

Research Article

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Youth and Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Intelligence in Latvia, Spain and Turkey

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Abstract: The article is based on the data obtained from the qualitative research on intergenerational dynamics of cultural socialization representing 31 family cases in Latvia, Catalonia (Spain), and Turkey. It is aimed at exploring in what ways young people's (age range 14–25) cultural intelligence is shaped and how the degrees of openness to inter-group communication are developed. The article focuses on the everyday interactions of young people around their neighbourhoods, by examining their reported perceptions and modes of participation. It also explores the experience of young people with cultural diversity, and cultural interactions as a cultural capital, including how intergenerational relationships and dynamics take part in the formation of cultural intelligence of young people. The research findings on the transmission of cultural intelligence demonstrate that openness and experience are crucial in adapting to various forms of intergroup communication, such as intercultural processes, culturally diverse environments, and interactions with people from different cultures. Consequently, expanding cross-cultural experiences and broadening experiences can effectively challenge and redefine stereotypical biases, ultimately reaching broader segments of societies and enhancing effective communication both within the home country and beyond.

Keywords: young people, family, informal education, cultural diversity, cultural intelligence

Introduction

Cultural differences have often been seen as a leading cause of miscommunication and conflicts among members of different social groups (ethnic, racial, religious, able-bodied/disabled, etc.). In a rapidly changing world characterized by diversity, there have been attempts to find solutions for peaceful coexistence and to settle conflicts by examining, reconsidering, and constructing different culture-bound models that might provide deeper insights for understanding behaviours and interpersonal communication (Earley and Ang; Ang and Van Dyne).

The family space is, often, where effective knowledge transfer takes place. For children and young people, sharing information among generations is a common initial “encounter” with aspects of social, emotional, physical, practical, and, among others, cultural intelligence, i.e. “intelligence that reflects adaptation to varying cultural contexts” (Earley and Ang 4). According to Earley and Peterson, cultural adaptation is a capability to absorb, remember, and interpret new information. The construction and processing of experiences obtained

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in the process of human learning impact further actions in multicultural settings and lead to more effective cross-cultural communication. This ensures avoidance of misunderstandings and conflicts in spite of inherent tendencies to perceive people, events, and processes differently. Thus, cultural intelligence provides a more inclusive perspective. Young people and their families have seemed, in recent times, to have grown more open-minded about embracing views and practices that enhance their cultural interaction and, thus, their cultural intelligence; a careful examination is needed of how that process of socialization takes place on the ground. Individuals may form positive views on cultural intelligence based on positive cross-cultural experience, and this might encourage greater interaction among different cultures and social groups. However, this also carries the risk of reproducing new hierarchies among various cultures and social groups. The article advocates a perspective on cultural intelligence which does not reproduce such exclusive cultural practices.

Mixed family background, knowing several languages, living or spending some time in diverse cultural settings (e.g. cross-cultural experiences during family and business trips, studies abroad), and interaction with representatives of less familiar or unfamiliar cultures (e.g. participation in cultural events and festivities with people from different cultures) may result in greater openness and behaviour flexibility. The article is aimed at exploring in what ways young people's cultural knowledge and practices are shaped by their families and how the degrees of openness to inter-group communication and young people's cultural intelligence are developed. It seeks to present a cross-country synthesis of how cultural intelligence of young people are shaped by the intergenerational dynamics of cultural socialization through comparing three country cases, namely Latvia, Spain, and Turkey. The article exposes the analysis of the everyday interactions of young people around their neighbourhoods, through their reported perceptions and modes of participation. It also explores the experience of young people with cultural diversity and considers how their cultural interactions take the form of cultural capital. It offers a valuable perspective on cultural intelligence which may produce more inclusive cultural practices.

Cultural Intelligence and Cultural Diversity

The relatively new concept of cultural intelligence (first coined in 2003 by Earley and Ang), also known as CQ, arises from the richness of cultural diversity and the challenges related to it. It attempts to provide guidelines, not only for avoiding disputes and resolving conflicts at a workplace, but, foremost, for building a productive dialogue and communication across cultures, significant for all members of the society. Cultural intelligence may allow a person to more effectively process new data and adjust to new cultural situations and cultural diversity. When people learn, including in childhood and youth, self-corrective adjustments take place. This learning can be achieved not only by experience, but also through reflecting on cognitive processes and monitoring, planning, interacting, and modifying one's own and others' performance (e.g. regulating emotions and behaviour patterns). This is where metacognition or metacognitive cultural intelligence emerges. Metacognition emphasizes the psychological (mental) processes that determine acquisition and comprehension of cultural knowledge. Motivational cultural intelligence "reflects the extent to which an individual values cross-cultural interaction and active use of cultural intelligence," whereas behavioural cultural intelligence "concerns the ability to use appropriate language and non-language behaviours in cross-cultural interactions" (He *et al.*). In addition, important aspects of these two dimensions are internal and external influences and other psychological factors such as stress and its management and adaptability and flexibility levels (Ramsey *et al.*; Nosratabadi *et al.*).

Being a multi-faceted integral construct and interactional framework, cultural intelligence is an intangible asset – "a competitively advantageous tool" (Dutta and Dutta) or a unique soft skill that must be distinguished from general intelligence (Ott and Michailova; Nosratabadi *et al.*).

The set of cultural knowledge and cultural skills acquired in the social interaction within families has been termed by Pierre Bourdieu as "cultural capital" (Bourdieu and Passeron 46). In fact, family is one of the key sites for the accumulation and transmission of different forms of capital among generations because of the intense process of socialization (Berger and Luckmann). In this sense, family is traditionally considered a

primary agent of socialization and its definition is often affected by aspects of status and class. Recently, families seem to be facing multiple new challenges in building the younger generation's cultural capital as they are impacted not only by internal factors, but also by transnational external influences and the transformation of neighbourhoods into hybrid environments, with a pluralism of cultural backgrounds, behaviours, and manners. Nevertheless, it still remains one of the most important educational environments as it ensures informal social interactions within the frame of everydayness or consociality where much of learning, including "situated" or "non-verbal" (Hannerz 149), and recognizable bi-directional forms of familial communication take place. A family participates in a consocial mode of life. Thus, taking consociality aspects into consideration may provide a more nuanced comprehension of the process of intergenerational transmission and diverse representations within it, thereby the meanings coming from formal learning environments may be inverted (Deák and Kačáne).

