BACKSTAGE: APPROACH TO METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS IN A STUDY ON IMMIGRANT YOUTH AND EMPOWERMENT

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ABSTRACT: This article is part of a research in progress that seeks to understand the empowerment processes of young people aged 20-34 from Latin America’s Southern Cone that after a migratory experience are living in Catalunya for more than a year. The introduction presents the research’s sources and recovers the contributions provided by immigration studies on Latin Americans in Spain. This review reveals the need to update the perspectives and methodologies in the area of interest; it is also used to understand the approach of this study: the goal, trimming of the universe, the hypothesis and methodological framing supporting the empowerment concept and the proposals of Pierre Bourdieu. Secondly, the first activities conducted prior to entering the field and that allowed to plan appropriate methodological strategies are described. Then it is detailed the design, validation process and purpose of the tool that was created based on the update of the biogramas’ technique proposed by Theodore Abel (1947). 50 “Biogramas A” were collected, to know the volume and structure of the economic, social and cultural capital that these young immigrants had in their territories of origin and some features on the transformation suffered at their arrival. According to a series of predetermined variables, 24 participants are selected to apply a “Biogram
1. Introduction

The origin of this study is related to a personal immigration experience and is situated within the framework of the Proyecto HEBE. The main research questions are: How have young from Southern Latin American residents in Catalonia been able to enhance, develop and increase their capabilities, learning, knowledge and autonomy? In which spaces, moments and expression way is their empowerment process generated?, Which role have they fulfilled in the social context (adults, institutions, associations)?, What opportunities has that adults-focused environment provided to them? Have they sought empowerment alternatives in other spaces focused on young people?

An initial analysis of the available literature reveals the need to update the studies, methodologies and the analytical perspectives that have so far been used to address the migration processes in different parts of the country (mainly focused on Madrid and Barcelona). A large number of these works analysed the Latin American immigration phenomenon in Spain beginning in the mid ‘80s and increased in late ‘90s and early 2000s. For example, several studies attempted to describe educational trajectories: the school as a first space for socialization in which children and adolescents get in touch with cultural practices of the hosting society (Marín, Feixa & Nin, 2013). In this case, it comes to evaluate how education provides certain features in the itineraries of this type
of youth. The process of inclusion of young immigrants in the labour market (Cachón, 2011) has also been investigated, comparing the activities carried out and the contractual conditions regarding local citizens. Other types of studies, as the one developed by Retis and García (2010) have shown the negative representation displayed in the press about this social group when making visible, from a highly dramatic perspective, young immigrants problems’ in the public space.

As a result of the evolution of the migratory processes and knowledge contributed by some of these studies, the situation of these young people are part of the debate on public policy in an explicit way to national, regional and local level. Data is regularly collected, analysed and it explores the reality of this group and proposes strategies to improve their integration or to prevent their social exclusion (Jiménez, 2010). There are also numerous qualitative studies and theoretical reflections insisting on the need to encourage civic participation among young immigrants, as one of the fundamental challenges to achieve equality of opportunity and homogeneity in the social tissue (worth quoting the compilation of studies coordinated by López Sala and Cachón, 2007; studies of Romani & Feixa, 2012, or those of Eseverri Mayer, 2015, among many others).

1.1. The process of empowerment of the young people from the Southern Latin American Cone living in Catalonia: trajectories in transition to adulthood

The term “Latin America” refers to a very large geographical area — Central America, Caribbean and South America — and thus to countries, cultural practices, realities and very different social, historical and economic processes. Therefore, in our work we limit our interest on the trajectories of youth and young adults from the Latin American Southern Cone who live in Catalunya, after a migration process considering young people as active subjects. The decisions they are taking will allow them to build their own itinerary and biography in a specific social setting — changing and complex —. Society is gradually gaining place in this process. This theoretical proposal emphasizes the individual, while continuing to emphasise the impact of context on the modalities and intricacies of their transitions. Then the youth transit in a society that offers few roads, with more or less foreseeable ends is not the same as it is in industrial societies or as it is in many Latin American countries. Those marked by inequalities and low social mobility making the transition to adult life within the framework of information capitalism with a great diversity of modes of transition, characterized by contradictions, uncertainties and risks (Casal, 2011).

