand, as all the data collected is each respondent's perception, gathered through qualitative interviews. Furthermore, it is important to note that the data analysis methods, too, hold a subjective aspect

as, though undergone qualitative analysis, it is still perceived through my own eyes as a researcher and I cannot remain completely unbiased. Due to logistical restraints, such as time and financial constraints, it was not feasible to add more respondents and locations to the study, even though it would have given a more comprehensive view to the research. Nonetheless, the comparison between the two locations, the depth of the gather interviews and the richness of the analysis, which remained constant, offers a significant glimpse of the situation in contemporary Spain, the political culture and the soon-to-be voters' attitude towards society.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The research is divided in six different chapters. As demonstrated, the first chapter entails an introductory background and context to get situated within the study. The following chapter lays out the theoretical background used in the study. Chapter three a contextualized review of education and civic studies in Spain. Chapter four presents the research design and methods including making the research proposal, data collection and analysis and ground theory building. Chapter five presents the gathered data, followed by analysis. Finally, chapter six offers a discussion, conclusion and recommendations for further research.

2 Review of literature

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study, the objective of the research is to understand how a population's feeling of belonging affect its participatory rates in elections. More broadly, how a feeling of belonging affects one's social participation. In order to obtain a deep and, at the same time, broad understanding to the topic, the research must be broken down into different areas of literature to build a comprehensive review.

First, a review of identity and social identity theories must be presented to build knowledge on psychological and behavioural, as well as sociological, perspectives on how identities are formed, their function and how they affect human socialization. Nationalism and regionalism theories follow in order to understand further show national and regional identities in particular are created, followed by specific literature on Spanish identities and dual identity in Spain in order to gain more context and a more accurate perspective.

2.2 The role of formal education and curriculum building

When questioning the sociological function of education, it is necessary to acquire a broad and historical perspective on how education, as we know today, came to be. Education as an institution is the formal passing of knowledge a society has, through structured curriculum and designed didactics in order to provide a population with the necessary knowledge, skills and capabilities to flourish in society.

As Robeyns lays out the instrumental role of education takes place in two dimensions, the personal vs. the collective dimension, and the economic vs. the non-economic (2006). The instrumental personal economic role of education is to secure the individual in a market-driven society and therefore provide the skills and capabilities in order to find a job, diminish one's vulnerability in the labour market and take part in the consumer society as an informed agent. This personal economic role of education is therefore crucial to an individual's quality of life as its main instrumentality is to ensure the ability of an individual to become an economic

producer to society and protect themselves and others around them from poverty and destitution. The instrumental economic role of education also takes a collective dimension as the learning objective of a curriculum most match the overall needs of a population and change with the times in order to adapt to new waves and market needs. For example, in the economic production shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy (Hardt and Negri, 2007), the educational system needed to redefine curriculums and learning outcomes in order to form a more educated workforce that was necessary for economic growth. The personal and collective instrumental economic roles of education are core to the human capital approach to curriculum building (Robeyns, 2006; Tikly and Barrett, 2013).

The instrumental role of education is not a purely economic one and there are also *non-economic* instrumental roles to it. At the personal level, the non-economic role of education is concerned with making an informed and open-minded society. That is, that an individual has the skills to interact with society at a personal and communicative level and to enrich one's life through the access to information beyond economic production. Literacy, for example, plays an essential role in everyday life from being able to read the newspaper, to reading signs of caution and warning. Collectively speaking, the instrumental role of education is to teach people from a young age how to live in a society. Living in society implies a large scope with many levels but always a collective conscience. For example, in recent times there has been more space made for minorities to speak of systemic racism and oppression, as the space becomes larger and more people become educated on the matter collectively, these can organise to fight internalized racism. Furthermore, as those who benefit from the hegemony of racism become knowledgeable on the ways that the racist discoursed is reproduced and upheld, a collective conscious will be built and will help change norms such a speech and representation of minorities.

The collective non-economic instrumental role of education is to create a sense of community and to learn to live in equity with others. The building of a collective and critical conscience is crucial to the social well-being of a population. An educational curriculum should implement these instrumentalities in order to provide the best-rounded education to its students

2.3 Citizenship and formal education

As has been mentioned, depending on the function of the schooling system, there are different approaches to education and the content of a curriculum. However, as it has been demonstrated, a capabilities approach is the most complete approach as it addresses economically productive and human skills (Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1993). Citizenship education is a pillar to a capabilities approach as it is concerned with providing a population with the appropriate tools to live and participate in a democratic society. In a curriculum where economically productive skills are favoured, basic democratic skills are put on the back burner and assumed to informal education in the home. This, as James Banks critiques, is an unrealistic and inequitable assumption as not everybody has the same degree of access to information (2004). He elaborates further how, in developing citizenship education lays an essential role in building politically literate citizens whom can take it upon themselves to decide about their own political future. Citizenship education should therefore create literate citizens with reflexive and critical skills, able to participate in their democratic communities.

In order to develop an adequate curriculum for citizenship studies, the idea of a good citizen, or 'good citizenship' should be examined. Westhaimer and Kahne (2004) elaborate three models of what a 'good citizen' looks like drawn on democratic theory. The three conceptualisations of citizenship take three approaches; personal responsibility, participation and social justice.

The personally responsible citizen acts respectfully and responsibly in a society. The core assumption of the personally responsible respondent is that to solve social problems and improve the society we live in, one must have a good and willing character and abide by the law and social norms. The personally responsible citizen therefore contributes to society by acting responsibly and doing right by the community such as obeying the law and paying taxes, as they are for the common good. Through education, personally responsible citizens are created through the teaching of manners and social norms that benefit the overall population such as not littering, being mindful of others and the environment and creating a notion that there are less fortunate people in the world.

Personally responsible citizenship is passive and does not promote a critical thinking or engagement beyond the basic communal actions. For this, educators suggest a participatory

citizenship as a goal for education to achieve in its students. The participatory citizen is civically engaged in collective and community-based efforts, in which one must take direct action and leadership roles. The education approach to participatory citizenship aims at educating students, not only on present social issues, but abilities and skills of how to take part in them. It therefore builds connections, common understandings and collective commitments, a sense of belonging, as a motivator of participation. The participatory citizen is educated through a capabilities approach by providing the necessary tools and capabilities to engage civically.

Finally, the justice-oriented citizen, whom solves social problems and approaches the improvement of society through question and debate with the aim of changing established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice (Westhaimer and Kahne, 2004). This model of citizenship is the least commonly pursued due to its high-knowledge based engagement, though it is also not the sole ideal model of citizen due to its high theoretical focused. Whilst the personally responsible citizen would enact as a volunteer, the justice-oriented focuses on social movements and systemic change. Teaching for social-justice citizenship can therefore be controversial as politically specific topics need to be touched upon but it does not, however, impart set of truths or critiques. The approach, rather, encourages critical thinking more than any other approach in which the student must embark into informed and discussion of social, political and economic structures (Westhaimer and Kahne, 2004)

2.4 Culture and identity

As we perceive in our daily lives, learning takes places in multiple surroundings and situations, beyond school and formal education. As formal education refers to a structure and formal institutional setting (Eshach, 2007), informal education is all that takes place unstructured. Informal education can therefore take place in the classroom through interact with peers and teacher or by the mere means of experimentation or trial and error. When talking of interacting and social informal learning, the factor at hand building a knowledge base is culture. Culture, as we know, is a vast subject and can refer to many aspects. In this case, culture is referred to as a way to identify, relate and interact with the world.

As Longhurst explains, culture can be split into two dimensions: high and low culture (2007). High culture refers to institutionalized culture such as the arts (the museum, historical music, etc.) and formal, recorded knowledge. Low culture, on the other hand, depicts common

knowledge and the knowledge given for granted, learnt on a day to day basis through interaction. The conflict here is that there is no such thing as 'common knowledge' as knowledge is specific to locality and perspectival. In his book, *Cultural Studies,* Longhurst describes the way culture works and how it is responsible for how we individually see and perceive the world, as we learn from interaction and informal education takes place continuously, culture is both, acculturated and enculturated. Acculturated because, as we live in a globalized and multi-cultural society, many cultures come together to assimilate into one, in this manner, our society is ever changing as new cultures keep coming and developing. Informal learning happens through the process of enculturation, through the gradual acquisition of characteristics and norms of a group or society. Growing up, the norms and values of living in society are taught as a means to provide the social capabilities of living in the social world.

The knowledge a society deems important but is not included in a structured curriculum is taught and reproduced through these processes of informal learning. Through the passing of culture, knowledge of how to live in society is passed on from generation to generation; culture is the vehicle through which social norms and perceptions of society travel and learning to belong takes place. One's identity and belonging to a society happens through interaction with social acts, which are constructed through a process in which actors note, interpret and assess situations confronting them (Blumer, 1969). The way in which these social acts are, in fact, interpreted is influenced by the enculturated knowledge gained through society. Acculturation and enculturation are the processes of embodying and re-enacting a society's perceived model of being; through the acceptance and performance of these norms, one actively engages in belonging.

2.5 Identity formation and belonging

Processes of belonging are affected by and affect identity formation of groups and individuals. A strong collective sense of belonging results in a significant group identity, held together by that very sense. Belonging and identity formation are not fixed givens but rather fluid and contested processes that change over identification. Diez Medrano and Gutierrez identify these processes of belonging as nested identities (2001), which are lower and higher order identities, not exclusive to each other as one can compass the other. In this explanation, one can understand how an individual can perceive belonging to their city of origin, which is demarked by the

region it is in and overall Spanish identification, forming a matryoshka of identities such as: *I am Almeriense and therefore Andalusian and thus Spanish.* In this theory, therefore, one identity is made of another and they are constantly contested by each other and can also continue to grow towards a more micro or macro spectrum.

Identity formation thus entails a key aspect in human socialization and the making sense of ourselves and surroundings. Turner and Tajfel (1979) lay out the need of individuals to identify with some groups and not others in set of three rules; 1) individuals aim to achieve and maintain a positive social identity, 2) positive social identity is based on favourable comparisons with relevant out-groups, 3) when social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will try to leave the group or make it more positively distinct. In this theory thus, one's belonging happens through self-identification and emotional attachment, through positive and negative reactions. It builds, therefore, notions not only of what we are, but more importantly what we are not. These two notions are always in motion with each other and, again not fixed entities as our emotional attachments and identities progress and change over time. Furthermore, this theory is backed up by Calhoun who states that in claiming a specific identity, there are two goals sought, to be differentiated by and of equivalence to said identity (1994). The need for differentiation and equivalence are essential to the building of an identity as each fulfil a purpose for socialization. As Brewer further explains, the larger, general identity satisfies the need for secure inclusion in a large collective, whereas the subaltern identity serves the need for distinctiveness within that larger social category (1999, p.190).

It is important to mention Diez Medrano and Gutierrez' discussion on the limitations of Calhoun's and Brewer's social identity theories, for they mention the narrow scope on to which their theories are actually applicable. The critique explains that, the two theories fail to determine a clear relationship between the micro and the macro identities, such as, if one strongly identifies with a lower-order identity, is that equivalent to a slight or strong identification with a higher-order group? Thus, Diez Medrano and Gutierrez offer a solution to this by retaining the emphasis of Calhoun and Brewer's theories on differentiation and equivalence, while also recognizing that in some contexts micro and macro identities may face each other as obstacles, as for example in the case of Spain, regional identities and the constant lobbying for secession affect the broader national identity.

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Theory and research demonstrate that identity and belonging are contested notions as, not only do they delineate to where we belong and what makes up who we are, but that these boundaries are highlighted by that which we reject to be part of us and where we do not identify ourselves with. This thus becomes important for social participation, as one would not participate with that which does not belong to us or that we actively reject. In a study by Morris Axelrod on urban structure and social participation (1956), Axelrod gathered data on formal and informal social groups and observed patterns of participations between members. The results show that, members of formal groups show a higher participatory rate than those in informal groups. Thus, a more defined belonging, in this case, a formal membership to a group, entails that the individual specifically chose their group and actively reinforces their belonging through participation.

2.6 Nationalisms

Within the topic of identity formation and belonging, another significant aspect to be looked into is nationalisms and, more specifically, regional nationalisms, or regionalisms, in Spain. Focusing on identity formation surrounding nationalisms renders useful to understand on a more generalized scale the national identity and the current political climate.