Since the main aim of the article is on the example of three countries to analyse the ways of acquiring youth's cultural intelligence in a world characterized by cultural diversity (i.e. how individual interactions across cultures take place, how integrating oneself in the culture less known or completely unfamiliar to one's own takes place), the article's theoretical framework was narrowed to Earley and Ang. References to cultural knowledge, cultural capital, and Bourdieu have been introduced only with the aim to depict the main differences between cultural intelligence and cultural capital and how they complement each other; therefore, the article begins by stating the importance of increasing the cultural intelligence, continues with providing the definition of cultural intelligence, and then explores the experiences of young people (including also from the perspective of their parents and grandparents) with cultural diversity and cultural interactions as a part of cultural capital. The novelty of the article is providing a more nuanced understanding of "cultural intelligence" and "cultural capital" presented in the Conclusion section.

To be more specific, socialization among older and younger generations is cooperative and collaborative rather than being one-directional (i.e. from an elder to a youngster), thus it *mutually affects* all the involved parties. This *relationality* among the generations makes us realize that the transmission of values, beliefs, and skills does not take place smoothly. Negotiation, re-interpretation, and contestation are all important components of these transmissions. Furthermore, intergenerational dynamics are also bound to change. Depending on historic time and space, the cultural and educational content and shared values often undergo various transformations according to the prevailing power relationships in societies. Considering the fact that parenting is also not a fixed social interaction form, it is important to examine how the features of particular generations are socially defined over time and space, and scrutinize the relationship between parents and their children (Wyn and White; Hopkins and Pain; Vanderbeck and Worth; Vanderbeck). In addition, cultural expressions are drawn from their historical contexts and juxtaposed with one another (Han). Thus, the heritage of older generations is just one of many possible cultural acquisitions taken from everyday life. Meanwhile, such a perspective enables us to draw particular attention to the relations and interactions among different generations instead of "compartmentalizing" generations into different literature and research areas (Punch and Vanderbeck 17; Şentürk and Uçarol, *Intergenerational Dynamics ...* 274–276).

In the contemporary world, many factors affect work–life balance and the pressure to continually build economic capital is always increasing. Because of this, the identification and/or lack of socio-cultural capital may become an obstacle in fulfilling the expectations of the younger generation. The embodied form of cultural capital, the same as human capital, presupposes investment and activities that help in facilitating knowledge; therefore, a long process of inculcation and incorporation is demanded for its acquisition (Spiliopoulou et al. 16). Cultural intelligence is therefore a challenge for individuals to develop, but it represents a personal resource and a capacity to adjust to new cross-cultural contexts, to feel comfortable in multicultural environments, and to interact and communicate effectively with people from other cultures on a diversity of issues including those associated with prejudice and bias (race, citizenship, ethnicity, language, religion, sexual orientation, etc.). It requires constant formal and informal multi-layered learning that includes both perception of oneself and one's own social group, i.e. self-identification, understanding your own culture and identity, and that of the others. According to the aim of the article, its focus is rather narrow, to specify how young people and their families deal with cultural diversity and develop various levels of cultural intelligence; thus, the emphasis of the article is not on national culture and identity, but interactions with

different levels of diversity (diversity in the neighbourhood/also related to the linguistic landscape that may differ from that in one's home space; acquaintance with diversity when traveling and meeting other cultures and religions, etc.). However, it is often through a comparison of one's own culture with a foreign and unfamiliar one that a person is able to reach an in-depth understanding of unfamiliar phenomena, and to avoid misconceptions and connect with others. Cultural intelligence, although being a distinct construct, is closely related and similar to emotional and social intelligence (Crowne; Nosratabadi *et al.*). The additional dimension of human capital, i.e. "cosmopolitan" human capital, plays a decisive role here and alongside such intergroup communication types as communication between people from different ethnic and racial groups, from different age groups, etc., includes intercultural communication experience, as well as cross-cultural experience or communication across cultures (Gudykunst vii–viii) and cultural intelligence capabilities. Bringing up multiculturally educated, culturally intelligent, and engaged world citizens has become one of the greatest challenges of recent decades: "As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for the nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognised and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations" (UNESCO).

Methods

The research was conducted as a part of a large-scale international project "Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future – CHIEF" (2018–2021) funded by the European Commission within the Horizon 2020 programme, which by employing a multi-method approach explored youth's cultural identity construction processes in formal, informal, and non-formal educational settings in nine countries – the United Kingdom, Germany, Georgia, Latvia, Slovakia, Croatia, Spain, Turkey, and India (Popov and Deák 338–344).

The research using qualitative methodology presents the partial results conducted in the framework of the research on intergenerational dynamics of cultural socialization in the family on the basis of three project countries – Latvia, Spain (Catalonia), and Turkey. The countries selected for the analysis represent historic, economic, political, geographical, religious, cultural, and social differences, e.g. Spain (since 1986) and Latvia (since 2004) have been the member states of the EU, whereas Turkey (since 1999) has been an EU candidate country; Spain represents Western Europe, Latvia – Northern Europe, Turkey – south-eastern Europe; Latvia and Spain are mainly Christian, while Islam dominates in Turkey, etc.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews containing multi-level substantive, mundane, and abstract questions were conducted between September 2019 and December 2020 with 97 family members representing three generations (young people, parents, grandparents) covering 10 families in Latvia (34 participants), 10 cases in Spain (Catalonia) (25 participants), and 11 family cases in Turkey (38 participants). The interviews were guided by CHIEF's interview booklet specifically prepared to scrutinize the intergenerational dynamic of cultural socialization. There were seven main theme blocks in the interview: 1) biography/family history; 2) knowledge of local/national/European cultural heritage; 3) lifestyle and cultural participation; 4) intergenerational communication of values, knowledge, and memory; 5) future expectations; 6) intercultural communication/interactions; and 7) socially and politically most pressing issues (for details, see Popov and Şentürk 10–12).