We can highlight Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, given that there is a similarity between the historical, political, economic and social processes followed by the three countries, beyond the many differences that may exist. The three territories were Spanish colonies, therefore the pre-Columbian culture has merged with the occidental and the official language is Spanish; once independent, they re-opened their boundaries to different European migration waves crossing the ocean in war times, postwar, crisis and dictatorships. When Latin America was rocked by coups d’etats (1970s onwards), the Argentine, Chileans and Uruguayans political exiles sought refuge in Europe and mainly in Spain, favoured by the language and, in some cases, by the remaining family ties in the old continent; a last feature that those three geographical areas share is its similar socio-economic progress, especially in comparison to the rest of Latin America*.

That is why our study is focused on young — and young adults — from 20 to 34 years, from the Southern Cone of Latin America that are performing or already have their transition to adulthood in the catalan context and they are: a) studying; b) working; c) studying and working; d) neither studying nor working. The research hypothesis seeks to determine whether migration, at the youth period can be considered as an empowerment process itself: it is an opportunity to increase the individual abilities, self-confidence and the development of a wide range of social skills. The change of socio-cultural space means the beginning of a process of overcoming difficulties, personal growth and strengthening, among other challenges. At the same time, there are a series of educational, occupational, cultural and social offerings that this group of young people will try to access, according to their interests and life expectations in their host society. The possibilities given or restricted by this context are determined by a specific political and legal framework that will mark their relationship with the environment, their integration and empowerment.

The theory of the cultural capital, proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986; 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1967; among others) guided the questions underlying this approach and allowed to define an specific objective: to recognize the relationship between the economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital of these young people and the empowerment possibilities offered by the social context in which they are inserted.

It is especially valuable the contribution that the empowerment perspective will provide to
This study is inspired and nourished by these theoretical reflections, but plans to make more contributions to this concept based on the final results. It initially intends to understand the empowerment as a process that its developed by youth Southern Latin Americans, their recognition by the host society and the resources that the society (according to that recognition) offers to them. Insofar as the dialectical relationship between the individual and the social sphere is performed satisfactory, it is close and positive, the young people will be able to decide and act on their own lives; empowered and active, and could also perform transformations and contributions to their community (Zimmerman et al. 2010).

The aim of this article is to expose methodological strategies that enabled the underway of the field work. To ensure both the success of the data collection process as well as the information reliability and quality, a series of pre-ratification activities that showed the difficulty to reach the collective of young immigrants of Latin American Southern Cone residing in Catalonia were developed.

The review of Pierre Bourdieu’s analytical perspective and the methodological theory related to the problem, allowed to rescue and update the technique of biogramas proposed in 1947 by Theodor Abel. We want to explain how this tool was designed, the validation process to which it was subjected, and it usefulness and purpose for this study. Subsequently the variables taken into account to select the participants profiles were defined and also those explaining how the application of one of the biogramas has been. In a final section we reflect on how this study could progress.

2. Methodology. From the researcher’s darkroom to the scene assembly

2.1. Backstage: notes for illuminating the field of study

The researcher work is similar to the old analogue photography professionals. The task consists in gathering a series of light-sensitive products, spend several hours locked in a darkroom to achieve, with patience and gentleness, a high quality image. In the researcher case it is necessary to perform certain important activities which, although it may then become part of the backstage, define the quality of the results.

To illuminate the field of this study, one of the first tasks was to map the resources, networks and social organizations created by the collective Latin American immigrants from the Southern Cone living in Catalonia. We contacted consulates, describing the project for them and requesting access to all useful information: news on community associations and data (quantity, age, sex, year of arrival, place of origin and residence, geographical distribution, etc.) on the young from Argentina, Chile or Uruguay living in the territory.
At the same time Uruguayan, Chilean and Argentine groups of the community were tracked. Collecting emails, addresses, phone numbers and websites, allowed us to create a database. They received a message presenting the project, its objectives and the blog that started precisely with the idea of founding a dialogue channel with the young people to know their reality\(^1\). In addition, they were questioned on general information about the collective interest and a meeting was also proposed, in order to understand how the center works: when was it founded, the activities performed and its relation with young people.

