MULTIKULTURNOST, ETNIČNOST I IDENTITET

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IDENTITIES AMONG YOUTH IN A MULTICULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD*

SUMMARY

In this study the identities of youth, ages 11–12, who live in a multicultural neighbourhood in Geneva, Switzerland were investigated. In an attempt to capture the multiple dimensions that comprise these identities, the authors generated a methodological approach that allowed participants to describe themselves in their own terms. Using the metaphor of a flower, they developed a "cultural flower," in which respondents fill in the many petals descriptors they choose to represent themselves. In addition to this open-ended qualitative approach, a sociometric questionnaire was also administered. Three main categories emerged from this study: individual social identities, territorial collective identities, and cultural heritage identities. From these findings, it is suggested that the identities of youth in this sample cannot be reduced to only one descriptive element such as nationality or ethnicity. Rather, these findings suggest that youth have multidimensional identities that may be expressed in "youth culture" (music, clothes, sports). This study stimulates the area of research on intercultural relations by highlighting commonalties among youth from varying cultural backgrounds who live in a multicultural neighbourhood.

KEY WORDS: identity, multiculturality, ethnicity, youth, Geneva

Theoretical frameworks

The study of cultural and ethnic identities remains one of the most popular themes in the social sciences. The term identity is a fundamental concept in the explanation of many social phenomena. Our aim is to outline an analytical approach that integrates different perspectives and models from psychology, sociology and anthropology. Ever since psychology originated as a scientific discipline,

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the concept of identity has been a main topic, especially for social psychology. For instance, Tajfel (1978) developed one of the most famous psychological theories about social identity. He suggested that the purpose of in-group identification is the achievement of a positive social identity. The coexistence of "we" and "they" represents the essential means of categorisation in identification, and this categorisation varies mainly in regard to membership of social groups. Ethnic identity is an aspect of a person's social identity; Tajfel (1981) defines ethnic identity as that part of an individual's self-concept that drives from his or her knowledge of group membership. As suggested by Mucchielli (1992), when an individual attempts to define his own identity – his cultural group identity or the identity of others – he combines different elements from various categories such as material and physical, historical, and psychosocial references.

The advantage of a psychological approach to identity, as advanced by Tajfel, is that it opens up investigation of intimate ties between individuals and society. However, a study of different aspects of identity is most efficiently implemented by incorporating a wide spectrum of social phenomena and factors that both sociology and anthropology carry. The sociological interactionist tradition (Chicago school) offers one solution that allows for the synthesis of psychology and sociology. This tradition places the social situation in which identities are maintained and established in the centre of investigation.

As pointed out by Liebkind (1989), identity can be seen as a complex balance between components of "generality" and "individuality". In reality, it is impossible to dissociate these two levels because social identities play a role even in the most personal relationships. Moreover, it is also difficult to separate cultural and ethnic identities.

In order to understand the challenges involved in the development of cultural identity, we need to begin by considering what is involved in the concept on a basic level. Two theoretical approaches are relevant in understanding contemporary cultural identity. The first approach, introduced by Thomas (1986), emphasises the distinction between ethnic and cultural identities. Thomas states: "The criteria used for making judgements about ethnicity usually include one or more of these attributes: ethnic self-identity – the label a person prefers; ascribed ethnic identity – the label others give to a person; cultural identity – the degree to which a person is familiar with and prefers a particular life style; racial identity – based on physical appearance (e.g. skin colour); nationality – based on country of birth or citizenship; descent – based on ethnicity of parents" (1986: 372). In his discussion of attributes, Thomas demonstrates that ethnic self-identity is both a necessary and sufficient condition for establishing ethnicity, while biological and cultural characteristics are not necessarily essential in defining ethnicity. In this way, a distinction can be made between "ethnicity" and "ethnic identity", ethnicity being what others ascribe to a person and ethnic identity being what a person prefers.