Based on the specificity of the CHIEF project and following country-specific laws and regulations, young people in the age range of 14–25 and their families were sampled in formal and informal education settings during the earlier stages of the fieldwork, i.e. in schools and other education settings; among these, young people with relatively high participation families on our intergenerational research agenda were recruited to obtain differing viewpoints, perspectives, or "multiple realities" (Strauss and Corbin) on openness to intergroup communication. Gender, geographical location, social background, and social and cultural identities were taken into consideration when identifying the young people and their families. The researchers sought to visit the members of the family in their usual social environment such as their households or a place the family members preferred and interview them individually or, in separate cases, together. In the Findings and Results section, when we refer to participants according to their familial generation, such as daughters/sons,

parents, and grandparents, these terms are not intended to indicate an age cohort but the family relationships of the participants according to the youth of this family.

Informed consent was signed by each interviewee confirming that their participation was voluntary and that neither the name of the participant nor any other kind of identification would be associated with data after they have been collected and published. CHIEF consortium conforms to EU Directives on data protection (95/46/EC and 2006/24/EC). The authors of the article also follow their National and Institutional ethical conduct guidelines. The interviews lasted between 1 and 3 h. All audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and anonymized. Meanwhile, each researcher wrote detailed fieldwork notes. To decrease bias and increase validity, the semi-structured in-depth interviews were coded by using NVivo and manually; thus, the main categories (codes) were identified and divided into subcategories (subcodes), and later analysed as a meaningful text (in the frame of documented reflections on interview). Determining certain words, themes, and concepts allowed interpreting the meaning from the content of text data (Hsieh and Shannon 1277–1288). This common research agenda of the CHIEF consortium was adapted by each country's research team. The authors of this article belong to different countries' research teams, respectively, Latvia, Spain, and Turkey (anonymized).

The field research in Latvia was conducted in a cultural and historical region of Latgale in the south eastern part of the country – primarily in urban (Daugavpils city) and rural (Daugavpils rural municipality), as well as semi-urban (Preiļi town) settings – where ethnic minorities (Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, etc.) and religious minorities (Russian Orthodox Church, Old Believers, etc.) constitute a considerable cross-section of the society. According to the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, the number of ethnic Latvians in Daugavpils constitutes 21% (cf. 48% of ethnic Russians), in Daugavpils rural municipality 35% (cf. 41% of ethnic Russians), and in Preiļi 64% (cf. 30% of ethnic Russians) (Central Statistical Bureau of Republic of Latvia). “Latvianness” and “Latvian Russianness” are complex multi-level and multi-layered phenomena that manifest themselves in socio-cultural context based on peoples' attitudes, beliefs, and self-identification, as well as their capability to negotiate their local, regional, national, transnational, European, and global identities. The Latvian culture and language had been marginalized for 50 years during the period of Soviet occupation (1940–1941; 1944/5–1991) and was rehabilitated in the end of the 1980s, shortly before independence was restored and the continuity of the State of Latvia declared. The lost socio-linguistic functions of the Latvian language were re-established, again guaranteeing the state language the highest position in the language hierarchy, as well as ensuring minorities an opportunity to preserve and develop their culture and use their languages in certain situations, as expressed in the Language Law of 1989 and its successive amendments and other policy documents, including *Satversme* – the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (Constitutional Assembly). The interviews were mainly done in the official language of Latvia (Latvian); however, in isolated cases, taking into consideration Latvia's diglossic situation and when engaging with Russian speaking families, especially their older members, the minority (Russian) language was chosen as the language of communication.

In Spain, the research was carried out in three localities (urban, semi-urban, and rural sites) in Catalonia – a Spanish region that is recognized as an autonomous region with a language and culture of its own. The population of Catalonia is 7,619,494, which constitutes 16% of the Spanish population (Statistical Institute of Catalonia) and includes 15% foreigners, to which is added the presence of people (either themselves or their ancestors) who have been born in other parts of Spain. These demographic factors testify to the fact that the Castilian language and the cultures of other Spanish regions are strongly present in Catalonia, apart from the cultures and languages of foreign people (EULP). This diversity has had an impact on the mixed composition that is seen across generations. The majority of the older generation come from different parts of Spain, whereas many representatives of the middle generation are migrants from different parts of the world (Catalan Institute of Statistics). This cultural diversity must be taken into account in our research when focussing on the acquisition of a family culture. At the same time, being such a dynamic society, it should be noted that families are spread out all over Spain, and over other countries and continents. From a historical viewpoint, it is important to keep in mind that the majority of the older generation grew up after the Spanish Civil War and lived through the Franco dictatorship. Thus, they grew up in a social context of repression, a socio-economic context of poverty and limited access to formal education, and with a poor cultural supply. The

Catalan language was used mainly in private at that time, prohibited in the formal uses. The parents of today's young people grew up during the decade that saw the transition to democracy and the last years of the dictatorship in Spain. From the 1980s onwards, the new public institutions, on behalf of the autonomous government of Catalonia, started a new educational system with Catalan as a vehicular language (Ferrer 187) and providing a proficient level in Spanish. At the same time after the first democratic elections and onwards, many agents from the cultural sector focused on preparing the implementation of local cultural policies. This context would lead to the creation of public cultural facilities both in Catalan and Spanish (including adult schools, libraries, local festival halls, etc.) which helped to promote cultural activities among the young in working-class neighbourhoods, where the population was increasing due to internal migration from other parts of Spain (Ulldemolins *et al.*, 49).