A third activity consisted on searching for pages, groups and Facebook communities carried out by Chileans, Argentines and Uruguayans living in Catalunya and systematize some useful data — type of page, number of members, its aim —. Once they accepted the friendship request the protocol follows: presentation of the blog and project. Although we did not collect data from these pages given that they operate randomly and that the sources were not completely reliable, we could make a follow-up of them in order to be aware of the activities, the needs and concerns emerging in these spaces.

2.2. Light, camera and action!: some tips

The information given by the consulates was very general. That from Argentina and Chile estimated the approximate number of fellow citizens in Catalunya, on the other hand the one from Uruguay did not have such information. The Uruguayan consulate recommended to locate the associations in a section of the official website; the one from Chile preferred to forward itself the request to its associations and that from Argentina made no reference to the issue in its response.

24 groups founded by Latin American Southern Cone immigrants in the community\(^2\) were found. The responses of these centers were not even massive. The result were 6 meetings with the representatives of the organizations which, in one way or another, try not to wreck the smack of the crisis and the massive return of compatriots. The interviews enabled us to illuminate certain aspects about the young reality, tips that guided the methodological decisions of this paper. It also turned into a more direct contact with the interest group since we received invitations to participate in events (and so we did) in which we could contact the participants who contributed to this study\(^3\).

The tracking of Facebook pages, warns us that some are very active, others are abandoned or have few users. Members do not necessarily reside in Catalonia. There is all kind of information: parties, places to visit, procedures and papers issues—requirements, difficulties or doubts to apply for the NIE, data on where to learn Catalan, information regarding how to validate titles—consultation on prices and the cost of living, some offers and requests for services appears; some news are hanged here and there. This virtual space acted as an effective channel to disseminate the blog and receive feedback on the post, to be aware of meetings hold, to share methodological instruments in which data were collected and to contact participants who took part in the study.

2.3. Scene Assembly: methodological strategy

The first approaches to the field have been enriched with the Pierre Bourdieu theory review (referenced above) and methodological applications that have conducted to numerous investigations of those tools in: a) the sociology of youth and in the education field (Martín Criado, 2004; Cairns, 2015; among others); and b) in the Immigration studies (Sayad, 2010; Garzón, 2006, 2010; Erel, 2010; Nowicka, 2015; among others)

The evidence obtained in the first approach to the field showed that there are no specific institutional ways to arrive to those young that we are interested in studying. The way to reach potential participants, seems to be through informal networks and contacts that the researcher might have. The previous activities, readings and reflections of this process, allowed to rescue and update Theodor Abel’s the biogramas’ technique (1947).

The biogramas are lifestories demanded by a researcher to members of a particular social group. The selection is made according to the problem that the researcher wants to study. The demand includes directives about the content that should be the story. Each participant, consciously or unconsciously, selects some episodes of his experience; the instructions given make him to focus on certain aspects that should be included and described in detail. In this sense the researcher ensures to obtain maximum relevant information from a problem, even typing it freely (Abel, 1947:114)\(^4\).

Abel explains that this is a valuable instrument insofar as it allows collecting information en masse; facilitates the study of social change; and detect patterns that show the behaviour of a specific social group. It also shows the importance of making explicit demand of the story, the contribution that it makes to the scientific project. Finally, he notes that the biogramas are not a
self-sufficient method, but that the term should be preferably used in plural; a single story is not sufficient to obtain clues about a particular collective.

This study is not intended to be representative of the studied social group, therefore does not pose a “massive” data collection to form a “sample”. On the other hand, is interested in general information about the biographies of youth from the Latin American Southern Cone living the Catalunya. Biogram, as Freixa (2006:12) explains is a term choose not by its etymology but by its linguistics analogy “if each individual speech can not be understood without their language grammar, a life history is unintelligible without its share biogram with other members of their social group”.

2.4. Laboratory: instruments’ design

In the light of these considerations, we designed a first tool: Biogram A. It is a formulary of 53 questions mostly of multiple choices, although spaces to write were also included. The reason of implementation of this instrument was to know the volume and structure of the economic, social and cultural capital of these young immigrants in their territories of origin and some features of the transformation they suffered in the host society. Requested biographical information was based on the temporary axis there/here, to promote the reconstruction process and the participant’s immigration project. A second purpose was to detect those paths to deepen in with the implementation of a Biogram B and a semi-structured interview.