The second theoretical conceptualisation is that of "situated identities", suggested by Weinreich (1986) and Weinreich, Kelly & Maja (1987). A similar con-

cept, "identity strategies", as defined by Camillieri et al. (1990), can be found in the French literature. Central to Weinreich's theory is the recognition that people will engage in different identity states depending on different social contexts (Weinreich, 1986; Weinreich, Kelly & Maja, 1987). Situated identity is defined as "that part of the totality of one's self construal in which how one construes oneself in the situated present expresses the continuity between how one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future" (Weinreich, Kelly & Maja, 1987: 322). The concept of situated identities is operationalised by means of the Identity Structure Analysis (Weinreich, Kelly & Maja, 1987), an instrument used to describe self-identity as it varies across contexts.

There is a general consensus among scholars investigating cultural and ethnic identities that emphasises both the complexity of ethnic identity and the critical importance of adolescence. Boju (1995) defines ethnicity as a complex structure of representations that a group uses to represent itself or to represent other groups. Ethnicity cannot be reduced to a stable ethnic category; ethnicity is constantly changing in time and space. Similarly, Keats argues that: "Ethnic identity has its roots in one's ethnic background but encompasses other psychological attributes: it is affective in that it includes feelings; it is perceptual in that it involves the observation of similarities and differences in perceptual cues; and it is cognitive in that it is a concept of what one is. How one feels about what one perceives oneself to be in one's level of self-esteem. The concepts that an adult has about his or her cultural identity can be extremely complex, influenced by many external forces as well as by the person's own thinking" (1997: 87).

Many scholars have pointed out the importance of the concept of identity for youth. Identity formation is widely acknowledged as one of the central phenomena occurring during adolescence. For Erikson, the process of identification is central to the formation of identity. Erikson postulates that identity formation "arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identification" (1968: 158). However, this is not regarded as an all-or-nothing process; Erikson (1968) states that children at different stages of their development identify with people by which they are most immediately affected such as sibling, parents, peers, educators. During the process of socialisation, a young child will identify with those aspects of another person that are most relevant to him or her at a particular period in time. In this way, the child synthesises all previous significant identifications and creates from them a particular view of him or herself. This is more than simply a process of accretion, as a person may encounter conflicting identifications. Garcia's (1991) summation of identity as a whole helps to exemplify this potential conflict of identity. It includes three main phases: as a child, everyone tells me who I am; as a teenager, I challenge everyone; and as an adult, I tell everyone who I am.

Piaget & Weil (1951: 562) indicated the importance of children's ideas about their homeland: "The child begins with the assumption that the immediate attitudes arising out of his own special surroundings and activities are the only ones

possible: this state of mind, which we shall term the unconscious egocentricity (both cognitive and affective) of the child is at first a stumbling-block both to the understanding of his own country and the development of objective relationships with other countries. Furthermore, to overcome this egocentric attitude, it is necessary to train the faculty for cognitive and affective integration; this is a slow and laborious process, consisting mainly in effort at 'reciprocity', and in each new stage of the process, egocentricity re-emerges in new guises farther and farther removed from the child's centre of interest. These are the various forms of sociocentricity – a survival of the original egocentricity – and they are the cause of subsequent disturbances or tensions, any understanding of which must be based on an accurate analysis of the initial stages and of the elementary conflicts between egocentricity and understanding of others."

According to this view, the "decentration" is mainly an internal construction of the child; pressure from the social environment will not automatically lead to an attitude of reciprocity. However, we argue that the social environment, especially school, provides opportunities to challenge the "natural child's egocentricity". "Decentration" depends upon the child social experiences with culturally "others".

Two other elements important in investigating identity are the importance of sociohistorical context and identity of the researcher. While the concept of ethnic identity presently pervades the social sciences within the United States, it only became an issue of increased social importance during the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Laosa, 1984). In some parts of Europe, such as France and Switzerland, cultural identity is used rather than ethnic identity. In defining the ethnic identity of a particular group, it is important to recognise that ethnic identity is not a separate entity but a series of complex processes that people construct from "historical" facts and biographical continuities among their ancestors from a wider social and cultural context (Weinreich, 1989).