The field research in Turkey was conducted in three geographical locations: urban, semi-urban, and rural sites. With its 15 million inhabitants, Istanbul, the largest city in Turkey, hosts around 19% of the entire population of the country. With its diverse population, Istanbul is Turkey's most cosmopolitan city. The urban and semi-urban sites of our field research are located in two districts of Istanbul: Şişli and Maltepe. The urban site (Şişli) is one of the central areas of the metropolis and is close to many cultural and educational facilities. The semi-urban site (Maltepe) used to be one of the industrial districts of the city and is now a predominant residential area with convenient transportation access (with ferries) to the major locations of the city. The rural site, Yalova, is 93 km away from Istanbul, also with access by ferries. Being relatively remote from Istanbul and other main industrial regions, the cost of living is not as high there. Therefore, it has become a significant attraction point for domestic and foreign migrations, especially from Iraq and Iran (Şentürk and Uçarol, "Cultural Literacy Practices..." 296–297).

Approaching the sites of learning allowed generating biographical narratives that reflect, among others, attitudes to and experiences with diversity and cross-cultural encounters. While analysing our field notes and interviews with young people and their parents and grandparents, each family is considered as a unit including all of its members. Therefore, interview transcriptions and fieldnotes are accessed and evaluated as a totality to obtain in-depth comprehension of each particular family case. At the same time, each interview is coded according to the sub-themes of the interview booklet. Based on these coding and analysis, it was first aimed to evaluate the data of each country separately. These analyses provide valuable and comprehensive cross-country findings on intergenerational dynamics of cultural socialization (see Popov and Şentürk).

For this article, the researchers re-worked their country reports and compared their country cases and findings to understand in what ways young people's cultural knowledge and practices are shaped by their families and older generation, which thereby revealed the degrees of openness to inter-group communication and the ways young people's cultural literacy and cultural intelligence are shaped. The article depicts the synthesized findings related to factors affecting the development of cultural intelligence and methods of increasing one's cultural intelligence (perceptions of and participation in everyday interactions around the neighbourhood; linguistic diversity in the neighbourhood; the experience with cultural diversity; cultural interactions as a cultural capital). Similarities among these aspects were discovered in three countries represented by the authors of the article. This does not preclude a selection of different countries. Throughout the article, we refer to the interviews by anonymizing them according to the fieldwork protocol rules of the project.

Findings and Results

The fieldworks in three countries revealed that in general young people and their families appreciate interacting with other cultures and societies. Indeed, some of them make special efforts to maintain or strengthen such cultural interactions. Others, at first glance, might seem to be indifferent or reserved to other cultures, but they also present various forms of interactions with other cultures. For this reason, it is necessary to scrutinize carefully the way in which young people and their families deal with cultural diversity and develop various levels of cultural intelligence. In the following sections, some fieldwork findings and interview

quotations have been used in our unpublished CHIEF project reports written by the same authors (see Zurabishvili and Marmer; Popov and Şentürk).

Perceptions of and Participation in Everyday Interactions Around the Neighbourhood

Young people's experience with cultural diversity is shaped not only by shared beliefs and common activities with their family members, but also to a great extent by the perceptions of the neighbourhood and inevitable encounters with differences on a daily basis since early childhood. Children and young people, compared to older generations, "depend more on the neighbourhood for their daily activities and have less choice regarding the local spaces they use [...]" (Visser and Tersteeg 210). Public and semi-public local environments are used by them for social interactions with peers; therefore, combining generational and spatial approaches is of great significance here.

Families have different ways of defining the environment outside their home. These definitions form a crucial part of the socialization that takes place in the family, and the cases examined in these three countries show this. It is interesting to note that, on the one hand, when older generations compare the era of their youth with today, they state that they used to spend more time with their friends outside and have real interactions with other people. According to them, today's young people, unfortunately, spend more time on their phones and digital communication, which cannot replace the former experience. According to the older generation, the outside world of the past, with its everyday practices and uncertainties, helped them to build their personality and skills. On the other hand, they portray the present-day outside environment as more dangerous with various uncertainties for their children. The uncertainties of old times are not considered similar to the uncertainties of today. Now, older generations have persistent worries about the safety and wellbeing of their children, and therefore the outside world is often portrayed as containing unknown "other young people" who have many bad habits, such as smoking, using alcohol, cursing, and staying out late. For instance, a mother in Istanbul prefers hosting her daughter's friends at home, instead of letting them meet outside. According to her, "the recent transformation of family structure" causes young people to have bad habits and behaviours (İpek, female, 49, urban).

Notably, in the rural area in Turkey, families place more emphasis on a perceived loss of "control" over their local places, as it grows and new immigrants (e.g. from Iraq and Iran) settle in. In fact, compared to Istanbul, people in the rural area still have more control and knowledge about their local places, but they do not become accustomed to the transformations taking place in their areas. Therefore, the families develop various strategies for the safety of their children such as letting their children host their friends at home and taking certain measures for going outside (e.g. making sure they know with whom they are going out, fixing a specific time to come home, and researching their friends on social media). Ayşe, a textile workshop owner with her husband, who has longstanding teaching experience in occupational schools, puts it bluntly:

I do not let my daughter see the young people whose family do not properly look after them. One 17 years old, a young girl or a boy, should not open a bottle of whisky and go online via Instagram. Where is your father? Maybe, the father is working, but where is your mother? If we give birth to these children, we have to take care of them. We cannot let them grow up by themselves. (Ayşe, female, 44, rural)

Thus, the safety and wellbeing of young people in their late adolescence, especially of females, is a crucial concern for their families in Turkey. It influences the patterns that the families develop for socialization and cultural participation of their children in Turkey (for more details, see Şentürk and Uçarol, "Intergenerational Dynamics..." 285–286). As the families try to determine "a safety sphere" for their children, they also constantly redefine who their children may interact with, and how, especially when around their neighbourhood and close environment. It is interesting to notice that the families do not point out the cultural differences they are worried about by referring only to particular ethnic or religious identity, they also bring up additional features of other people from their lifestyle to family relationship into consideration. This does not mean that young

people accept the directives coming from their families immediately, but they often need to respond or negotiate by taking their families' concerns into account. Therefore, as the perceptions of their close environment and neighbourhood and its population are constantly negotiated within family settings, young people seek to figure out how they should encounter and respond to differences in their everyday lives.