One of the most renowned literature on the spread and origins of nationalisms can be attributed to Benedict Anderson who, in 1983, published his book 'Imagined Communities'. Anderson's writing describes how populations feel their collectivity, or nationality, through an abstract sense of simultaneity. In this theory, a nation is defined as an imagined political community, and it is imagined as inherently limited and sovereign. Thus, within the community there is a hierarchy, which is presided by an ultimate power, thus belonging also implies boundaries to an identity as what one is and is not.

The community is imagined in the sense that even within the smallest nation most of its members will never meet or hear of each other yet, in their minds, there is a communion between all that share that same nationality. Communities are therefore distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the way they are imagined (1991, ch1). Furthermore, though

there is a generalised imagined community to which each member feels like they belong, each experience of what the community entails are personal to each individual.

A different perspective on the making of the nation is given by Gellner in Thought and Change (1969), in which he describes the nation as purposely fabricated with the means of control, however, Anderson emphasizes that the community is based on that imagined sense of collectivity. Furthermore, to Gellner the 'true community' is the classical face-to-face collective where all members know each other, whereas, Anderson renders a more contemporary perspective in which not all members know each other, yet still belong to the same group. Anderson's cultural theory of the spread of nationalisms fits our contemporary societies because in his description of how the modern nation state came to be, he takes into consideration the rise of technology and its implications to how modern societies developed.

It is important to state, however, that this imagined sense of belonging is not an organic ontological happening in the history of nations, but rather a learnt and imposed relationship of hierarchies through the legitimization of scientific western epistemology. Through the establishment of three institutions that rule knowledge the passing on of a national sense of belonging was possible. As Anderson writes:

"Few things bring this grammar into more visible relief than three institutions of power which, although invented before the mid nineteenth century, changed their form and function as the colonized zones entered the age of mechanical reproduction. These three institutions were the census, the map, and the museum: together, they [164] profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion - the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry." (Anderson, 1991, pg. 95)

In this manner, these institutions entail and delineate the boundaries of belonging and to where the national identities are confined to. The census, asserts identity categorization, the map, marks territory and reconceptualises space, and finally, the museum, archives adequate history and legitimatizes what is to be remembered and how. This, too, entails that, not only are certain identities being produced and reproduced, but that colonial systems of knowledge continue to permeate contemporary (western) society

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2.6.1 Spanish identity

As aforementioned, nationalisms and regionalisms are key to the building of identity theory and to understand one's perception of belonging to a nation state. In the case of Spain, however, it is significant to highlight that the Spanish identity becomes further complex when taking into account that one may feel both, a regional and a national identity, and thus develop and dual feeling of belonging. These feelings of duality have been always present in the Spanish identity, but given the recent socio-political context, some regional identities have been reinforced as well as the dual identity, rather than a strong national identity (Moreno Fernandez, 1988).To understand the current Spanish identity, historical context is necessary as the national identity as we know it is not an organic product of culture and time, but rather an ontological process driving the imposition of the Spanish language and culture through the dictatorship of Franco for 40 years. After the fall of the regime, the country underwent structural reforms to the main pillars of the nation state; the writing of the constitution and the transition into a democracy.

During the Francoist era, a strong national identity was pushed and imposed by the regime through mass schooling and the spread of the catholic church. It was a time of repression of regional identities as regional languages were prohibited and stripped off curriculums, texts in the regional languages were destroyed and anybody that practiced a language that was not Spanish condemned. With the transition to democracy and the new Spanish constitution, regions regained power to their local culture and history which resulted in an upheaval of regional identity and a regaining of local languages. With this transition, there was also an increase in regionalisms and displays of pride for one's regional identity, whereas the primary identity identified in census prior to 1980 was 'more Spanish than regional', the numbers have shifted gradually to have the majority of the population nowadays identify as, both, Spanish and of one's region.

When looking to understand Spanish identity, one must define this in relations to its constituent autonomous communities, whilst these are struggling to recuperate and develop key elements to their specific regional identities suppressed under Franco's dictatorship (Guibenau,2004). Keeping this in mind, one can understand how a general national identity is a fragmented concept, as regions which have Spanish as their local language automatically feel a stronger sense of belonging to the mainland and feel less difference between other communities, whereas regions that struggled during the dictatorship are still healing from the suppression of their

regional cultures. That being said, it is important to point out that in the transition, though the constitution recognized regional cultures and languages, there was no formal effort in the educational reform to help heal the wound of the dictatorship. This has resulted in a hierarchy of identities in which the national Spanish identity is still the default, regardless of other languages being co-official. Those regions which do not share the struggle for their local culture have established the Spanish identity as the one given for granted if you are born in Spain.

Pointing out education and the lack of restructuring in the reform to attend the suppression of local cultures is essential in this context because, as Guibernau explains, national education remains a key factor in defining the national community and supplies a sense of continuity and purpose to the existence of the nation-state (2004). National education provides individuals with language, culture and knowledge which allows them to live and work in within a given society (Gellner, 1983, in Guibernau, 2004).

The provision of quality education by the national schooling system is essential to achieving an equitable society, as the majority of the population relies on the national education. Statistics show that the larger population numbers of extreme nationalists and populists consists of people with a lower socio-economic background. Most of the population relies on mainstream media and school system, which lacks critical thinking and well-rounded information (Guibernau, 2004). If differentiation is part of our identity formation, a critical education is necessary to prevent harming notions of 'the other' being created. Extreme nationalisms and populisms feed on the fear of others and the unknown.

2.6.2 Catalan secessionism

While trying to understand participation in Spanish politics in relation to one's national identity and belonging, it is essential to understand contemporary secessionism in Spain. Currently, the region of Catalonia is the only one fighting for independence form the Spanish state. The Catalan secessionist movement is a highly emotional movement, very much driven by feelings of belonging, or rather, not belonging to main land of Spain.

In 2011 the Catalan civil society movement solidified into a formal assembly with the purpose of re-establishing Catalonia's political independence by separating from the Spanish state and becoming their own political entity within the European union. The movement became

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proactive towards their goals through public demonstrations, protests and other democratic initiatives across the autonomous community. (Guibernau, 2014). In 2013 the Catalan government declared Catalonia as a 'sovereign political and legal entity' calling for a referendum for independence from the Spanish state. The declaration was later declared unconstitutional by the Spanish Constitutional Court, causing upheaval in the region and feelings of dissatisfaction towards the mainland.

When researching Catalan identity and secessionism, Montserrat Guibernau is one of the most prevailing authors on the topic. As Guibernau explains, when State and nation do not correspond each other, there two possible outcomes (2014). Firstly, the state may attempt to assimilate and integrate all existing nations within its territory. This, however, entails the total or practical annihilation of national minority cultures in order to integrate all population into one coextensive state. The second outcome, if the state fails to assimilate its populations, national minorities may perceive the state as 'alien' and create a feeling of detachment from it. If this is the case, Guibernau writes, individuals can easily develop a strong sense of community with those who feel the same dissatisfactory and neglected feelings, and create an opposition to the homogenisation of culture initiated by the state.

It is this oppositional movement what Guibernau identifies in Catalan secessionism as 'emancipatory nationalism', meaning an oppositional movement in search of greater political recognition for the nation it claims to represent. Furthermore, emancipatory nationalism is instrumental in voicing dissatisfaction with the status quo and therefore challenges it. Within this definition, emancipatory nationalism is thus a participatory movement, and a grassroots movement at that, where the population feels misrepresented and neglected. It is cohesive through an extended feeling of sameness looking for positive change and power to decide the community's own political future. Furthermore, as the Spanish state continues to reject and denounce the referendums as unconstitutional, the feeling of 'alienness' within the Catalan people grows bigger and thus, reinforces the communal feeling within the national minority and fragments the nation further into 'us vs. them.'

In addition, whereas nationalist movements in the rest of Spain rooting for the maintenance of traditional values are made of an aging population, the emancipatory movement in Catalonia is made of a large number of young members.

The youth involved in the contemporary emancipatory movement was born in a democratic era, in which they have been told to be proud of their heritage, their language and their culture. In Catalonia, the official curriculum is taught in Catalan and the preservation of culture and tradition is a very important aspect learnt in school. In addition, the transition to democracy and the values it promotes have created novel expectation to youth born in the democratic era and being educated in a democratic Spain. Younger generations are convinced of the legitimacy of their claims, along with their inherited right to decide the political future of the country. There is a sense of entitlement when it comes to deciding the future of the region and perceive the attitude of the Spanish government towards a referendum as a disregard of their political wishes.

3   Civic education in Spain

3.1 Introduction

The following chapters aims to lay out two main perspectives to conceptualize education, formal education and informal education, in order to *analyse* what purpose education holds today in society. Additionally, the chapter will embark into a review of purposes of citizenship education and the position of civic studies in Spanish curriculum. Finally, the chapter proposes citizenship education as a means to strengthen (democratic) belonging in Spain and increase social participation.

3.2 Purpose of education in society

Analysing the purpose of education provides a critical perspective into the knowledge and capabilities of a population. To narrow down the spectrum of what education is (or could or should be), the following section will focus on two concepts of education; formal and informal education. Informal education refers to education that happens outside of a structured curriculum, its scope is vast, however, it is different to non-formal educational which refers to a structured but not institutionalised curriculum. This is common of organisations such as NGO's but also other structures such as after-school programs and extra-curricular activities. Informal education refers to all the means of information in our surroundings in our daily lives, how we interact from them and we create knowledge. Informal education also refers to how we are raised and the values and morals established in us by those around us. Formal education becomes more complex as its institutional nature creates debate and contestation for the larger implications it carries. For this matter, formal education will be discussed to a further extent in the next section.

3.2.1 Formal education

According to Tikly and Barrett, education and the quality of, can be conceptualized through three different models (2013). The making of quality education reflects the areas of focus which the curriculum should display and the skills and capabilities students should obtain out of following a system. Education quality is therefore conceptualized into three different approaches to how systems are build; human rights, social justice and human capital.

Human capital theory is the current approach to education in the majority of Western curriculums. The function of education within human capital theory lays at the core of the current capitalist economic paradigm in which the production of capital is the driving purpose of investing and developing education and making an education system (2013). Rational choice theory justifies the monetization and commodification of development and social welfare in which people are to perform to their best economic interest. Human capital theory prioritizes demographic indicators such as GDP and other scales of monetary development as the main indexes and evaluators of the well-being of a nation or region. Such a rhetoric implies a nation State investing in an educational system in which the quality of education will favour a capitalistic paradigm and should therefore entail the production of a population rich in skills and capabilities that will contribute to the economic development of the State.

This market-led approach has affected the education field in the last decades with an increase in the commodification of schools and educational programs as reforms and policies have allowed a decentralization of State control and effected in institutional competition in a wider choice of schooling. The rational choice logic falls into place here as, by having more choice and strong competition between institutions, the quality of education is assumed to increase by the rationalization that providing a better education than others, a school will acquire more students. Though the result is a better quality of education, it is problematic to take this rhetoric for granted and one should be sceptical of the two sides of the coin and its implications.

Decentralization of State makes relevant and localized education possible by giving local government more autonomous over educational decision-process. Local governments are therefore able to create a better-adapted curriculum to the local needs, such as those for regional culture like bilingual curriculums in the Basque country and, of course, Catalonia. Additionally, the rise in competition between educational centres forces schools to provide quality-driven, detailed programs in order to get enrolment numbers and stay in the market. Since the quality of a program and a school is evaluated on performance, it is easily quantifiable through standardized testing at many levels. This means that through international and national testing, outcome of results reflect the quality of education implemented in a centre and this can be held accountable for low scores and therefore pushed to improve teaching and learning strategies,

leading to a better quality of education. This is the transparent and explicit logic of having a human capital approach, better quality of education is achieved through the competition and drive of economic benefit, in the case of schools, subsidies and grants from the government. In return of investment and dedication to better quality, a skilled and economically capable population is formed that will contribute back.

There is however an implicit logic to human capital theory approach in which the purpose of education, function and quality is reduced to economic outcomes. The dehumanization of learning affects the ways students have to relate to one another and reduces their positionality in society to that of an economic producer. Furthermore, as the human capital theory falls under the assumption that each individual will act according to the best economic interest, the current system creates an individualistic and competitive population with little to no sense of community or collectivity. The human capital approach gives little to no importance to the development of emotional intelligence, collectivity with one another and feelings of community.