In investigating identity, it is also important to recognise the interaction between the cultural and ethnic identity of the scholar or investigator and that of the respondent. As suggested by Berque (1978), when scholars investigate an identity other than their own, it is an object for them, an objective fact. However, identity is simultaneously a subjective concept for the participant whose identity is being investigated. Thus, in understanding cultural identities, we face multiple levels of objectivity and subjectivity.

By examining the backgrounds and ideas of the research team members, we discovered that our cultural heritage (Tunisian, Swiss and Italian) are reflected in both the methodological orientations and in the interpretation of the material collected. Specifically, the use of Nationality as a label in our data description was a result of a controversial discussion. On the one hand, there is no way to distinguish the children's citizenship within the classroom or school setting. On another hand, we know that in the global society, nationality implies relation of rights and power. We also discussed our resistance to employ the concept of ethnicity. Swiss schools seem to be a domain that remains relatively protected from discrimination based on

ethnicity. However, in asking immigrants youth and adults about this question, they indicate that their physical appearances play a role in their day-to-day interactions.

In specifically addressing youth identities, we turn to an approach grounded in qualitative methodology. In addition, our conceptualisation of youth identities draws on several independent strands of published theories: the concepts of situated identities (Weinreich, 1986, 1989); multiple levels of objectivity and subjectivity (Berque, 1978), and decentration (Piaget, 1951).

Self-concept is a person's perception of self that evolves through personal experience and social interaction with others. It is a result of how a person perceives and defines him or herself. In a context made up of diverse groups and role models, children and adolescents encounter multiple examples of adult behaviour: parents and family, teachers, friends… each group has its own cultural references. Because the formation of one's self-concept also contributes to this dynamic process, it tends to remain malleable and at times even vulnerable to such diversity of context. This is frequently the case with the second generation children, who gradually modify the way(s) in which they perceive themselves. In exploring this context of youth identity, we again return to Weinreich's aforementioned theoretical concept of identity, described as a "process of construal" (Weinreich, 1989).

The historical context and the ethnic and cultural identity of the researcher(s) are just as important as the methodology employed in the research. Because there is no general theory of ethnic and cultural identity, these issues vary greatly according to the social and historical circumstances. In this way, it is important to point out that we were interested since the beginning of this study to catch the sense of youth identities in a specific urban context rather than searching to build a "universal theory of cultural identity."

Purposes

The primary purpose in this study was to investigate and document the wide diversity among youth living in a multicultural neighbourhood through extensive naturalistic immersion in the context. Inherent in social scientists' effort to study and understand ethnic identities is the risk that the research act itself may encourage, or even impose, "race" or "ethnic thinking" among the participants. An example of this can be seen with the construction of questionnaire items or the framing of interview questions. Also, it is important to recognise the tendency of people to create and essentialise binary social category systems such as "Swiss/non-Swiss", "Black/White", "Catholic/non-Catholic". These categories are very strong and can blind observers, rendering them unable to perceive the true variety of possible identities.

Sample

The participants in our study lived in Jonction, a city quarter of Geneva, Switzerland. Similar to the cosmopolitan demographic composition during the beginning of the 20th century, foreign citizens make up 42% of the county of Geneva. While the majority of these immigrants traditionally came from countries in southern Europe, today an increasing number come from Turkey, former Yugoslavia, and Third World countries. The cultural make up of Jonction reflects the global situation in Geneva, where we find a similar proportion of immigrants (46%). The proportion of immigrant students in schools within this neighbourhood varies between 62% and 70%, demonstrating that the mean age of Swiss residents is greater than the mean age of immigrants.