Linguistic Diversity in the Neighbourhood

Language is one of the aspects of diversity in the current cities and neighbourhoods. As we have mentioned, language is characterized by migrations and the diversity of cultural backgrounds. In the case of Latvia and Catalonia, we are facing a situation where a local language (Latvian, Catalan) co-exists in social interactions with another dominant language (Russian, Spanish). This makes the interactions of young people more exposed to a context of diversity in everyday life. While in two cases bilingualism is a common pattern for the people, the two cases also have differences.

Looking back at their preschool years, young native Latvians recalled they had learned speaking Russian naturally while playing with Russian-speaking children and that “if you wanted to play with children ..., you had to learn to at least understand it [the Russian language] (Ance, female, 20, rural). Although some of the youngsters later never chose Russian as their second foreign language as the subject at school (English being the compulsory foreign language in school curriculum), the foundation laid in the early stage of their development both enhanced the acquisition of the foreign language and contributed to the level of their cultural intelligence: “I can speak Russian quite well. I use it more when there is a dead end, when the other person speaks Latvian poorly and does not really understand. ... I happen to use it more at work, because ... all my friends and acquaintances, whose mother tongue is Russian, speak Latvian to me” (Juris, male, 25, urban). Some nationally oriented parents and grandparents having grown up under the Russification policy in Soviet Latvia had encouraged their children to speak the official language with their non-Latvian friends in an attempt to preserve the Latvian language, and following their belief that people living in Latvia must know the official language. However, the majority of them also confirmed that the knowledge of any foreign language, either learned formally or informally, is a great asset. For this reason, they actively encouraged children to acquire other languages, sometimes even deliberately using a foreign language at home and giving the children the opportunity to practise a foreign language. Older generations recall that their parents, living in then-free Latvia and often coming from mixed families, used to speak several languages (Latvian, Russian, Polish, German, Yiddish), which helped them live peacefully, in diversity. Similarly, the modern younger generation, having learned the state language, sometimes teach their Russian-speaking family members basic Latvian. The usage of the Russian language in informal language situations testifies to the lasting effect of the Soviet period upon the inhabitants of Latvia; in addition, a strong impact is still being made by the mass media and digital environments (including social networks in Russian) that young people tend to actively follow (Kacane). However, switching languages (Latvian, Russian, English) has become natural for many young people (often also for the middle generation) and this testifies to further re-configuration and hybridization of identities. i.e. to the development of inclusive or multiple identities. According to some interviewees, especially from mixed families, “the binary oppositions ‘national/multi-national’, ‘ethnic/multi-ethnic’, and ‘mono-cultural/multi-cultural’ no longer have clearly observed boundaries” (Kačāne 196–197). More and more often, life starts taking place in between cultures and a greater tendency to post-ethnic and transnational orientation is observed.

In the case of Catalonia, pupils learn both Catalan and Spanish at school, and a third international language (mostly English), regardless of their mother language. On the other hand, bilingualism in everyday life is a part of their “cultural intelligence” and their experience with peers. However, depending on the neighbourhood one language will always be predominant and will shape their everyday interactions, most often with mixed Catalan and Spanish speakers' families. In addition, for 15% of the young population, there is another mother language (Arabic, Amazigh, Chinese, Urdu, etc.). In some public schools, a non-compulsory extra hour is given to learn these other languages (Catalan Youth Observatory). In this situation, the

recognition of differences and perception of diversity through languages and cross-cultural communication in the neighbourhood is conspicuous, and for the young generation diversity is part of their identity, whether in urban, semi-urban, or rural locations. As a young girl explains: “I think since they teach here, well, you can speak both languages and that... I mean, the ones in my class... They all speak both languages. Well, as far as I know... And, well, perhaps it is easier for me... I already know more Spanish than people who don’t talk so much at home” (Berta, female, 15, rural).

The perception of diversity through everyday interactions and language is very obvious and for the young generation diversity is part of their identity. Thus, perceptions, either positive or negative, cannot be explained by a particular age, but by various forms of experience in different spaces.

The Experience with Cultural Diversity

The concept of “experience” is one of the most crucial when discussing socio-demographic variability – interviewees’ attitudes towards different levels of diversity (including the religious). While in Latvia some stick to the familiar (diversity of Christian denominations), others have formed attitudes based on observation and experience, learned from meeting people from different religions during international travels, business trips, and EU student exchange programmes, and are thus more open to religious and ethnic diversity. Through the application of knowledge in practice, experience makes a difference leading to such long-lasting benefits, including newly built social networks and friendships. Having spent a semester in Turkey, a former Erasmus exchange student from Riga emphasizes: “I don’t build walls against people of other religions or of other races. I will not force anyone to do something that I do, but they don’t do” (Juris, male, 25, urban). Many interviewees confirm that they have greatly benefited from the diversity in an international environment. This was reported by one young person who had received a scholarship granted by a part of a global network of schools – UWC Robert Bosch College – to study over a 2-year period in Germany, and this sentiment was also reported by many others from the region having spent a shorter period abroad. Similar examples can be found among the interviewees in Catalonia, e.g. a mother from Barcelona has also commented on how the EU student exchange programme has provided her son a wide range of friends with cultural differences: “My son has friends from all over. He was doing Erasmus in Brussels and there he met people from everywhere and when I was young we did not see a black man or coloured. There was not” (Carmen, female, 56, urban).