3.2.2 The Spanish model of education

The Spanish national curriculum is, like many others, based on the previously described human capital approach, focused on the natural and social sciences, mathematics, and the traditional arts such as the Castilian language and literature. Though regional governments hold power over the curriculum, the national government sets a template of the core and specific subjects, its contents as well as pedagogies and didactic strategies and evaluating scales. The curriculum divides types of subjects into three areas of learning; core subjects, specific subjects and elective subjects. Table 3 shows a summary of the three areas of learning and the subjects included in these. Core subjects aim to guarantee common knowledge and key capabilities to all of the State. It is implemented by the national government and it decides on its content, evaluating criteria and learning objectives. Furthermore, core subjects must take a minimum of 50% of the didactic weekly hours. Specific subjects are not common to the whole State and national government implements evaluating criteria which can be complemented by educational administrative groups. These state the percentage of didactic hours and contents, which can later be complemented by centres themselves. Finally, elective subjects, or as they are called in Spain "free autonomous arrangement" subjects are designed by educational administrative groups, designing content, evaluation and learning objectives. The centres themselves have

autonomy over the scheduled hours per subject and offer subject designed by the centres themselves.

Core subjects (obligatory)	Specific subjects	Elective subjects (to be determined by regional government)
• Natural sciences • Social sciences • Castilian language and literature • Mathematics • Second language	• Physical education • Catholic religion or social and civic studies (to be chosen by the centre) Depending on the centre: • Art • Religion or civic studies (to be chosen by the student) • Second language	• Co-official language • Support classes to core subjects • Specific elective subjects • Other subjects offered by centres

TABLE 1. NATIONAL OBLIGATORY CURRICULUM FOR AGES 5 TO 16.

The most important area of learning is the core subjects, having 50% of didactic hours of the week. As Table 1 shows, core subjects are those known as the hard sciences, the national language and literature and a second foreign language. In other words, the cluster of subjects given the most importance by the Spanish curriculum are those subjects which, as mentioned, will guarantee the knowledge and capabilities the State renders most important for the common population to have (MECD, 2015). These subjects are relevant to create skills and knowledge relevant to productivity and economic production, that is, to make a skilled and capable work labour. Following a human capital approach, investing in the education of these skills is encouraged by the personal and collective economic role that education fulfils in Spain.

3.2.3 Informal education

Due to its broad meaning and application, defining informal education has been a complicated and contested task in the field. As Gerber et al. (2001) argue, informal education refers to that time in which the individual is not in a formal classroom in the presence of a teacher. Eshach (2007), however, disagrees with such a definition as informal education or as he calls it, informal learning, can take place within a formal setting too through social interaction which is outside a structured curriculum. As Eshach explains, informal learning can be applied to

situations in life that come about spontaneously and can be distinguished from formal and non-formal learning by the characteristic that there is no figure or mediator (2007). In this manner, informal education can be understood as a constant interaction between subject and the world in which the subject prioritizes those aspects which intrinsically motivate and interest them to learn more about as well as the path taken to acquire said knowledge, skill or capability (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995).

3.3 Citizenship education

A citizen, by definition, is "a *legally recognized* subject or national of a state or commonwealth, either native or naturalized" (Oxford dictionary, 2016). Defining citizenship entails more than just the belonging to social group tied to a geographical location as, by definition, there is legitimate legal aspect to it. As part of a legal binding between an individual and state, a citizen has a role, has a set of duties, responsibilities and rights towards this legal entity, which the state returns with protection and basic rights. The citizen's role is to obey the law and pay their taxes as a contribution to society; the state's role is to protect its citizens and put the social contributions back into the population through different sources such as infrastructure, health care and education. The citizen's role is therefore crucial to the functioning of the state, however, there is no specific space given in educational curriculum to learn exactly what these roles are and how to fulfil them.

James Banks emphasizes the lack of attention given to citizenship participation in national and global contexts (2004). He argues for what he calls *literate citizens*, engaging a population in the democratic process by educating them how a democratic system works and encouraging educational systems to develop the full citizen participatory potential on a nation. The aim of citizenship education should be to create literate citizens whom are able to reflect and critically engage with the current world and, though he provisions of knowledge and skills to participate, are active citizens in an interconnected world (Banks, 2004).

Citizenship education empowers a population to use their democratic power to participate in debate and enables them supplying the capabilities necessary to do so. Understanding one's individual role in society is to understand, too, the collective power of participation and thus,

enabling a population with the capabilities to live and participate in a democratic society (Banks, 2004; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1993).

3.3.1 UNESCO and global citizenship education

Interconnectedness is characteristic of the way our current society is developing through globalization. Now more than ever, feelings and perceptions of belonging become more blurred as our collectives become larger and more abstract and so has the meaning and the concept of citizenship. As interconnectedness, the concept of education has evolved through the evolution of information and communication technologies and the sharing of knowledge. Global citizen is conceptualized by the UNESCO and describes it as

"A sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasizes political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global."

(2014)

The growing of political societies and their connection to multiple nations, political systems and the labour market have created an interconnectedness within populations creating a global citizenship. This has sparked interest in the global dimension of citizenship education, and its implications for policy, curricula, teaching and learning (UNESCO, 2015). Pioneered by UNESCO, global citizenship education aims to be transformative, building knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that will contribute to learners to strive for a more inclusive, just and peaceful world (2015). In order to do so, UNESCO developed and put forward a framework, curriculum and guidelines to take global citizenship education into action and to be implemented in a formal educational curriculum. The learning objectives aim to be transformative and take on a capabilities approach to learning.

The Global Citizenship Education programme, consists of three core conceptual dimensions:

Cognitive
To acquire knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and

populations.
Socio-emotional
To have a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity.
Behavioural
To act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world.

TABLE 2. CONCEPTUAL DIMENSION OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (UNESCO, 2015)

Each dimension is further elaborated to fit learning topics and objectives through different ages and school stages. The program is pedagogically developed to make learners more informed and critically literate of (un)democratic processes in society, promote social connectedness and respect towards diversity and to strive for an ethically responsible and engaged world population (UNESCO, 2015). The approach of UNESCO to global citizenship is one that stimulates belonging and participation; by putting focus on how political processes and decisions have effects on daily lives, not just in one's location but in many places at ones, reinforces a collective identity and encourages an engagement in action.

3.3.2 Civic studies in Spain

In order to understand the political culture in Spain, and how its population learns to relate to it, it is important to look at the formalities behind building a civically literate population. Though learning the values and ethics of living in a society falls mostly as part of the private and family realm, civic studies are an included subject in the national curriculum based on the rights and responsibilities of the citizen. This subject, however, is a contested one as it has been added and subtracted from the national curriculum by the different ministers of education and has been interchangeable with the subject of catholic religion.

Culture, whether high or low, is a social construct learnt and passed on through generations. It is through culture that we learn to make sense of the world around us, learn to live and interact with it, giving us meaning and thus prioritizing some things over others. Knowing how to live

in a democratic society is, therefore, not an inherent part of us, but one that must be taught to understand the system and an individual's position within it. Understanding the system entails, not just knowing the power structures governing, but our relationship with them and our own responsibilities and rights within the aforementioned structure. Furthermore, understanding the position of the governing structures within the learning part of democracy too sheds light on the degree a population engages with its politics.

A critical civic education should include, not only the goal to create a civically literate population, but also the means and the procedures in order to attain said goal, as the UNECO'S framework displays. In this way, the Spanish national curriculum fails to lay out a manner to achieve a politically active youth, approaching citizenship as Westhaimer and Kahne's model of personally responsible citizen, only including respect and tolerance as the learning outcomes. Respect and tolerance are indeed, core to civic studies, but a critical citizen education entails the acknowledgement of one's responsibility to and in society. This, meaning, we do not engage civically just because 'we are supposed to' but because we understand that we, together, form a democratic collective that needs that very participation in order to work. Furthermore, looking at the objectives of education stated by the constitution, the current civic studies learning outcomes do not fulfil the objective. According to the Spanish national constitution,

"Education will have as its objective the absolute achievement of the full development of the human personality in respect to the democratic principles of co-habiting, rights and fundamental liberties." (Article 27, 2011)

This description of the role of education entails the creation of a participatory citizen through a capabilities approach, not that of a personally responsible one through a human capital model.

3.4 Citizenship education and belonging

Literature on critical engagement and citizenship make strong arguments on the relationship of belonging and participation (Habermas, Marx, Gramsci, Oraison and Perez, 2006). The construction of a free and autonomous democracy falls into three dimensions; belonging to a political community with a strong sense of 'us', guaranty of growing and having access to opportunities and social benefits relevant to living a dignifying and emancipated life, and the possibility to contribute to the public life of the community through participation (Oraison and Pérez, 2006). In addition, Habermas states that the rights guaranteed by an autonomous life can

only be adequately addressed by those affected. Only when those directly affected participate in public discussion can those issues be truly addressed (Habermas, 1999). The positionality of the citizen, and thus the sense of belonging, is key to achieve active and critical participation,

Citizenship education, as mentioned, strengthens the feeling of belonging, not nationally per se, but encourages the idea of society and community. Understanding our society, citizenship and one's individual position in such an abstract and large collective would increase, not only the perceived feeling of belonging but also give importance to one's responsibilities, rights and democratic power. Citizenship education should therefore target collect feelings of belonging and drive personal reasonability and accountability towards participating in building a better and more politically conscious society.

By focusing not only on the academic aspects of education, but also into the civil society building function of an educational institution, deeper issues of social exclusion and injustice can be taken into consideration, not just philosophically, but in practice. In addition, by giving populations the right approach and capabilities to understand their citizenship, a stronger belonging and feeling of community is built. Citizenship education is therefore a legitimate and formal means of building belonging and national identities. Participation is driven by collective purpose of building a better community, beyond populisms and nationalisms.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter depicts the chosen research design and methodology used for this study. As presented, different designs and methodologies are discussed and evaluated, including the research design decision, data collection methods, sample selection practices for research participants, data presentation methods and analysis and insight into fieldwork. The chapter is concluded with a description of the coding and analysis methods as well as a discussion on the validity and limitations of the mentioned methodology.

4.2 The quantitative and qualitative paradigms

For a study of this calibre, it is essential for a research strategy to be clear and defined. Identifying the adequate paradigm in which the questions and answers are embedded in is crucial for the validity and reliability of any research strategy. Paradigms are sets of beliefs which enable its holder with specific lenses, through which they see the nature of the world, the holder's position in it and the connections and relationships to that world and its parts. A paradigm is grounded and built on a series of philosophical assumptions on how reality is constructed (ontology), how knowledge is (re)produced (epistemology) and how we should approach the two former assumptions (methodology). Deciding between a qualitative and quantitative research strategy is thus dependent on the approach of the researcher to reality and knowledge.

Qualitative research grounds itself in interpretivist epistemology through which the social world is understood and interpreted through social constructions, such as language (Bryman, 2012). As these social constructions are produced and reproduced by social actors themselves, qualitative research takes a constructionist ontological approach by asserting social phenomena and its meanings as directly affected by its social actors. In this manner, social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction but it is also in constant revision as social actors, too change with their environment (Bryman, 2012). Quantitative research is grounded on the epistemological assumption of a positivist paradigm in which knowledge is asserted as objective and uses scientific protocols to produce it. Furthermore, it takes on the ontological

nature of objectivism, in which social phenomena and their meanings exist as independent factors of social actors.

The underlying consensus that differentiates qualitative and quantitative researchers is that the subject matter studied in each field is inherently different and therefore needs a different approach in order to understand it further. In this case, the subject matter studied by qualitative research, that being social actors and the social world, is a subject matter that is in constant relation with the world around them and in constant production of meaning as opposed to the natural sciences who cannot and do not attribute meaning to events and environment (Bryman, 2010). The constructed relationships and meanings created by social actors are, indeed, at the core of interested of social research, thus, a specific approach needed to be developed in order to study them validly and reliably. Quantitative research requires the researcher to observe and remain objective towards data, to conduct replicable research for reliability's sake and provide clear cut answers. The qualitative researcher assumes their role as such but also acknowledges that, as a social actor themselves, one cannot completely remain objective towards others social interactions as we only see the world from within our own constructed lenses. Furthermore, this process is taken one step further as the researcher must, too, step into the participant's shoes to try and see the social world as the participants. In this matter, a researcher's goal is to understand social actor's individual accounts and meanings to the world around them (Bryman, 2010).