The sample included 120 children, 58 females and 53 males, ages eleven and twelve, who were enrolled in their final year at one of two primary schools. Most of the children are second generation immigrants from southern European countries (Portugal 29.5%, Spain 13.4%, Italy 8.9%). Smaller numbers of children came from other regions such as Africa 5.4%, France 3.6%, Turkey 3.6%, East Europe 2.7%, Asia 2.7% and South America 2.8%. Because there are no middle schools located within this community, all of these children would attend school outside of their neighbourhood the following year.
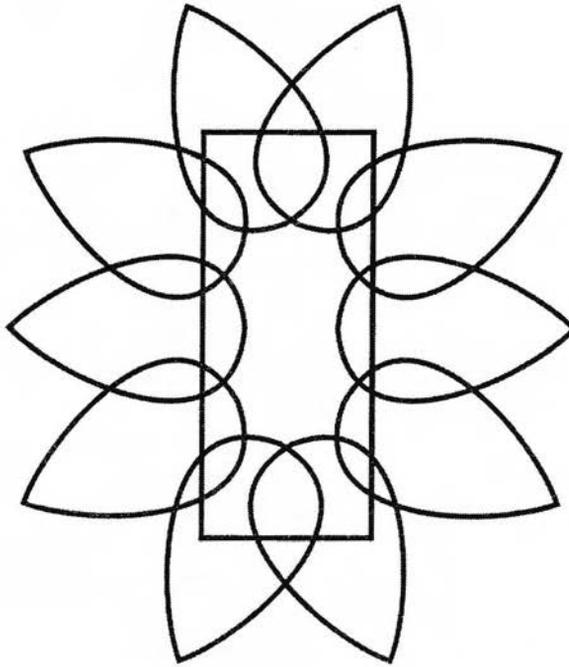
Instruments

The methodology we employed in the study was based on a qualitative strategy. In doing so, we emphasised the importance of maintaining the original terminology used by the youth to describe their own identities. Three principal instruments of investigation were used in our study: a cultural flower, a sociometric questionnaire, and ethnographic observation within the neighbourhood.

Cultural flower

In order to capture youth identities, we focused on a method that we term "cultural flower", originally utilised in teacher training (Balenci & Bialato, 1987). We used the "cultural flower" as a means for respondents to describe themselves in their own terms.

Figure 1

Cultural flower

We gave all students in the classroom a paper with the picture of an empty cultural flower, and provided them with general instructions for completing the flower. The students were initially told to write their first name in the centre of the figure and then to describe themselves by writing words or sentences inside the petals of the flower. Without explicitly using the word "identity", we explained that the information they chose to fill in the cultural flower should provide others (who do not know them) with a clear idea of who they are. In other words, we were asking them to create a verbal self-portrait.

Most of the students took some time to think before they actually began to write anything down, but gradually they wrote combinations of both words and sentences in their "cultural flowers". After collecting and transcribing all the students' flowers, all three members of the research team read each transcription and independently categorised the transcribed responses according to their own subjective criteria. After sharing and discussing these initial interpretations, we reached a final consensus on the various labels and definitions of thematic coding that were subsequently applied to the transcription.

We wanted to ensure that the data interpretation and analysis accurately represented the youth's perceptions and beliefs related to their identities. Thus, the main themes resulting from our interpretation emerged from the original terminology used by the youths. While some items overlapped in content, eleven central themes emerged from the data overall. Table 1 provides examples of statements that have been coded and represent various themes the students included in their "cultural flowers".

Table 1: Examples of statements coded as representing each cultural flower theme

Themes	Statements
Lifestyle and extracurricular activities	"I like rap music." "I like pets." "I like dancing."
Nationality	"I am Swiss." "I am Portuguese."
Individual characteristics (self description of physical and personality characteristics)	"I am sympathetic." "I am short."
Birth place	"Born in Geneva." "Born in Lisbon."
Family	"I care about my family." "I have a brother and a sister." "My father died during the war and I am sad."
Residency (current or previous)	"I like Geneva." "I like Jonction."
School	"I like my teacher."
Peers	"I like playing basketball with my friends."
Ties with cultural heritage	"I speak Spanish." "I visit Tunisia three times a year."
Projection in the future	"Pianist." "Going to the U.S."
Regionality	"Sicily."

Sociometric questionnaire

The sociometric questionnaire consisted of three primary questions. All three questions required students to identify another member of their class with whom they prefer to associate in: a) classroom activities, b) school playground activities, and c) home activities (as an invited guest). We also included an additional open-ended question: "Where do you feel most comfortable living"?