Biogram B has 39 questions, also multiple selection choices and in some cases open questions. This tool was set to deepen in some specific aspects about the formation of the social, cultural and economic capital of young people, focusing on the temporary axis of the present. On the one hand, the purpose is to know some aspects of their new society’s social life, their expectations, and vital future projections; on the other hand to select with a better approach, the richer and different profiles in order to implement the semi-structured interview.

Responses obtained in the Biogramas A and B, are the starting point of the interview. It is intended to meet participants one to one so that they can narrate their journey as an immigrant in a deeper and more widespread manner. All this information and the possibility of having a second meeting if necessary, would enable the rebuilding of life stories.

Both the Biogram A and B, are preceded by a brief text that explains the study’s objectives, their relationship with the proyecto HEBE and the name of the institutions supporting the work. In addition, participants’ anonymity is assured as well as data protection and the use of the information strictly linked to the research. In the case of the interview, a signed consent is included in order to record the meeting.

2.5. Trial and error: the validation process

To ensure the quality of the results, the instruments were subjected to a validation process. A total of six experts were consulted and four pilot tests conducted. Initially, tools were presented and were put under discussion in a research seminar.

Results helped us to start a second phase, in which two professionals linked to youth and immigration were consulted. Moreover, they have had a personal experience of migration during their formative journey.

At this stage there were doubts about how to delve in the homologation or validation of foreign university qualifications. Specifically if the immigrants with cultural capital, have the institutional recognition of the host society; and if it has allowed them the access to a job related to the training they did in their country of origin. The information provided by the website of the Spanish Ministry of Education is unclear; then a fifth expert that was an Argentinian researcher living for 7 years in Catalonia was consulted. His perspective allowed to re-enunciate the questions. It was decided that, in any case, this aspect would be a topic to explore in greater depth in the semi-structured interview.

In a third phase 4 young immigrants living in Catalonia collaborated in order to conduct a pilot test. Results were positive: they stressed that the instruments were simple, clear and easy; that multiple choices were sufficient and the language understandable. To complete the entire process, the forms were reviewed by a sixth researcher; this time of Catalan origin, to verify if the study was available to anyone outside the migratory experience. The observations were satisfactory; then it was considered that it was time to start with the data collection.

3. Results and discussion. The color grading

3.1. Start-up: application and variables of the Biogram A

The methodological strategy was designed to collect 50 Biogramas A, calculating a margin, to be able to select 24 profiles. It was transversely considered that a contribution to the given field
of study was to contact with young people who have not arrived as children, so that the complexity of the migration process — the socialization, integration, etc. —, was probably suffered by their parents. With the aim of establishing a criterion, those who emigrated with less than 12 years (i.e., those already integrated into the Spanish-Catalan educational, cultural and social system at the primary levels) were discarded for this study.

Taking into account this research’s specific objective, the key of these 24 profiles was to find young people with different occupations, as to say: studying, working, studying and working, neither studying nor working (or having precarious jobs). This variable was the priority because capital formation is related to participants’ occupation. Roughly, we understand as “student” those young people who are conducting formal studies (secondary education, vocational training, University students, master and PhD); by “working” as those developing paid activities for at least 6 months with a contract from 15 and 20 hours per week. If the job is just at weekends or seasonal, it is considered to be a precarious. In the case of “studying and working”, “studying” related only to the cycles of formal education and “working” to contracts of less than 15 - 20 hours per week. The condition of “Ni-ni”, will be for those young people with precarious jobs (less than 6 months in the labour market, describing an unstable changing or temporary situation); or those doing tertiary studies or those looking for a job, or who appear to be in an unfavourable situation.

A second important variable is the country of origin (it was thought to equal the representation of young people born in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay). The third and fourth variable taken into account were gender equity and age diversity (considering that the delimited range is very wide, and that the situation would probably be different for those between 20 and 24, for those be 25 and 29, and for those between 30 and 34).