4.3 The qualitative approach

The research aim is to gather a contextual understanding of how perceptions of belonging are formed in Spanish teenagers and how those feelings of belonging relate to their social participation. Through the participant's accounts of identity, belonging and their engagement in conversation about society and politics, the study aims to understand the Spanish political culture further and how we learn to belong to a society. This research goal entails gathering the perceptions and feelings of young participants, to gather their meanings given to the world around them including their individual perspectives and accounts of how they see society around them, and how our society shapes their views at the same time. Such a task requires a flexible and open-ended approach that allows for individuality to be analysed and used for a broader and general final result.

Qualitative research renders useful to understand the individual perspectives and experiences of teenagers preceding from different social locations and contexts and interconnect them to a larger general population, linked by a common environment, in this case being a Spanish citizen and students. In this manner, it is logical to adopt a qualitative methodology, approaching the social phenomena and actors as interlinked and in constant relation. Furthermore, as the data gathered consists of open-ended interviews and, in addition, these are to be connected to wider sociological theory, qualitative research, specifically conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis provide the most optimal strategy to gain a critical and thorough analysis of the studied phenomenon.

Conversation analysis (CA) offers a flexible analytical method to the study as it is not concerned with language, per se, but talk (Gardner, 2004). CA is not only useful for analysis after the interviews have been held but also as a tactic to holding conversations in order to give room to the respondent for reflection and to obtain deeper information. In this study, the interviews held were open-ended in the way that the conversation was guided by a set of themes and topics but the participant was the one steering it. By the rules of CA, a conversation should be analysed by its natural course, that is, focusing on what the respondents choose to talk about and shed light on the manner in which they speak. CA gives room for the respondents to reflect on the accounts they narrate and give the researcher the tools to allow this. For example, a common feature of CA is pausing, meaning, the researcher will pause in between an answer and a question in order to give the respondent room to reflect further and elaborate on the answer. CA requires the researcher to become very familiar with the recorded interviews in order to pick up the talk nuances in the conversation.

Further analysis requires link to sociological theory and attempt a generalisation to the overall population. For this, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) forms as another helpful tool to understand the interviews further and to extrapolate them to wider social theory. As Brookes explains in her article Discourse and Society (1995), the aim of critical discourse analysis is to uncover how language works to construct meanings that signify people, objects and events in the world in specific ways. Critical discourse analysis is concerned with the ways in which discourse builds social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and how these discourses maintain power through their ideological properties. Thus, in the context of understand perceptions of belonging, CDA gives light to how conceptions of belonging to a

demarked group are formed and the powers these conceptions carry within themselves and how they differ one not-belonging is implicated in the equation as it is with the case of Catalonia.

4.4 Research design

Developing an appropriate research design is essential to ensure good research. The purpose of choosing the adequate design to research ensures reliability, replication and validity and therefore makes for the research to be generalized and applicable for larger groups and, thus, more valuable for the scientific community and population. Developing the right strategy for a study, in case this case an adequate research design, guides the analysis stage of research as it provides a strategic framework from the get-go with which to carry out the research and pave the way between research questions, methodology and planning of data collection/analysis and the implementation of theory upon the aforementioned.

When elaborating a research design, it is essential to keep in mind the direction the researcher wants to take in order to complete the purpose of the study. In this manner, the design lays out every step of the way of the research and, as such, is split into different sections such as data collection methods, including what specific data must be collected and from whom, sample size, how the data will be organised and, finally, how the data is to be analysed. It is important to keep in mind when developing the design, the paradigm and ontological assumptions of the research to order to it as adequate as it can be.

Considering the pure qualitative nature of the presented study, a grounded theory design was chosen to undertake the research and study the processes of belonging and participation. Grounded theory is a purely inductive approach to research with the means to develop new theory on the phenomenon of political participation based on the participant's view. As guided by the grounded theory method, the research entailed multiple data analysis methods, including conversation analysis, content analysis and critical discourse analysis in order to get the deeper understanding of culture that the study purpose requires. Through content analysis, emerging categories and concepts were collected and defined further whilst constantly compared between the two geographical locations. The development of the coding, concepts and categories was useful for a theoretical saturation, the interview transcripts were constantly read over and recoded until no more relevant data could be extracted. Furthermore, through conversation

analysis, nuances in talk can be picked up during and after the interviews had taken place to understand the respondent better and 'take a walk in their shoes'.

As guided by a grounded theory approach, the data collection and analysis methods were advisably open, with room for flexibility and theory saturation. The selection of research sites, participants for the study and participant selection were done in a comparative manner in order to build significant data for a comparative result. In the further sections, the field work experience is laid out including data collection methods, research site and participant selection and the data analysis procedures.

4.5 Data collection

The data collection period in research is crucial to the final quality of the study as a whole. The relativity and reliability of the final data collected is purely affected by the strength of the research's data collection method and instruments implemented. As such, one must take into account the research design and the final purpose of the study in order to choose and implement the correct data collection tools, as well as acknowledge the interaction between said methods and the participants. As the study looks to gather youth's interpretations and perceptions, semi-structured interviews are the chose data collection tool to gather the prime data. Following up, the different stages of data collection will be presented in order to shed more light on the whole research field work period.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

For the purpose of this study, semi structured interviews provided the best tool to gather the necessary data. Through face to face interviews, the researcher has access to the participant's non-verbal language, their expressions and body language in combination with their tone and expression and what they are saying. Face to face interviews provide flexibility to the conversation and vulnerability as it offers the possibility to cater a natural and relaxed environment that feels closer to a conversation, rather than a formal interview.

As the main source of data was the teenagers' perceptions and own accounts of their lives, an open semi-structured interview was the best fit to gather this sort of information. One main interview guide was created for all participants. Said interview guide, consisted of set themes

that were to be covered during the interviews, with room for reflection and expression on the participant's behalf. Flexibility was an important aspect in the making of the interview guide as all questions set out to be as open-ended as possible and without the possibility of a closed 'yes' or 'no' answer. Remaining flexible in the interviews provides space and time for respondents to reflect on their answers, and given them the right of way into what they feel is more significant to share. At the same time, as the questions were laid out to be so open, the interview guide provided probing questions so to guide the respondent back to the topic of conversation when this got side tracked. For this, the interview guide was split into three main umbrella themes that direct back to the main research questions;

- Self-identity, national belonging and relationships
- Community belonging, surroundings, environment and emotional attachments
- Responsibility and participation

Under each theme, open questions were laid out with further proving questions to help guide the interview. Again, all questions were shaped to ask directly about the participant's personal perceptions and emotions on the matter, not on the amount of knowledge they had on the topic. Thus, the way in which the interviews took place followed the following structure;

Self-identity, national belonging and relationships
How would you describe yourself and where you come from?
- Who are your parents   - Where do you go to school   - What do you like to do in your free time (what clubs do you belong to)   - What makes you Spanish? What makes you Andalusian/Catalan   (If both) Is there a difference between being Spanish and Catalan/Andalusian   - Where did you grow up   - Can you tell me about your neighbourhood

TABLE 3. INTERVIEW GUIDE EXCERPT. FOR THE FULL INTERVIEW GUIDE, DIRECT TO APPENDIX 1.

The umbrella question serves as the point of departure, asked first and the respondent answered freely and up to their own interpretation of the question. If the respondent was shy or not offering enough information, the proving questions were used.

4.5.2 Research literature

As an inductive theory study, and due to its qualitative nature, the data gathered is analysed and extrapolated later through literature saturation. As the research is concerned with culture and society, an extensive literature review had to be done regarding the making of nationalisms and political cultures. Identity theory is also a major topic within the study and had therefore to be reviewed in order to make sense of the interviews and offer a more in-depth analysis. Belonging and participation are two abstract and subjective concepts of research thus, though the perceptions and narratives of respondents formed the main sources of data, 'hard' literature on the subjects was to be collected in order to develop even and consistent concepts and categories, to be used in the analytical stages of research.

Literature research took place at all stages of the research. Preliminary research was done in order to study the current academic situation on the matter and to find the knowledge gap in order to make a study of relevance. During data collection, literature research wasn't so much of primary importance, however during transcription stages, literature was again brought up to compare and to evaluate the data as it was being processed. That being said, a deep literature research was obligatory to tackle the analytical stage of data, to weight the different options with which to approach the data and begin drawing conclusions.

4.5.3 Observation

Beyond the official interview content, observing the participants' environment and the individual ways of expressing themselves was another important aspect of the research. The way in which the different participants expressed their perceptions varied greatly on age, gender and place of origin as well as the identified levels of belonging. Insight on the respondent's social capital and their upbringing could be gathered through the subtle art of observation, the manner and the comfort with which some respondents engaged with the conversations as opposed to others became very apparent and added a new layer to the interviews.

4.6 Research sites

The sampling of research sites needed to serve a solid purpose for the study and choosing these had to be carefully examined as to whether or not this would be fulfilled. The main characteristic required for the research sites was a contrast in regional identity and language for

a comparative analysis to happen. During the preliminary research process, the regions of Andalusia and Catalonia were chosen as they met this specific characteristic and, in addition, looking at participatory rates, the two regions presented the lowest and the highest percentages of voting participation in regional and national elections, respectively. As aforementioned, when the research began in 2016 Catalonia presented the highest voting percentage in the country with a 70% of the voting population participating in national elections, in comparison to Andalusian's 50%. These preliminary numbers incentivised the study into choosing these two regions as Catalonia, too, has its official own language and were, and still are, deep in the process of independence from the Spanish state.

With the regions chosen, the two cities were picked due to access to resources. In both cities, Barcelona and Almeria, access to respondents was facilitated through personal contacts and made the process of obtaining respondents much smoother. As the study did not specifically ask for more than the regional identity contrast, interviews were able to take place in different places in the cities with respondents from different background.

MAP 1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS OF CATALONIA AND ANDALUSIA

4.7 Sampling of participants

As mentioned, sampling is an integral part of qualitative research, it is the method through which we as researchers lay out an outline of the study's context. Sampling as a whole takes place at all stages of research in different form whether it is reviewing literature, picking research sites, to the participants that will contribute to the study, and they all following sampling techniques in order to ensure accuracy and reliability in research. Sampling holds an important role in the selection process as one wants to with the most relevant sources which will provide rich information. For this study, the selection of participants was done through opportunity sampling, meaning the characteristics of the participants within the targeted populations were laid out and those available and willing to participate were selected.

In order to achieve a wider spread of population, 14 participants were selected in both sites, 2 of each age from 12 to 18, male and female. The reason for the wide age gap is to examine how the perceptions of identity and belonging develop with further age and education and also nearing the legal voting age. The logic behind this is that, as the participants get closer to the voting age, their interest for the community and their engagement within it and conversation increases. The older they are, the more complex their understanding of community and belonging is. Furthermore, as all participants constitute as students, not only their emotional understanding of community deepens, but as they further on in education, a more formal knowledge of society and civic literacy is expected to be broaden. The scope of the study and the length of the interviews didn't allow for a larger pool, thus it was deciding to settle the number at 2 participants, one of each gender, per age group. The gender notion was a contested one for relevance to the study, however, to make it an equitable study and for further investigation, it was decided to have the participant pool 50% male and 50% female.

As the interviewees consisted of (mostly) under aged participants, legal consent was needed to interview and record the conversations. Through personal contacts in public schools from both locations, an open call was made for participants in the needed age ranges and legal guardians were asked through written permission. The participation was therefore 100% voluntary and respondents were able to walk out at any moment during the interviews. Once the necessary numbers of respondents of all age groups were obtained, the open call was closed and no more interviews took place. As mentioned, the participants were from public schools and, though it

was not a requisite, maintaining this was decided to maintain a constant and make the data simpler to codify and more consistent.

4.8 Field work

The field work experience was the most practical part of the study, going to an unknown location and setting up networks for the research to take flight was the most challenging part of the field work experience. Field work required to live on site for a couple of months in each location in order to get all conversations which was very helpful as being surrounded by the culture and the people helped understand small comments participants made of their surroundings and their daily lives. Living in Barcelona and interacting on a day to day basis was important to understand the deeper meanings of the Catalonian identity, not being in a formal and set interview settings, people tend to show their most personal self. Informal conversations with non-participants along the months of living there offered insight and variety to the participant's interviews. Submerging oneself in the culture of study helps to 'walk in the shoes' of respondents and empathise with certain topics, such as that of independence in Catalonia as people have many different views on the matter.