Ethnographic observation

Over the course of two years, all three researchers spent an average of one afternoon per week observing the neighbourhood environment and activities of Jonction. This took place in various settings within the neighbourhood, including the main street, various restaurants, commercial locales, and other public buildings. The observation periods were collective in that all three observers were in the neighbourhood (occupying different spaces), documenting their observations simultaneously. During the second year of observation, a professional photographer took photographs of diverse cultural interactions among people in the community as they occurred in the neighbourhood of Jonction.

Results

In analysing the data, we identified key themes related to the youth identities. First, we counted the frequencies of each eleven themes across the completed cultural flowers and then compared the rate of endorsement across various national groups.

Youth perceptions of identity

The first research question focused on the structure of youth responses to the cultural flower. There was an average of five items or themes included by all students in their cultural flowers. Lifestyle (extracurricular activities), the most frequent theme, accounted for 16.4% of the students' total responses. The second most frequent theme, nationality, accounted for 12.5% of the responses. Overall, there were seventeen different nationalities represented in the children's flowers (e.g. "I am Swiss"; "My parents come from Portugal"; "I am Italian and my parents are from Italy"). The third most frequent theme were individual characteristics, accounting for 12.1% of the responses. Birthplace, the fourth most frequent theme, accounted for 12.0%, with 24 students (20% of the sample) reporting Geneva as their birthplace. The fifth most frequent theme, family, accounted for 10% of the responses. These five highest ranked (i.e. most frequent) responses accounted for 63% of the total responses.

In summary, the six remaining themes had the following percentages of students' responses: residency 8.6%, school 7.6%, peers 6.5%, ties with cultural heritage 6.4%, projection into the future 4.0% and regionality 3.3%. The theme of residency was interpreted as a country, a city, or a neighbourhood, and at times described with an affective connotation (e.g. "I like my neighbourhood"; "I feel good in Geneva"). In addition, we found that both Swiss and non-Swiss students included the theme of regionality in their cultural flower. Students reported the theme, ties with cultural heritage by expressing their preference for their parents' native country (e.g.

"I prefer Spain"; "I am sad to be in Switzerland"; "French language is hard and I miss the sun"). Other students tapped into the theme of origin by writing that they speak other languages (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, Italian).

Comparisons among groups

The second research question focused on the similarities and differences among the perceptions of groups of students with differing nationalities. We compared frequency data for the items among the most prominent four groups: Swiss, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian. Each group identified life style as the critical theme included in defining their identities. We did not find statistically differences among the groups for nine of the themes. However, we did find statistically differences for three themes: school, ties with cultural heritage and regionality. While children of Portuguese cultural heritage expressed a stronger attachment to the school theme than the others groups, the Swiss children identified regionality as an important component of their identities.

Table 2: Frequency and percent of responses for the cultural flower themes differentiated by four major groups

	Swiss (N=33)	Portuguese (N=29)	Spanish (N=15)	Italian (N=10)	χ^2 value
Lifestyle	29 (19.3%)	25 (16.1%)	13 (16.5%)	9 (15.5%)	<1
Nationality	19 (12.6%)	19 (12.2%)	12 (5.3%)	7 (12%)	2.4
Individual characteristics	18 (12.0%)	19 (12.2%)	10 (12.8%)	8 (13.7%)	2.5
Birth place	14 (9.3%)	12 (7.7%)	5 (6.4%)	3 (5.1%)	<1
Family	19 (12.6%)	16 (10.3%)	5 (6.4%)	7 (12.0%)	3.8
Residency	13 (8.6%)	14 (9.0%)	5 (6.4%)	6 (10.3%)	2.0
School	6 (4.0%)	19 (12.2%)	7 (8.9%)	5 (8.6%)	15.4*
Peers	9 (6.0%)	9 (5.8%)	5 (6.4%)	5 (8.6%)	1.8
Ties with cultural heritage	5 (3.3%)	11 (7.0%)	7 (8.9%)	5 (8.6%)	7.5**
Projection into the future	7 (4.6%)	9 (5.8%)	4 (5.1%)	2 (3.4%)	<1
Regionality	11 (7.3%)	2 (1.3%)	5 (6.4%)	1 (1.7%)	8.6***