In the case of Catalonia, especially in Barcelona, young people experience diversity through friendship, as, e.g. a young Ecuadorian girl who has friends from different countries of Latin America: “Well, I have a friend who is Ecuadorian, too. One who is Paraguayan, or Guaraní, a Bolivian, a Honduran and a Spanish” (Martina, female, 15, urban). It is natural for them to accept cultural diversity both inside and outside the family. Interviewers from different generations agree that diversity is part of their landscape: “[Barcelona] is one of the most diverse cities. Well, I don’t know many countries, let’s be honest, but it’s a very diverse city, for the people. So, that Catalonia is mainly due to immigration” (Fausto, male, 39, urban).

Older people in Latvia (especially those in the rural areas), having lived behind the “iron curtain” for the biggest part of their lives and mainly socialized within Christian denominations, are very cautious. They are perceived by the youngsters as “products of the USSR” whose opinions are stuck in time due to their lack of such experience and who, as they themselves reveal, “don’t know what it would be like [living] with people from another religion. If it were not a Christian but a Muslim, then I do not know how it would be” (Anastasija, female, 45, rural). The divide between “them” (unfamiliar/“strange”) and “us” (familiar/“conventional”), according to the interviewees, is based on differences in governing laws, rules, religion, and behaviour patterns, as well as their personal fear. An inhabitant of Daugavpils, the city that on a national level is associated with diversity and unity, notes that although people try to hide their negativity to immigrants and people of different race or religion, xenophobia can be observed:

I always say that if there was a girl in a hijab ... on the tram, then half [of the passengers] would get out on the way, fearing that she would blow something up, but another half ... would look at her with wide open eyes. If a group of black students walked

along the [main] street, then half of the people on the street would stop and follow them. We are not used to the fact that there is something different. The diversity in our city is very seamless. (Marusja, female, 49, urban)

According to various studies, as people grow older they experience difficulties in acclimating to not only a new environment in general, but also to unknown types of diversity (Wise; Visser and Tersteeg) that makes them respond emotionally, physiologically, or behaviourally (e.g. they experience stress, fear, embarrassment, anger, etc.). Considering what is said earlier, cultural intelligence is very low for a large part of Latvia's population, especially those who have not had experience in a truly multicultural environment. However, the majority of young people self-identify as "citizens of the world." They value embodying the principles of new transnational, universal, or cosmopolitan attachments. Most express the opinion that inter-ethnic tensions and xenophobia in terms of ethnic, religious, or sometimes racial differences may be overcome, not only by the attempts to increase lenience and be more accepting of differences, but also by subjective and objective experiences in formal and informal educational settings. They believe these experiences lead to a raising of one's cultural intelligence:

[...] children should be taught about cultural diversity. ... I have many friends here [during studies in Germany] who are Islam believers, they read Koran and wear hijabs, but this doesn't mean they all are terrorists. Many people suffer in their countries, because people are in perplexity. ... There doesn't exist only Christianity in the world. There is Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam in the world. (Ārzemnieks, male, 18, rural)

The situation is different in Catalonia, as openness to diversity is observed in all generations and interviewed families (Rovira Martínez and Ferrer-Fons 260). Although older people have had less experience related to international migration in Spain and less opportunity to engage with other cultures, they have made more obvious moves towards greater acceptance of cultural and sexual diversity:

I thought it would be traumatic and now I see everything normal. Of course, things are different. I think... if my son says that he has fallen in love with this or... I have contemplated until, sometimes I have even considered homosexuality. If my son ever tells me... I will accept it. Before now we couldn't. I have thought about all this... The society has changed, for older people it is difficult to assume these things, everything has changed too quickly, in a generation, they do not have time, they have not adapted. It's hard for me. (Carmen, female, 56, urban)

Experience with diversity has become so prevalent that in many cases it is more accepted as a natural part of everyday life. In fact, 10 of 25 participants in the family interviews were born outside Catalonia. There are six of the ten families with different cultural backgrounds other than the Catalan culture. In spite of this, some family members of older generations perceive immigration as problematic: "There was a policy here that said: 'I will give everyone papers'. And now there are not enough papers for the one who has come. It's like ringing a bell: 'come on!' And of course, precisely Catalonia. No one wants to live in South America, least of all Africa. And there we have what we have, an invasion" (Jose, male, 85, urban).

In the case of Turkey, the experience of diversity also takes place at various levels. First of all, the familial experience is accumulated and shared among family members and some part of it is eventually transmitted to younger generations. For instance, in the rural area one family has both a nationalistic political view and yet also has a Bulgarian citizenship connection due to the mother's emigration from there; they frequently visit Bulgaria as a way to let their children better know Bulgaria as an EU member country. Even though as a representative of the middle generation she has the vivid memory of forced migration from Bulgaria to Turkey in the 1980s, she does not reflect any significant anger or hatred towards her former acquaintances in Bulgaria. Instead, she mainly blames the policy of Todor Zhivkov, the President of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and that administration (Boncuk, female, 49, rural). She also compares their lifestyle in Bulgaria with the one in Turkey and highlights that when she tried to come home at night alone, nobody on the street would bother her as a young woman in Bulgaria (Şentürk and Uçarol 297). In other families, there are also older family members with experience of living in other countries such as Germany, England, and France. They are sharing their experience with their children and encouraging them to travel abroad too. Such sharing of experiences and memories among family members would let younger generations accumulate positive impressions of other cultures and places. For instance, a father, who has travelled to various countries and lived abroad for 7 years,

frequently talks to his three daughters about his experiences (Ahmet, male, 50, rural). Despite the limited financial resources of the family, these parents support their daughters' intention to go abroad. Eventually, their eldest daughter became involved in an exchange programme in Portugal and the middle one joined a folklore dance tour to travel across the Balkans.