Research field work took place in the period of time of September to December 2016, in this period, the time was planned to be spent in the two research sites was split in half, two months in each location, however, due to complication the period in Barcelona was extended to three months and one month was done in Almeria. The procedure to gain research participants was different in the two locations as the access to the necessary pool of participants was more limited in Catalonia than in Andalusia.

The first step to taken in Catalonia was to visit high schools in the city and ask to meet with the head of the centres, explain the study and provide with a proposal of collaboration in order to make an open call for participants. At arrival, a project collaboration letter was handed to the head of secondary with a brief explanation of the study and the help needed from the learning centre (Appendix 2). This process, however, proved inefficient as the collaboration was denied by many centres on the premises of legality of the minors and that the logistics of interviews were not possible. Conducting the interviews implicated a legal consent and the centre to offer a space in which to carry out the interviews. Eventually, using a personal contact of a primary

education centre, the parents of the school were approached and the project was presented and, through them, access was given to participants that were willing to participate in the study. The interviews were then conducted in the participant's homes or local cafes, as wished by the informant. For ethical reasons, the participants were first asked to take a consent form home and then return on the day of the interview (Appendix 2 and 3).

The case of Andalucía was different as, through a direct contact in a secondary education centre, the same letter of collaboration was sent and received by the director of the centre and granted access to students and facilities. The centre contacted parents of the school and provided consent forms for the interviewing of participants and as well a space to conduct the interviews in the school itself. The participants who took part in the study were volunteers who also signed a contract regarding audio recording. The process in Almeria was a lot smoother and the interviews moved along a lot faster, finishing in a few days as opposed to the

Field work experience was an enriching time period were different practical research skills were learnt. Firstly, regarding visiting centres and asking for collaboration, it proves a lot more challenging than one expects. It requires confidence and knowledge on one's topic but, also, to be discrete on the subject, especially if it is a sensitive one as national and political identity might be. Secondly, and personally most significant, one feels how their researcher and interviewer skills improve as the time passes and the number of interviews done increase. In addition, also the more interviews done and transcribed, the more one knows how to listen and where to look for nuances. Without these interactions the study could have not gone ahead, thus this period was very important to the whole study.

4.9 Coding and analysis explained

The study's research questions entail and multiple step process. To concise the research process three steps of questioning are identified; the first one, what does it mean to belong, second, how does one learn to belong and, thirdly, how does this sense of belonging affect social participation. In the following chapter, the data will be presented accordingly to these three steps which take place in the different sections.

Making sense of the data was done using different methods such as the aforementioned conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis. Those two, however, are part of the discussion part of the data section, in which we look at the data. In order to understand the data, it had to be presented in a way that displays answers to the research questions. To read through the interviews and code them accordingly, Graneheim and Lundman's (2003) paper on qualitative content analysis render useful to separate categories and codes and group different quotes from different participants together.

In the transcription period, significant quotes were taken apart and coded through the themes of the research questions. Once the most significant and rich quotes were gathered, analysis took place through the themes and coding of Graneheim and Lundman to group different quotes together and identify common themes in respondents' interviews. For example, all respondents spoke of their own feeling of belonging but in order to identify and make one theory on what it is to belong, a theme chart had to be made with the recurring patterns. In the following table, the coding process is shown. The top cell represents the theme, the sense (or perception) of belonging. This is the overarching pattern that is looked for in all interviews. Following is the categories, 'WHAT' stands for what does it mean to belong, or what participants' direct perception of belonging whereas 'HOW' is how does this participant learn to belong. The subcategory further is borrowed from Yuval Davis' framework in order to get an analytical depth to the coding and to provide a link to literature later on in the process. Finally, the last layer is made of the codes, or the common answers given by respondents when speaking of belonging.

theme	SENSE OF BELONGING				
category	WHAT			HOW	
subcategory	narrative of the self	individual identities	collective identities	identification and emotional attachment	ethical and political values
codes	familiarity and feeling safe // regional identity // national identity // difference and comparison	familiarity and feeling safe // negative participation	groups nationalities, responsability towards others // participation // learnt politics	culture, origin of family, tradition, language // place where you have grown up	function in the family // school // meeting responsibility // reflections on society

TABLE 4. CODING OF BELONGING

This table was reproduced for the different themes; national and regional identities, community and participation. The final results and discussion of the data will be explained in the following chapter.

4.10 Validity and reliability

Unlike a quantitative study, a qualitative study cannot ensure a number of variables that will make complete replicability possible. In qualitative research, it is reliability and credibility that the researcher strives for, to make the study relevant and generalizable to the larger population. Keeping track of the data and checking on oneself and the possible 'validity threats' by asking oneself where we could be going wrong and what can be missing.

Through the development of the research design, once tries to diminish all possible threats to credibility by carefully strategizing research and choosing the right methodological tools. For a qualitative study, ideally, the research will have a long-term observational period, room for a meticulous participant sampling, for validation and rejection of outlying participants. It is however not the case for all researchers to be able to do this, due to time and resource constricts, thus each researcher will try wo maintain research validity and credibility through different methods to obtain the most of the data gathering process and later, analysis. The sampling of participants, research sites in this study, along with time limits rendered a challenge to its validity. For this reason, thought the participant and site sampling where opportunistic, same factors were opted to remain constant for a control and consistency of data. This included the gender and age ratio of participants and the choosing of participants from only public schools. That being said, the very option of having a fair split between male and female participants and the same amount of respondents in each age group helped, too, maintain a constant and controlled sample. Furthermore, having semi-structured interviews as open to completely open-ended also ensured that the conversations, though different, would ensure to follow a similar pattern and to touch upon the key themes and topics the study requires. The observation that took place and emerging oneself within the cultures was also a key aspect to understanding the data further and to interact with the participants.

4.11 Conclusion of methodology

Guided by the purpose of the study, a qualitative research design was developed to embark into the questions of matter. The collection of data was carried out as best thought out in order to gather subjective interpretation of respondent's feelings and perceptions of what it means to belong. Through a long process, this data was later transcribed, coded and analysed according to adequate literature. The following chapter presents the data gathered and an extensive discussion which aims to answer the initial research questions proposed at the beginning of this study.

5 Data presentation and analysis

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter displays the data gathered through the field work period. The data is presented in a manner that is condensed in order to give a full spectrum of what was gathered from the interviews with adolescents from the regions of Andalusia and Catalonia and their perceptions of what it means to belong. Following the presentation, an analysis of the data, gathered through condensation, coding and analysis of the collective answers on how we learn to belong and how these feelings of belonging affect social participation.

To maintain anonymity and protect participant's privacy, quotes from interviews are referred by a given code.

5.2 Andalusia

5.2.1 Perceptions of belonging

> [Tell me about yourself and where you come from] "I was born in Almeria, I am Spanish, I have an older brother and a pet. I live in Aguadulce and I am a student at PTCRR school."
>
> (ALM4)

The perception of belonging entails the respondent's experience of individual identity and origin. The initial descriptions given by respondents include place of birth and growing up, either the region of Almeria or specifically the smaller town where they have been raised and, by connection, the parent's place of origin. In addition, they identify within their social groups and locations by school and grade, sport teams and other extra-curricular activities.

Familiarity is a recurring experience described by respondents when speaking of home and the places that make them who they are. Most of the respondents identify themselves as a student of their high school, pointing an emotional attachment to the institution due to feeling safe and at ease for knowing the teachers and their peers for a long time. In fact, a sense of "knowing how things work" is mentioned by various respondents when describing why they like certain places and what it is that makes them feel at home.

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"I have gone to this school since I am three years old. I am close with my peers and teachers too, I know them and they know how I am so there being more trust between us." (ALM12)

This feeling of familiarity described by the respondent not only refers to them knowing the surroundings, but also to being somebody known in it. This is corroborated by ALM7 when describing their neighbourhood, where they feel the most at home.

"I have lived here my whole life… I like it here because I know everybody… in other places I don't know how people are… here I know a lot of people… I like being in a familiar environment and knowing where to go… like when I go to the sports hall and I know I will always run into someone I know." (ALM7)

In this manner, unfamiliarity and difference are therefore important factors as well that are pointed out as they signal towards perceptions of not belonging. When asked about how they feel when they are away from home, they draw on experiences where they felt different and not completely confident, secure, or in their words 'at home'. For example, when participant ALM1 was asked to recall on his experience on a trip abroad, they recall on a memory of cultural shock;

"in Germany I really felt like a foreigner… once we tried going to a shop and the man was closing down and would not let us in. That wouldn't happen here in Spain, you know? Like they would tell you to go in, fast and get what you need. But in Germany they are so strict with rules."

Here, the participant recalls feeling out of place by drawing on their lived experience, how they expected things to work out, and recognising the contrast of cultures.

Furthermore, on the topic of similarity and difference, the Andalusian accent is another repeated factor commented on by all respondents. Accents are very much linked to self-identification in all regions of Spain due to the fact that there are so many. When asked about what makes them Andalusian the accent itself is a popular response and, when probed further, it makes up for experiences of feeling difference when interacting with others of different regions and accent.

"[is there a difference between being Spanish and Andalusian?] yes… well almost none but the accent and the slang… like my cousins from Madrid and when we get together they sometimes say they can't understand me and ask me to speak "normal".] (ALM4)

In this sort of situation, the southern Spanish identity is reinforced in the respondent as they interact with others of more Northern accent, in this case Madrid, which is known as the standard accent of Spain. The respondent uses air quotes when speaking of the 'normal' accent and lets out a sigh, displaying signs of frustration when speaking of this matter. There are hundreds of regional and local accents present in Spain along with their own slang, thus speaking with others with different accents and slangs reinforces those differences and the local identity. This perception is corroborated further when asked about their feelings towards feeling like they are from Andalusia, Almeria or both;

"I feel more Almeriense than Andalusian. The accents are all very different and everything changes. I like to say I am Almeriense because I like Almeria and how we are, I don't speak like a person from Seville so I am Almeriense." (ALM4)

There is a clear significance given to accent and vocabulary, not only is it important in making up the feelings of belonging to a certain geographical region but it also delineates a difference of where those feelings stop. When the accent changes, the perception of belonging diminishes.

5.2.2 Learning to belong

When asking respondents to openly describe themselves and where they come from, their perceptions of belonging are narrated as implicit feelings, automatic experiences that are given for granted. They do not give a causal explanation for those feelings. Clearly, as it is not a topic we all might sit a think about, probing further and asking questions about their experiences and perceptions, certain patterns emerge from the logic and reflection given by the group. As literature points out, emotional attachment and ethical values are principal factors in the making of a collective identity (Yuval-Davis, 2010). The sharing of values and the emotional implications, like rejection from the group, solidify this perception of belonging and is reinforced as they continue to perform within the group's values.

The collective identity and belonging is performance based, within each group one has a role to fulfil and to maintain. A recurrent position mentioned by all respondents is the position within the family structure. When respondents are asked about the family, they first identify themselves within the group, stating their position as a sibling or child. The position they individually identify themselves with is reflected on further when asked on what their thoughts are on the role of family and their own personal role in it;

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"In my home, my parents work, I go to school, I study and I go to my activities and afterwards I can do my things, the family is there to help each other out in difficult times."
(ALM3)

"Family is a group of people that support you, are with you, comfort you when you are sad and congratulate you when you are happy." (ALM2)

[*Speaking of responsibilities*] "At home I help with the chores, take care of my younger brother and make sure I do my homework. *[Who assigns these responsibilities?]* My mother, but I do them because I want to, because I feel good." (ALM8)

The respondents lay out the different roles of the members of the family: the parents work and sustain the family and they have their own responsibilities. These are mostly identified as fulfilling schoolwork, extra-curricular activities and helping with the house chores. As respondent ALM8 states, their responsibilities are assigned externally but it is their decision to meet them because it causes them a satisfactory feeling. This satisfaction is a common feeling mentioned by other respondents and when elaborated further, it is translated into keeping the group harmony; when everyone meets their assigned responsibility, the group functions and the interactions within are peaceful and harmonious. This shows how they learn shared values within the group and the importance of meeting those values.

Belonging to a group and sharing moral, ethical and emotional values implies having a responsibility towards the collective as a whole and simultaneously to each member individually. The emotional attachment towards the collective is the gumption that makes one individual perform accordingly and the functioning of the group is the fuel that keeps said interaction going.