Biogramas A reception was open for 2 weeks approximately (since 6th July 2016 until July 21st 2016). The collaboration was requested in the tracked Facebook pages, associations that the representatives have already reached were emailed, those from Latin American Southern Cone were personally emailed and were requested to cooperate sending the form to their friends (using the snowball technique).

At this time 50 responses were obtained and two of them were removed: one corresponding to a 43 year old; the other because the subject was living in Chile. Therefore, we worked on 48 replies: 28 Argentines (20 women and 8 men); 11 Uruguayan (7 men and 4 women); and 9 Chilean (7 women and 2 men). Out of the 48: 6 are only devoted to studying (all women); 18 only to working (7 men and 11 women), 15 to studying and working (7 men and 8 women) and 8 are looking for work, receiving unemployment benefits or have precarious jobs (less than 6 months less than 20 hours per week; some working illegally, others have problems to work due to their legal status).

3.2. Methodological procedures: profile’s selection

Based on the information provided by the 48 participants, we did an initial cleaning; on the one hand trying to keep the maximum representation of the variables raised but, on the other hand, following reliability criteria and information quality. A first data reading enabled us to discard: a) those participants not interested in a meeting to continue participating in this research; b) those whose data were dubious, confusing or unreliable; c) those who migrated being very young and have been in Spain for a long time. A total of 10 participants were excluded: 4 from Chile, 3 from Argentina, 2 from Uruguay; 1 men and 9 women; 4 studying and working, 3 working; 2 studying. In this way there were 38 pre-selected profiles. The second phase of selection was based on the “occupation” variable which was pointed out as the most important. We attempted to have participants representing the four conditions:

- Those that at Biogram A said that they were only studying were all retained because there were only 3 cases and not the 6 ideally proposed. In addition, young people from the three countries of the Southern Cone were represented.
- The same procedure was applied to those who answered that at that time had precarious jobs or that were looking for a job. The 6 participants were maintained (3 Uruguayans and 3 Argentines; none of them from Chile).
- In terms of those working, the only positive case a young from Uruguay was preserved and the two cases of young from Chile. For the election of the responses of young people originating in Argentina, where we had more participants, equity of gender and age were considered. 2 further cases were taken over the ideally planned, since those studying were less than expected.
- We had the same situation with those who responded that were studying and working, the three cases of youth originating in Uruguay and two Chileans are reserved. To choose the young people from Argentina, more numerous,
equity of gender and age were taken into account. 1 more case from the Argentine and 1 from Uruguayan group than the planned since the group of those “studying” had been less than expected.

The selection of 24 profiles for the Biogram B was formed by: 3 young studying (three women, a native of Uruguay, another of Argentina and another of Chile); 7 young people working (4 women and 3 men; 1 from Uruguay, 4 from Argentina 4 and 2 from Chile); 8 studying and working (6 men and 2 women, 3 from Uruguay, 3 from Argentina and 2 from Chile); 6 youth who have precarious jobs or who are not neither studying nor working (3 men and 3 women; 3 from Uruguay, 3 from Argentina and none from Chile).

3.3. Final contributions: moving forward!

From the social pedagogy field, qualitative sociology and cultural anthropology methodologies have been useful, among other things, to learn about the transitions of people over time, the changes that will be generating and lattices “(...) other socio-environmental variables such as socioeconomic status, ethnic and parental, religious and socio-cultural contexts, configure this vital flow”(García, 1995:42). The approach and the use of these techniques, named in education with the generic “ethnographic methodologies or educational ethnography”, strengthen the look, the voice and experience of individuals (Goetz and LeCompte, 1988). That means to resigned the possibility of generalize; a depth data is obtained and opens a suitable space for the participants self-analysis thus providing leadership and empowerment of society’s minority.

The first contribution of this study is presented in this article, corresponding to the current stage of this investigation, which although it could be considered part of the Backstage, is essential to ensure the quality of the results. To move towards new results, it is necessary to apply the Biogram B to the 24 selected young and investigate their current state of the social, cultural and economic capital; their processes of social integration; their expectations and future projections. Finally, we will proceed to select 12 representative profiles in terms of the diversity of trajectories and the capital formation to engage in a face to face meeting.

References


HOW TO CITE THE ARTICLE


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