Second, young people also have their own ways to broaden their experience of cultural diversity. They seek to closely follow exchange and youth mobility programmes, or participate in international activities such as Model UN (Model United Nations). In this regard, they have the opportunity to gain a different form of interaction experience with other societies and cultures than older generations. In the past, such experience was based on the direct travel of individuals to other countries, but now young people are more capable and likely to use digital communication and information technologies. Due to these new technologies, youth can widen their experience and knowledge of different cultures and societies. For instance, one high school student we interviewed started to correspond with Dutch followers in English, when she opened a fan account on Instagram for Yolánthe Cabau, Spanish-Dutch actress and the spouse of well-known football player Wesley Sneijder in Turkey, as she liked her very much and had then started to watch series and videos in order to improve her English. Later she also had an interest in Latin American culture and started learning Spanish and making online friends (Sao Paulo, female, 16, urban). Similarly, there are young people who start learning Russian or Korean. These young people sometimes learn a new language unintentionally. For example, when young people are interested in Korean music and start following Korean TV series, they gradually pick up some language (Şentürk and Uçarol "Cultural Literacy Practices..." 312). We find the same situation in Spain, where a young woman commented that she has learned some Chinese at school and on Youtube: "Thanks to that I have learned the Chinese calendar and some things about Chinese culture, words as well and some tradition Of course, China and Japan and then you can... You can also watch it in English and that helps me a lot" (Alicia, female, 22, urban).

Today the Internet provides youth a way to develop cultural interests, and cultural capital, for themselves. We found that those young people who play instruments or perform theatre, dance, etc. are more likely to be critical about social media. But all young people interviewed use some of them: Instagram, Youtube, Facebook, or Netflix, not only to be in contact with friends but also to learn about things that they are interested in: "[...] YouTube gives me a lot, because there are content creators who are wonderful and amazing" (Pau, male, 18, urban).

Thus, international mobility programmes and digital technologies and platforms not only provide young people new and easy ways to establish interactions with other people and cultures, but they also set up new routes and directions around the world for cultural interactions thus enhancing their cultural intelligence. The collected data across countries have revealed that, compared to their parents in Turkey, Latvia, and Spain, young people are more interested in Far Eastern cultures (Korean, Japanese, or Chinese). Due to various opportunities and digital technologies, their experiences with cultural diversity and interactions have expanded granting them a chance of being more multi-directional and diverse.

Cultural Interactions as a Cultural Capital

The interviewed young people and their families attribute significant value to different forms of cultural interaction to enhance their cultural capital. However, the way in which they rationalize it offers us crucial hints about their approaches to cultural intelligence. On the one hand, some families merely express it with instrumental rationality; for instance, they consider that learning a foreign language or studying abroad would provide better career opportunities for their children. On the other hand, families that pay more attention to the cultural intelligence aspect of such interactions are also more likely to consider the possible outcomes of such experiences to be undetermined or not guaranteed. They still pay attention to the career opportunities of their children, but they are also willing to enhance their children's ability to interact with other people and help them to develop their own perspectives, views, and attitudes. For example, a mother of two sons states that having overseas experience would provide "a vision" for their children:

We went abroad several times. We went to England, Paris, Hong Kong, Italy, Greece together as a family. We have planned in our minds to have a holiday abroad once a year. Some of our friends were saying, ‘the kids are small, why are you going abroad? They would not remember.’ But I think it was a matter of vision. We have aimed to broaden the perspectives of our children. If they see something there such as a person from a different race, it is a very different [experience] for them. For instance, Barcelona attracted their attention a lot. There were different people with various styles in there. (Sevinç, female, 50, urban)

The aforementioned interviewee, as well as the majority of respondents in all three countries, expresses a belief that encountering various differences abroad would prevent her children from having a parochial worldview. Travel is a time when families can explore cultural sites together, such as museums, and also know other cultures in Europe or beyond, as explained by a mother in Catalonia: “We went with the children to Vienna to see different kinds of cultures, and also France, Italy [...]” (Júlia, female, 47, semi-urban). The amount of time family members spend together and the choice of travel destinations is determined by the socio-economic status of families. In Latvia, members of large and low-income families often have less opportunity to travel abroad; they then emphasize that an individual’s, most often the young person’s, initiative and personality traits are the driving force to reach such aims, among them spending some time abroad (either working or studying) and benefiting from the experience of diversity. A single mother of five children, having had economic and private hardships, shares her pride about her son studying in the international environment:

[the son] went to study abroad on a scholarship, he received it himself, proved that he has the right to study, and wants to do it. ... I asked him ‘Why do you need that? You can study here.’ But he says, ‘No, mum, there are greater opportunities there’. (Ludviga, female, 42, rural)

It is not only young people that try to use the benefits offered by the EU in the form of studies. The middle generation also sees the value in their work trips abroad in the framework of international projects. They see these trips as an opportunity for their children to sometimes join their parents and learn cultural diversity in practice (Jefimija, female, 41, urban). Also, the most culturally active representatives of the older generation in recent years have had some experience with cultural diversity overseas, and later share it with their contemporaries and family members: “[...] we went to Croatia with a folklore group where representatives of different nationalities gave their performances. It was very interesting to see folk traditions of different nations and ethnic groups, as well as their dances, dance steps, songs and costumes” (Anna, female, 75, rural). They perceive their international travels (mainly to Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland) with a great level of responsibility. They feel tasked to acquaint people living in other countries with the Latvian culture and traditions that are often little known by foreigners. In turn, they learn something new about the host country and an exchange of knowledge is ensured: “We see something new in each country, we gain and acquire something from each country” (Biruta, female, 75, rural).

Another example is a father from Turkey who in his youth used to live in Germany and had many opportunities for travelling abroad. Because of this, he supports his daughter’s study of the Italian language. He underlines that learning a foreign language requires the learning of its culture too:

Every language has its own culture. There is a philosophy behind that language. Having a command of that language and being able to communicate with people in their native language makes a difference in communication. Therefore, I think that knowing different languages both in business life and in terms of my career contributes to me in many aspects: in terms of my personal culture, being able to understand the mentality of people that I am dealing with better, and expressing myself to them better. (Ahmet, male, 48, urban)

Families usually prefer to interact with certain cultures and societies, and those which the families consider will help improve the cultural capital of their children. In other words, when families consider cultural interactions as a way of improving the cultural capital of young people, they often subtly rank various cultures, countries, and societies (usually in favour of the US and European countries and English language). In a similar way, although some families welcome interaction with other foreign cultures to enhance the perspectives of their children, they do not necessarily present such an inclusive approach for the cultural

diversities within the country. As examples of this, Kurds and the immigrants from Syria or Iraq are often subjected to discriminatory discourse and practices in Turkey. Indeed, in our interviews some parents used discriminatory statements about other cultures. As individuals seek to interact with different social groups and their cultures, they often reproduce ranking among societies, languages, and cultures. Therefore, it is crucial to examine carefully how individuals' approaches and attitudes towards different cultures and social groups take place on the ground, rather than referring only to an abstract sense of cultural interactions.