This pro-active performative role within shows engagement with the group in order to maintain and grow. This is mentioned as well in other perceived belonged groups like school and extra-curricular activities which entail a team, such as sports teams. It is the delineated and clearly stated role and identity within group that makes up that belonging and the direct participation in the collective. Here, the respondents understand how their participation and engagement affects the group as well as how the group's harmony affects them.

[*Speaking of responsibilities*] "Normal stuff. School, grades… my team. I have to be good to my team. Go to trainings and matches, show support, work hard. [*why?*] Because they do the same for me." (ALM2)

The respondent has a clear view of their responsibility towards their team, which is reciprocated towards them by the other members. The respondent is completely engaged with the group and participates in the required activities, not doing so would have a direct impact on them which would be that of having bad relationships with the rest of the members or expulsion from the team.

These mentioned groups are clearly social groups that the respondents feel close to, where they recognise and know the members and have boundaries of belonging, materialised by official enrolment and membership in the examples of school and sport teams and by kinship in the case of family. However, when speaking of more abstract groups, the perception of belonging and the roles within the collective become more blurred. The feeling of belonging to one's neighbourhood, city or society at large is narrated as something that exists for respondents but cannot fully be elaborated upon. For example, on the topic of public space and the city, feelings are conflicted because there is no clear distinction onto whose space it is. Public space falls under a grey area where no one is fully accountable for maintaining because it is not a delineated role. When asked about whose responsibility it is to keep the streets clean, most respondents answer that it is the municipality's and its cleaners, those whose job it is to clean the street. When they are asked further who's street it is, respondents take time to think and recognise public space as something that belongs to everyone and that it is also a supposed collective responsibility to maintain the space clean. It is important to look further into these answers as respondents do admit the responsibility though they show apprehension when asked for direct participation.

[*Speaking of clean streets in their neighbourhood*] "I guess we don't really think about it because it is other people's jobs. [*would you pick up somebody's trash?*] no, no. I wouldn't, because you see somebody throw away their trash on the floor and you think they're rude but also I'm not going to go and pick it up, you know? It's not mine. We're not conscious that there is also another person behind you that is going to come and have to clean it. If I would stop and think about it, like I am doing now, then maybe I would." (ALM6)

It is clear to the respondent that it is somebody's job to pick up trash left behind and maintain public space, but their own individual role is blurred when it surpasses the basic responsibility of the individual which is to not litter. In this fragment, the respondent is confronted with the situation of seeing somebody litter and asked what action they would take, which in this case they would acknowledge that littering should not be done but they would not take the step to pick it up and throw it away. This stance is common in most respondents; some do answer they would pick it up after the person is done but nobody would say anything to the litterer. The question of ownership becomes interesting here as respondents acknowledge public space as theirs but the rhetoric of not picking up the litter is that it is not theirs. Here, what they are narrating is that public space is something that *belongs to them* rather than a place *they belong to.* When the respondents are asked about how they know that public space belongs to everyone and that it is everyone's responsibility to maintain keep it clean, the unanimous answer is school and "something you just know", which is referred to a common knowledge that is learnt growing up and being told by the general surrounding how to behave in public. It is not, however, perceived as a responsibility or a duty as a citizen but more like something you do to make sure the streets aren't abundant with trash.

Engaging in conversation about citizenship, voting and politics shows different interest on different respondents. For the majority of respondents, questions on politics and the state of the country are easily brushed off with the rhetoric "that's not really in my business" and "I don't know a lot about it." When asked about where young people learn about the topic the most common answer is television, the news and at home and all comment on a lack of civic education at school.

"[Where do you learn about politics?] On the news. [And in school?] No… in school we learn about rights and democracy… but we learn a list of rights we have and that's it… just things that will be on a test." (ALM7)

As minors, the position of being underage and ineligible for voting, make politics seem like a far-away topic that will not be touched upon until they reach the age of eighteen. This also builds a general feeling of being left out and not having any influence until one reaches said age.

"Why would we have interest and try to learn when no one is going to hear us? [do you

think minor's opinion is important?] I think it is but if no one is going to listen to us… they

could organize more things for us too, talks… not just for grownups." (ALM3)

The feeling of not being heard, or not having an effect on matters creates a type of disinterest and disengagement. The lack of interest in combination with the lack of education makes for a very uninformed young population and it is shown in the interviews that there is very little knowledge on the subject by many of the respondents. Some cannot even explain the political system in place or describe what a democracy entails. Furthermore, when asked about the political life and how politics affect one's life there are responses of how politics do not affect them right now and how they do not have to worry about it until it is time to "pay taxes" (ALM10). Out of the fourteen respondent's, 2 participants showed this extremely low engagement such as ALM10. In general, most respondents think it would be important to learn more about politics in school, especially about laws, taxes and how the system as a whole works.

Respondents who do engage in conversation firstly comment that they have learnt from their parents and at home about politics and show a genuine interest in the subject by feeling directly affected by it. The number of respondents who are able to comment on this, however, is low in comparison to those who are disengaged with the subject.

5.3 Barcelona

5.3.1 Perceptions of belonging

Initially, the perceptions of belonging narrated by Catalonian respondents appear similar to those from Almeria, primarily identifying themselves with their closest kin and social groups. Similarly, when asked about themselves and encouraged to speak freely, the main topics that come up are age, type of schooling and grade and the position within the family.

The Catalonian identity is a topic that comes up quickly in many of the conversations; the strength of the identity, however, being purely Catalan or feeling mutually Catalan and Spanish varies between respondents. The Catalan identity, as described by respondents, carries a lot of emotional attachment to the language, culture and traditions. At the same time, the rest

of Spain is used to contrast themselves against as what they are not. This can be seen in the following excerpt.

[what is it that makes you Catalan?] "Let's see, my family is Catalan, my grandma is from Andalusia but she herself feels very much from here… you know, Catalan. And as for me, well it's my language and I love our culture but it's not like I feel only Catalan and not Spanish, you know? Not like I'm super nationalistic but yeah, I also feel Spanish." (BCN2)

Here, respondent BCN2 explains that she, indeed feels a mutual identification with both Catalonia and Spain, but makes it important to also state that she is not, in a way, a radical Spanish nationalist. The respondent makes it important to quickly remark that, though they feel a Spanish identity, it is not to be confused with a nationalistic one. In addition, as many Catalans are descendants of Andalusians, the Spanish identity still remains in homes and young people grow up naturally with a dual identity, such as respondent BCN1:

"[What is your nationality?] Spanish… I am also Catalan because I come from a very Catalan and secessionist village, I feel as Spanish as Catalan. Catalan because of where I live, the traditions and the festivities that I take part in but also Spanish because whether or we want it or not, we are also Spanish. My parents speak Spanish and my grandparents were Andalusian… half my family is from Andalusia and half from Galicia so my sister and I are really the only true "Catalan Catalans" in the family."

Being part of Spain is a recognised concept by all respondents. However, there are differences between those who perceive and accept both identities, an example of which is the excerpt above, those who know it is there but don't feel a connection, and those who completely reject it. In the case of those who don't feel a connection, the identification with the Catalan identity comes directly from those feelings of belonging to a collective that the rest of Spain does not have.

"At home we speak Catalan and that is how I feel, I am Catalan. I mean, I know we are inside Spain but I feel Catalan. [what makes those feelings?] You know, my language is Catalan and our traditions like St Jordi, I like them and we celebrate them and the rest of Spain doesn't have it."(BCN4)

The feeling of identification here is linked to feeling connected to one culture and not the other; Spanish culture lacks the characteristics which make the respondent identify with the Catalonian culture the most. This feeling of difference plays a strong role in the identification of the self and is a recurrent actor in the makings of belonging.

Stronger feelings of belonging to one sole group are strengthen by the rejection of the 'other', as it is the case with respondent BCN3 who aligns themselves with the secessionist movement of Catalonia. The feeling of belonging and the Catalan identity is built strongly around the notion of *not* belonging to Spain.

"[Do you in anyway feel part of Spain?] *No, I'm from Catalonia…. it's a feeling that I have, I am Catalan and not Spanish and that's how I grew up. It's not like I hate Spain but I do not feel Spanish… and it's not just emotional, it's also politics and culture too. You feel like it's yours, like when you walk down the street you feel like it's yours… culturally it's just different than the rest of Spain."* (BCN3)

As they describe, their feeling of belonging to Catalonia includes not feeling part of Spain. Asking further on how they feel when they visit the rest of Spain, they draw on feelings of alienation, feeling different to the rest and, of course, everything is in Spanish and not in Catalan.

5.3.2 Learning to belong

As aforementioned, the major process of the making of feelings of belonging consists for a large part of emotional attachment and ethical values. The feeling of belonging is stronger in smaller and closer groups because the individual has a more direct responsibility and consequence within them, as opposed to in larger, more abstract groups where positions and roles are blurred.

In Catalonian respondents, the belonging to a higher, more abstract notion of a social group, like society is stronger compared to those in Almeria. There are similarities in the middle ground of belonging, which is the notion of citizenship. When respondents are asked about the streets and public space, which is the example used in the interview to probe for a feeling of citizenship, the answers where very similar to the other respondent group. The differences in

learnt belonging and engagement, however, rise out of the conversations on the subject of politics. The learnt belonging comes with the strong attachment to the region of Catalonia and its cultures and language, that the "abstract" notion of a collective regional identity is very much real and perceived. The engagement and general interest with which respondents approach the topic of politics, as opposed to the other participant group is remarkable as all respondents have strong opinions and ideas on the subject and all are able to answer questions. Not necessarily their knowledge on the matter is remarkable, but the reflection and engagement shown in the conversation and depth in their answers.

"As minors we can't do much but we hear what is being said at home and around and then we talk about it between us at school and we share ideas and so and that can be important." (BCN4)

This respondent states something very significant because in opposition to what the Andalusian respondents said, they are convinced that their position as a minor does not have to exclude the possibility of engaging in conversation over the matter, as they feel it includes them (minors) too. Thus, they feel part of the whole society and feel like even though they have no direct agency it is a topic to be engaged with.

As it is a topic of interest, respondents seek out information and opt to stay up to date with the current events and seek for new ways to learn and engage directly with different sources of information to stay up to date. For example, when asked about how politics can be brought closer to young people and made more accessible, a respondent answered on their use of media;

"I think nowadays it's a lot easier to access information and stay informed. I, for example, follow a lot of political parties and newspapers on Twitter and other social networks where I can find a lot of information very easily and see what is going on day to day… I think it's better than just watching television because you get a lot more different views." (BCN2)

This respondent does not only show interest in the subject and engagement, but they also show critical thinking on how they are getting their information and actively look for different sources and points of view. Others comment on how they learn from home because they actively ask and have discussions at home about topics they hear in the news, school and from others. Similarly, to Almeria respondents, politics are not touched upon very much in school, but there are more comments about citizenship class than in Almeria.

The respondent that aligned themselves with the secessionist movement showed a vast array of ideas and thoughts and held a very engaged conversation on the topic of political participation and engagement. Following, an extract from the interview where they explain their view on the importance of voting;

"Yes, it's important. My personal opinion in the end is that movement in mass quantity always work... political consciousness is super important to me and it's voting for the sake of voting, that should be taught in school, in high school... they should teach us because it's your life others are talking about, we should reflect more upon that and there is a lot of people that don't know anything about it because they haven't been taught and don't have the resources... they should definitely educate the youth more." (BCN3)

This quote reflects a very engaged person who is, in fact, affiliated with the youth independentist party of Catalonia. The respondent is very self-aware and at ease with the topic of politics and comments on it as a larger part of their life and with a big influence on them.

"[do politics influence your life?] *Well obviously it affects me because it's your country and the party chosen will have to do with your future... of course it affects you they are making decisions for you... of course it influences me, I'm going to have to live with it."* (BCN3)

5.4 Discussion

5.4.1 Analysis of data

A preliminary observation that was made when the two sets of interviews were complete was the way in which Catalonian respondents identified their Catalan roots and culture as a way of describing themselves whereas Almeria respondents primarily identify themselves with kin groups, schools and in some occasion, their neighbourhood or town. When spoken to about culture and what makes them Catalan, Catalonian respondents were able to give critical and deep reflections on what they felt made them Catalan; the regional language, traditions, culture. The answers offered an extra layer of awareness that the Almeria respondents did exhibit, as when they were asked what made them Spanish or Andalusian, the answers fell more towards been born in Spain. Reflection did go a bit further in the topic of Andalusian as respondents identified more with the identity of Almeria than that of Andalusia in general. As Catalonians

are a minority in Spain, it is no surprise that Catalonians display a stronger collective identity than the Almeria group; as a minority group, Catalans have been singled out of mainstream Spain, in some cases purposively by themselves and in others by Spain. Being part of the dominant, mainstream culture, it is no surprise that the Almeria group takes their own culture for granted and does not experience the fragmented cultural experience that the Catalan group does; on the other hand, it is this experience that make the Catalan respondents that much more critical and able to see in between the different levels of culture. Almeria respondents identify themselves with their local origin as an extension to Spanish, Catalans with the regional. The more concrete the feeling of belonging is, the stronger the identity tied to a certain group or space, the stronger the participation and engagement.