In the case of Catalonia, due to the diversity found within families, they also express a difference in status between European cultures and others. Being European means having more civil rights and opportunities. It also means diversity. There are also critical points of view from young people and their parents, because Europe represents for them the imposition of a cultural domination and the former colonization of other countries. We found a very critical discourse about the EU and its relationship with other cultures among the interviewees, and more so among those who do not have migrant backgrounds abroad: "I'm a little tired of European culture. To me European means Western, means Westernized, means homogeneity" (Pau, male, 18, urban).

Parents with cultural capital are interested in their children's learning other languages and cultures: "My children do. Pau studies Japanese, Julia studies Chinese, he plays the trumpet, she plays the guitar, she plays the viola. Julia has a very good aptitude for the arts, for music" (Francisca, female, 55, urban).

Thus, many families in all three countries are keen on interaction with other cultures and societies, but these "others" do not necessarily refer to an anonymous or universal sense of otherness.

Conclusion

Rather than discussing cultural interaction, cultural diversity, or tolerance in abstract terms, we used our fieldwork findings in three countries to attempt to understand how all these issues take place on the ground and are reproduced in the everyday lives of individuals. In this regard, by focusing on the intergenerational dynamics it was possible to explore the perspectives and practices of young people within their close social environments. The conducted research allows us to conclude that there is a common trend in three countries: families being important informal educational environments shape young people's daily interactions and thereby develop their cultural intelligence. Among the factors affecting cultural intelligence are not only differences in the cultural and socio-emotional environment, the general level of family education and cultural literacy, the degree of each family member's development, the set of family traditions, and the pattern of mutual relations, but also, and most importantly, the role played by the experience. Through experience, young people can broaden their world outlook and redefine their existing beliefs and values. This can occur through direct observation or through the state of being impacted by this examination. This process also enhances young people's adjustment to culturally diverse environments and encourages effective interactions with people from different cultures.

In all three countries, due to new digital technologies and new organizations encouraging cultural interactions, younger generations are increasingly more likely to establish new platforms and opportunities to obtain experience of other cultures, societies, and places. In general, young people's efforts to gain such experience and perspective are acknowledged and supported by their parents and grandparents. While young people might have more opportunities for direct experience of cultural diversity along with new channels of cultural interactions, the intergenerational transmission of cultural intelligence enables a comprehensive framework to shape such experiences. Youth experience is shaped by intertwining with the experience of his or her family generations. Nevertheless, not all young groups are able to be a part of these experiences. Moreover, not all places or societies have the ability to be part of these networks. Therefore, it is necessary to pay special attention to the fact that practices and organizations that broaden the experience of intercultural and cross-cultural interaction can reach different segments of societies in the world to different extents.

The findings testify also to the fact that young people and their families have become more appreciative of different forms of cultural interaction and cultural literacy. In this regard, families are especially encouraging

their children to learn foreign languages, to experience studying and living abroad, etc., which are activities that would definitely enhance young people's experience of cultural diversity and develop their cultural intelligence. Nevertheless, occasionally, such experience and accumulation of intercultural and cross-cultural knowledge are considered as a part of a greater investment in the career of young people and presented as a cultural capital. It is important to note that individuals, parents, educational institutions, and other state institutions have been adding more value to different forms of cultural interaction and experience and acknowledge them as a part of a package of individual skills that need to be learnt. However, such instrumental rationality and investment-oriented views provoke two significant problems in real-life situations. First, rather than developing cultural intelligence that embraces various cultures, i.e. raising the awareness of local and global diversity (recognition of and respect for heterogeneity, interconnectedness, understanding of human rights, values, and opinions, development of negotiation and conflict solution skills, and promoting global citizenship), it encourages interaction with particular valued culture(-s), society(-ies), and place(-s), while disregarding others. Second, while the experience of intercultural and cross-cultural interaction has lately been defined as a valuable skill, the cultural policies and practices of education institutions have begun to identify it as an objectified, measurable, and presentable competency. It is more and more often being presented as a line required in a young person's curriculum vitae.

This allows us to recognize a difference between cultural capital and cultural intelligence, which is of vital importance nowadays, as being aware of the distinction between the two provides one with tools for increasing the intergenerational transmission of cultural intelligence.

Cultural capital manifests itself as a tendency and feature based on separating one social group from another. Cultural intelligence, in turn, develops whenever people acquire intercultural and cross-cultural knowledge and when they make use of it. Cultural intelligence can be used both while interacting with other cultures and its representatives and when people self-identify themselves in relation to the "other"/"foreign"/"different" on a daily level. According to the findings from research, some young people show signs of developing these nuanced perspectives towards intercultural and cross-cultural interaction. For youngsters from the families that do not have the resources to ensure acquiring cultural capital in less accessible cultural markets, this growing interaction with diversity in everyday life (e.g. at their schools, in their neighbourhoods) offers another profound and alternative way to acquire cultural intelligence. Our recommendation is that public policies devoted to enhancing the social acceptance of cultural diversity are primarily oriented towards increasing intergroup contact and fostering intercultural interaction and social cohesion in micro-local communities than building cultural capital through formal education only. In the process of transforming society, cultural intelligence is to be considered a base and premises when working with young people and developing intercultural and interclass policies on cultural diversity.

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