As Nila Yuval-Davis lays out in her analytical framework, the perception or feeling of belonging is developed through (an interconnection of) three processes; social locations, identifications and emotional attachment and ethical and political values (2006). Through the multiple interviews carried out during the field work period of this study, young people's perceptions of belonging can be understood through these processes along with how they are learnt.

5.4.2 Perceptions of belonging and learning to belong

The perception or feeling of belonging will be treated as what respondents directly feel or perceive when speaking of themselves and where they come from. The following data analysis has been created through a condensation, categorization and coding of recurring patterns that emerged during the interviews held for this study.

The first layer of belonging captured by the data is that of belonging to oneself, one's personal narrative of the self: who I am, who I am not. When respondents were given the floor, the first identifications mentioned by respondents were intersectional social locations. As social location varies in levels and scopes, these form an intricate web of attributes we give to ourselves through our own narrative, but also as we go on with the continuous interaction with the world around us. Social locations are never fixed and always in relation to the social actors and phenomena that we interact with on our day to day, thus our narrative of the self is constantly deconstructed and reconstructed as our social locations change. In this way, one goes through the different experiences of belonging as in place you are a mother, in another you are a teacher

and in another you may be a student. Social locations can act as boundaries and delineate a certain role that one performs corresponding to a specific social group. Social locations act as nested identities (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez, 2001), where each role has a different order, higher and lower and each is related to one another, as the social actor participates in a social situation, the social locations delineate the actor's role. The symbolic interactionism in which all roles are perceived and interpreted make for an active belonging.

These social locations create feelings of similarity and difference towards others, creating connections and rejections through symbolic interactions, and therefore, are a key factor in the making of collective identities, form example those of regionalisms and nationalisms. Personal narratives are developed through acceptance and rejection of already created social acts and norms, which are then chosen to embody or be rejected. Thus, when a symbolic act is interpreted as one core to the self, the individual reflects themselves as part of the group that share these too. In the case of large and abstract collective identities such as a national regional or a national identity, this feeling of 'sameness' is an imagined one created by each individual in which we all put collective attributes to what it means to be part of said group and its characteristics (Anderson, 1983).

Identity formation is influenced by rejection of social acts, norms and actors; to reject a social notion, it must first be recognised, interpreted and, finally assessed. In order to assess whether a national trait is to be accepted or rejected, the individual chooses this is a trait they identify with or not. The strong acceptance and identification of a Catalonian regional identity by its respondents is interpreted through emotional attachments to their culture and language. Belonging is reinforced in the respondents through the acknowledgement that there is such a thing as a Catalonian way of being, and that this is shared by the rest of the people in the region.

The identity displayed by the Almeria respondent group, however, is weaker and less specific. A Spanish identity is perceived through similar notions of 'sameness' driven by the sharing of the national language and vague guesses to a 'sharing of culture'. The personal regional identity becomes stronger when majority of respondents mildly reject the notion of being bundled together in a general Andalusian identity and identify primarily with being from Almeria. Respondents acknowledge their provincial difference and, similarly to Catalonia, create a

strong local identity through emotional attachment and identification with the local accent and slang.

The theme of familiarity is recurring in respondent's accounts of what it means to belong and how they make emotional attachments to place they recognise as 'their own'. Safety and reassurance are mentioned as feelings that emerge being in a place where they belong. Places like respondent's rooms, or a park bench in the neighbourhood where they meet their friends, offer a sense of tranquillity, rooted in familiarity. Familiarity does not fall only into being knowledgeable with the surrounding, but also having autonomy in what goes on in the space, since a feeling of entitlement to the place is felt.

Through the multiple interviews, the perceptions of belonging gathered from the respondents are those which create feelings of familiarity, safety and reassurance. To belong is to share common attributes with others and to relish on that relationship together. The feeling of belonging can happen at multiple levels and can be formal by formal membership or, informally through symbolic interactionism and the noting, interpretation and assessment of the group through notions of emotional attachment and a sharing of common moral and ethical values. In the next section we will examine how these perceptions of belonging and the extent to which the belonging is perceived, affects social participation.

5.4.3 Belonging and participation

Participation comes hand in hand with respondent's sense of belonging as a Catalonian identity is a political identity. The political identity is assumed by respondents as part of being Catalan as a set of (political) values, regardless of the position on secessionism. Catalonian respondents all show high degrees of engagement and interest when speaking of politics and current affairs in Catalan and the rest of Spain are tie issues back critically to themselves, their surroundings and their regions. This is contrasted with respondent's from Almeria's weaker national identity and the low degree of engagement and reflection in the interviews regarding the same topics.

In more concrete groups, formal belonging such as that of enrolment or membership shows a clear connection with participation, as is the case of sport teams and school. Membership gives the necessary delineation to one's role and it is important that it is a belonging sought explicitly and voluntarily. The motivation of voluntary membership and participation in a group is driven

by a sense of responsibility of fulfilling one's role, which has been attributed part individually, part from the group. The responsibility towards a group strengthens ones belonging through participation and the individual's drive to contribute to the functioning of a group.

5.5 Reliability and credibility of data

As explained in the methodology chapter, there were measured taken to grant a better reliability and credibility to the data, however, due to the limitations of this study, the research was presented a few validity threats that are important to discuss. Firstly, the sample size gathered for the study proved small and difficult to make a generalizable theoretical conclusion. The scope of the study was too large for the limitations given by time and resources. On the other hand, the data and information gathered point to significant findings that should not be discarded and taken into consideration for further research. In addition to the time limit, the lack of access to collaboration from educational centres and schools and the limitations posed by these posed a large inconvenience during the data gathering process in Barcelona, giving a very scattered pool of respondents.

On respondents, it is significant to point out that, though the difference in social capital was tried to keep maintained by interviewing respondents from public institution, there was a large difference between the respondents who some showed a lot more signs of critical thinking and engagement in the conversation overall than other. Again, due to time limits no more respondents could have been gathered to even out the data and thus there is a skew in how much some respondents know or engage as opposed to others. It is also important to point out that, in general, respondents from Barcelona were more articulate and seemed more engaged in the conversation than the Almeria respondents. Besides possible differences in schooling, as Catalonia and Andalusia have different curriculums, could be a cause for this, it is also speculated that living in a large metropolitan city like Barcelona as opposed to a small provincial capital city has an impact to one's social capital due to the differences in access to culture in the city. This is an interest point of view for further research. Finally, to tackle the differences in sampling, it would be recommended to have carried out focus group interviews as well as individual interviews to give respondents other participants of similar backgrounds to them to discuss and reflect ideas and answers off one another.

6 Discussion

6.1 Perceptions of belonging and participation

Through the study, the question of whether a strong sense of belonging affects social participation has been pursued. In the first step, an attempt to understand what makes up the perception of belonging was made and further research done to examine how belonging is learnt. The gathered data determines that, indeed, Catalan respondents show a stronger perception of belonging towards their region than the nation of Spain, if at all, and that respondents from Almeria feel their local provincial identity, which is by default, too, a Spanish identity.

When speaking to Catalan respondents, the common answer as to what it is that makes them feel like they are from Catalonia is a shared language, traditions and culture and, in some cases, the specific feeling of "being different than the rest of Spain". The struggle and feeling of minority is not shared by respondents from Almeria as, even though they have their own local identity, the feeling of belonging to the rest of Spain is mutual. Belonging to the dominant cultural majority is a fact taken for granted and makes an idea that this identity is the national standard; by not experiencing the discourse of being the cultural minority, the collective Spanish identity, though still present, is not as strong as the Catalan. The Spanish identity is not contested by others or automatically charged with political connotations, instead it is built on sharing a place of birth, traditions and a common language, though language in Spanish belonging plays a complex part. Due to its many regions, Spain has a lot of accents and vocabulary which is a strong carrier of emotional attachment and a way for self-identification. As mentioned, the Almeria respondents gave a lot of importance to their local accents as it differentiates them, not only from the rest of Spain but the rest of Andalusia, which is typically all bundled up together by other in the country. This sense of belonging stronger to Almeria than Andalusia is significant between respondents as a way to reject the common knowledge that all Andalusia is the same, which is discredited. Here, that feeling of difference with the rest of Andalusian provinces and the collective rejection of the people make up together for a stronger feeling of belonging between the respondents where they speak up against. This is the reason why respondents from Almeria choose to identify themselves as such, to differentiate from the rest of Andalusia, but being from Almeria implies, too, a Spanish identity.

Belonging creates feeling of safety and being in tune with the surroundings places like their own room, a specific bench in the local park where they meet their friends, a family member's home or a familiar situation are examples given to describe where one feels at home. This feeling of familiarity, a strong emotional attachment constructed by that very feeling of ease and tranquillity are important to understand what it means to belong to some place or belonging is perceived. The attachment to close familiar circles is understandable, however we understand this feeling and its complexity further when speaking to respondents about travelling abroad and how they feel. Respondents from Almeria point out obvious things like language and different infrastructure but anecdotes such as that of ALM1 with their encounter in a German shop and how the attitude shocked them speak more of the feel of belonging, or rather, *not* belonging. A feeling in which by comparing and feeling the differences one feels that they are not in a place where they feel at ease and don't know how to act. This feeling appears too in the Catalan group but, significantly, some of the more secessionist respondents experience this feeling in Spain itself, feeling like they are out of their element once the border is crossed.

The feeling of belonging can be reinforced further through formality and boundaries, through exclusion and exclusion. Looking at the data gathered from the respondents, the clearer the boundaries of the social group and the individual role one plays in it, the stronger the feeling of belonging and also the implication and the participation in the group. For example, the family, if we look at the family as an institution, each respondent identifies themselves within the family in a social location (brother, sister, cousin, etc.) and this position gives them a role and responsibilities. Responsibility and accountability are, in fact, two concepts to look into when looking into belonging and participation as they are a reflection of the two concepts. When one feels like they belong in the group, they have learnt and assumed the values and morals of said group and continues to perform according to these to maintain harmony and remain in relation to this. Looking into these values and morals one can see how it is one's responsibility to meet these as a part of a social contract to belong to the group. Thus, as respondents explain, they meet their responsibilities at home and at school because that's how they feel they need to act and those are their duties. Furthermore, in the case of sports or school, there is a very clear line drawn as to those who belong and who don't: membership and enrolment. In these cases, the belonging is formal as there is an actual contract sign in which an agreement is made on how you are to behave. This, however, and especially in the case of sports, is a voluntary action but this increases belonging as one goes deliberately to sign up to a group. The participation in

these is extremely high and constant, and the responsibility felt towards the group is also vestrong as respondents acclaim towards their sports team. Participation is shown by constantly engaging with the teams, attending the required trainings and matches and 'having your team mates back.'

When the an individual role within a collective is stated (implicitly or explicitly), social belonging becomes an active action and has direct impact on participation. As the individual feels purposeful in the functioning of a social group, active participation takes place. The perception of belonging is crucial to participating as it is the motivation of the individual to act upon and strive for the common good of the group. Without a sense a belonging, a weak and blurred role in a social group, participation cannot take place as there are no to little feelings of emotional attachment and shared values between the individual and the collective.

6.2 Learning to belong and citizenship

In participation there is therefore a sense of responsibility, which is driven by the need or want to belong. Responsibility and accountability are learnt through the emotional attachment given to the group and the relations built in it, like that of a sibling feeling the duty to look after their younger ones. As the social group becomes larger and more abstract, responsibility, belonging and participation diminish in strength as the impact in the group and to the group is not felt as immediately as it is in closer ones. This becomes apparent when asking the two different respondent groups about politics, citizenship and their own thoughts on what influence they believe to have as minors. Respondents from Almeria, when asked about their personal responsibility towards politics, most respondents did not have the knowledge or the interest to engage in conversation. The main source of information towards current national affairs and politics is identified as the news in TV and very little respondents mention politics as an important matter in their lives. Furthermore, and more importantly, the perceived importance given to politics and citizenship and civic education in school and home by the respondents is very low, their surroundings are also not engaged in the issue. On the other hand, as we have seen, Catalan respondents show high levels of engagement and participation in the way that they stay informed and are informed by their surroundings. It is also here that it is to be noted again, that Catalan respondents refer to themselves as Catalan, very attached to the region and with a strong regional identity, regardless of political stance on the independence of Catalonia.

However, the most secessionist respondent is an important significant to bring up as the person with the strongest nationalistic identity is also the most socially participatory respondent from the pool being affiliated with the youth party for independence of Catalonia. The participant shows full belonging, stemming out of a deep identification with the region's language, culture and politics, rejecting those of Spain and fully active in a social movement towards the independence of Catalonia.

Catalonia's notion of citizenship is much more aware than that of respondents from Almeria. The Catalonian respondents understand and critically engages with their role as a citizen and finds participation necessary as a way of contributing to the construction of their society. Furthermore, Catalonian respondents acknowledge participation, voting, as an intricate responsibility of being a citizen and deem necessary to stay informed. The respondents show a critical perspective to information and show signs of looking for different sources of knowledge to stay up to date, motivated by that very feeling of belonging and wanting to take part in debate.

Respondents from Almeria, perceive citizenship as a way of co-habiting, respecting one another and living in society. The topic of responsibility in politics is not a fully engaged one as the majority don't see politics as something to be too involved with, or don't understand them as the main source of knowledge is television and no further information is sought.

6.3 Conclusion

A lack of citizenship, that is a poorly delineated role of the citizen and their responsibilities towards the state and society, is caused by the poor civic education given in Spain. The current curriculum approaches the topic of civic studies and citizenship from a personally responsible model, which fails to outline the specific steps and learning objective a citizenship education subject should have. Furthermore, by having a vague and more 'morals and ethics' based approach to the education of citizenship, the importance given to the topic permeates the formal realm into the informal realm, causing a population disinterested and disengaged in the topic of politics and one's own democratic power

Investing and improving citizenship education would result in an increased perception of belonging, not necessarily made by a nationalist or regionalist identity, but by the consciousness of a collective community and one's civic responsibilities and duties to make a society a better place. Encouraging a sense of belonging in combination with the empowerment through the provision of capabilities and skills to contribute will make for a population of participatory citizens.

6.4 Recommendations

Due to the scope of the study, the limitations were varied and the final data results do not point at generalisation to a whole population. However, significant findings and connections were made, in order to point for further research.

First of all, though respondent's account of belonging matched the extent to which they participate, the small sample group makes it invalid for generalisation to a whole population. In order to gather valid data, a more controlled sample should be gathered, by keeping track of respondents' social background and capital, as well as educational background and performance, as these may have an influence on data too. Furthermore, a focus group should be introduced to the study to gather more dynamic experiences from respondents as focus groups allow for reflection off one another. Focus group will render especially useful in the gathering perceptions of belonging for it is a very abstract concept and can be understood differently by each respondent. Focus group interviews allow for a consensus to be made on the meaning of belonging and thus more homogenous answers.

The topic of citizenship, education and its implication in the creating of belonging is significant as it points to, how improving an educational approach towards literate citizen, stimulates the individual's participatory role in a collective group. Citizenship education aims to teach the values and ethics of living in a democracy, along with the capabilities to navigate the system and be active within. Furthermore, citizenship education provides responsibility and accountability to the citizen, giving a direct sense of impact upon an otherwise abstract and large group that one only feels associated to through language and passport. In addition, citizenship education does not focus on national belonging alone but, displays the different relationships that are rising in the globalised world. As citizenship proved such an important

topic for the study, further research on the topic of citizenship, belonging and participation is recommended.

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8 Appendixes

8.1 Appendix 1: Interview guide

Perceptions of belonging

Themes

Perceptions of belonging
Community, sameness, emotional attachment, nationalism, learning, self identity, (dis)satisfaction
Politics of belonging
Entitlement, citizenship, responsibility, rights, privilege
Participation
Voting, politics, responsibility, rights, education, belonging, (dis)satisfaction

Self identity, national belonging and relationships

How would you describe yourself and where you come from?
- Who are your parents
- Where do you go to school
- What do you like to do in your free time (what clubs do you belong to)
- What makes you Spanish? What makes you Andalucian/Catalan
- (If both) Is there a difference between being Spanish and Catalan/Andalucian
- Where did you grow up
- Can you tell me about your neighbourhood

Can you tell me about your family life?
- Do you eat together
- What do you talk about when you eat together
- Do you watch TV while you eat
- Do you comment on what is on the TV together
- What can you tell me about the things you like to do with your family
- What function do you think family plays in your life

Thinking back to your childhood...Can you share an important lesson taught to you by a family member?
- How did you influence you in your life
- What is your relationship with your parents/siblings/grandparents... like
- In your opinion, what do you think a role model should be
- Who do you look up to

Community belonging, Surroundings, environment and emotional attachments

Think back to your childhood holidays...
- Have you ever travelled outside …
- What was your experience like, leaving home for the first time
- How was this place different from home
- What do you remember best about your favourite vacation
- Have you been outside of Spain before? Tell me about this experience

Think of the expression "there is no place like home"... are you familiar with it? (if not, explain the meaning)
- Imagine a situation where you would see yourself saying this
- What feelings come to mind when you are saying this
- Where do you feel the most at home? Why?
- Have you thought about where you want to go to university?
- Do you think you'll miss home? And your city/neighbourhood
- Have you thought about where you would like to live when you grow up

Tell me about your favourite place in your neighbourhood/hometown…
- Why is this place your favourite?
- Are the streets clean? Who keeps them clean?
- If you saw someone throw trash on the floor in this place, what would you do)
  - Would you say something to them? Would you pick it up?
  - Why

(if student) Thinking beyond subjects... what is your favourite part of school?
- What is your relationship with your teachers like
- What is your relationship with your classmates like
- Are you part of a team or club
- What do you do with free time on school days/weekends

(if not a student) Why did you decide to stop school?
- What is it like to be a young worker
- What is it like to interact with students
- What is your relationship like with your coworkers
- What do you like to do after work / And in the weekends

Responsibility and participation

In your own words and drawing from your own experience…
- Can you explain to me what it means to be responsible
- What do you think a responsibility is
- Who has responsibilities
- What are your responsibilities? In school, at home, to your neighbourhood and society
- Why do you meet your responsibilities

What is a right?
- How or where did you learn about rights
- Why do we have rights / What is the function of having rights
- Does everybody have rights
- Do different people have different rights
- Can you explain to me whether we are born with rights or we earn the

Tell me what you know about politics...
- What have you learnt about politics, whether at school, home, from conversations...
- what political system does Spain have
- What is a democracy
- What is the act of voting
- Why do you think that may be important
- Who has the power in the electoral system

- How do you learn about politics
- Where do you think other young people may learn about this topic

Do you think 'normal people' have an influence on politics?
- Do you feel like you have an influence?
- How do you think young people could affect politics?
- How it could be made more accessible to young people?
- What do you think about having a class about politics/citizenship in school?
- Do you think you and fellow classmates would find this important?
- What role do you think politics play in your life?

Imagine you were to nominate someone to run for government….
- What do you think are qualities somebody in government should have?
- In your opinion, what job has a politician to do?
- Can you tell me what you know of the past elections?
- How did you learn that?
- How do you feel about it?

8.2 Appendix 2: Letter of collaboration to learning centers

Modelo de participación en proyecto final de Máster "Juventud española, pertenencia y participación social: percepción y experiencia"

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Ejemplo estadístico
Niños y niñas, estudiantes en centros públicos, de 14 a 18 años.
12 participantes en total

Contexto y propósito
La investigación es la tesis final del Máster. El propósito de este proyecto es profundizar en los conocimientos que ya existen sobre la interrelación entre identidad, pertenencia y participación social. Comparando las diferentes percepciones y experiencias de pertenencia colectiva, trata de analizar y relacionar construcciones de identidad y pertenencia personales con patrones generals de participación social, por ejemplo, el voto en procesos electorales. El proyecto aspira

a ser un análisis descriptivo sobre como la identidad afecta la participación social y recomendar/sugerir la educación por la ciudadanía como una herramienta para abordar problemas marginales como la exclusión social.

Que significa participar en este proyecto?
La característica de la investigación es recoger diferentes percepciones de adolescentes sobre lo que significa para ellos y ellas pertenecer a una comunidad. El método de colección de datos será una entrevista individual abierta. La naturaleza de la entrevista es una conversación relajada para, a través de una guía de entrevista, hacer reflexionar al participante sobre sus diferentes grupos sociales, responsabilidades y su entendimiento acerca de el clima politico hoy en España. Las entrevistas durarán una media de 75 minutos y serán grabadas por motivos de calidad de análisis.
Al tratarse de menores de edad, la autorización familiar es un requisito y se reserva el derecho a los padres de pedir la guía de entrevista o una reunión de antemano.

Que sucederá con los datos e información recogida?
Todos los datos personales serán tratados con total confidencialidad. Las entrevistas serán guardadas en archivos de audio y codificados en un documento excel, los cuales permanecerán en un ordenador personal, protegido por contraseña de seguridad. Sólo la investigadora y supervisora de proyecto de tesis tendrán acceso a las entrevistas grabadas. Datos personales que puedan identificar al participante tales como nombre, centro o grupos sociales no serán nombrados de ninguna manera en el proyecto final.
La defensa de el proyecto esta programada para Junio del 2017. Una vez que el proyecto esté completo y aprobado por la universidad de Oslo, todos los participantes y su centro tendrán acceso al estudio y les será remitida una copia si se desea. Una vez acabado el proyecto, los datos serán mantenidos por la investigadora y, en caso de seguimiento de la investigación, los participantes serán contactados e informados.

Participación voluntaria
La participación en el proyecto es absolutamente voluntaria y la retirada del consentimiento es totalmente posible en cualquier momento. Si el participante decide abandonar el estudio, toda información recogida será anonimizada.

Ética de investigación
Este estudio ha sido notificado y aprobado por la Protección Oficial de Datos para la Investigación del Centro Investigativo Noruego - NSD.

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8.3 Appendix 3: Letter of consent to parents

Estimados padres,

Mi nombre es Irene Pena, estudiante en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Oslo, Noruega. Actualmente estoy en Barcelona realizando parte de la investigaciónpara la tesis final de mi Máster. El tema general de la misma son los conceptos de identidad y pertenencia. Electorales. Lo que trato de hacer es ver como afecta el sentimiento de pertenecer a un grupo, por ejemplo a un barrio, a una comunidad autónoma o a un país, a la participación en la vida social, por ejemplo en procesos electorales. La investigación está enfocada en adolescentes de 14 a 18 años que participan en centros públicos y una de las fuentes principales sería la captación de información a través de entrevistas personales.

Estas entrevistas serán hechas de manera individual, conmigo, en un espacio acordado entre los dos y serán grabadas por medio de una grabadora de voz. La información personal recogida será guardada confidencialmente y nunca será revelada de manera que su hijo/a pueda ser identificado. El producto final no mencionará nombres, centros educativos o cualquier tipo de datos sensibles y podrán recibir una copia del estudio una vez finalizado. Le adjunto a este correo una carta oficial de mi facultad, explicando la naturaleza de este proyecto. También un modelo para recoger su autorización por escrito.

La participación por parte de su hijo/a en este proyecto es absolutamente voluntaria. Les estaría muy agradecida si me autorizaran realizar esta entrevista. Para cualquier aclaración preliminar, mi número de teléfono es el 644 86 39 99; por favor llámenme si tienen cualquier duda.

Un saludo,

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8.4 Appendix 4: Consent form parents and respondents

Autorización de participación en proyecto academic

Yo, _____ , he recibido información sobre el proyecto y autorizo a mi hijo/a, _____, participar en tal proyecto.

Fecha: _____

Lugar: _____

Firma padres _____

Yo, _____ , he recibido información sobre el proyecto y estoy de acuerdo con el método de recogida de datos. Doy mi consentimiento a ser grabado y entiendo que la información recogida será protegida confidencialmente y nunca será revelada de manera que se me pueda identificar.

Fecha: _____

Lugar: _____

Firma del participante _____