*p<0.01
**p<0.05
***p<0.03

Sociometric questionnaire

The overall findings from our analysis of the sociometric questionnaire reveal no relationship between nationality and sociometric status (Akkari, Perregaux & Cataffi, 1996). Among the total of six classrooms, higher sociometric status was given to Swiss students (in two classrooms), Portuguese students (in two classrooms), French students (in one classroom), and African students (in one classroom). In regard to the third question, asking children whom of their classmates they prefer to invite over and play with at their homes, we found that children prefer children who share the same nationality as them.

The answers provided to the open-ended question asking about children' preference in location of living can be divided into three groups of individuals, each one containing approximately the same number of participants. The first group of answers consists of statements such as, "I feel good everywhere," (student from Asia). In other words, students did not necessarily demonstrate a preference for a particular place, but rather capacity for adaptation. Another example of this type of response is: "I feel good in both Switzerland and Portugal because I have reliable friends in both of these countries" (student from Portugal). The second group of responses includes a greater focus on the children's current living situation in Geneva. An example of this kind of response is: "I feel good in Geneva – in school, at home, and in my neighbourhood" (a student from Spain). Other students responded that they prefer living in Geneva because they consider the standard of living to be high. The last group of responses refers to children who stated that they feel most comfortable living in their native country. The main explanation the children provided for this response relates to family ties.

Observation

Through ethnographic observation, we identified various parameters of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood of Jonction. We found this diversity to be present in all contexts of everyday life in the community, such as shops, restaurants, community buildings, newspapers, spoken languages, and in the clothes people wear. Within these different contexts, we observed that intercultural interaction was more common than monocultural interaction, especially among juvenile population.
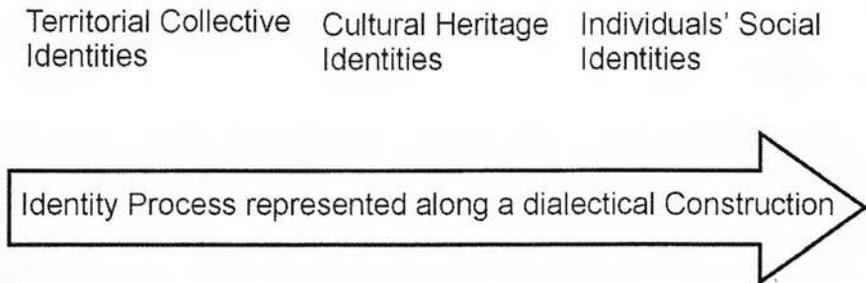
The photography component of our observations began as a means of visually documenting culturally diverse interactions that took place in Jonction (Akkari, Perregaux & Cataffi, 1997). This focus shifted to include portraits of the individual children making up the sample. In other words, the photographer initially photographed dynamic interactions among people in the neighbourhood in general, then she began to concentrate on specific groups of children, and finally she photographed individual portraits of each child while they were in their home setting.

Discussion

This study focused on identity representation expressed by 120 youth in a multicultural Swiss neighbourhood. The respondents used multiple elements to describe their identities, suggesting that no one factor can generally define youth identities. In other words, there are multiple identities of youth. In addition, while many students included reference to nationality in their cultural flowers, this was not the most frequent component of youth identities. Instead, we found that youth lifestyle (e.g. music, clothes, sports) was the most frequent item that students included in their flowers to describe themselves. In addition, youth lifestyle is clearly demonstrated in the photographic documentation of our study.

As part of our interpretation, we grouped the eleven items (included in youth identities) into three main spheres or themes. The first sphere is related to territorial, collective identities (e.g. nationality, birthplace, residency, regionality). This includes descriptors that are beyond the control of the individual; aspects of their lives that are predetermined at birth or by others such as family. The second sphere is associated with individuals' social identities (e.g. lifestyle, individual characteristics, peers, school, projection in the future). In contrast to the first sphere, this category includes elements of the students' lives that they themselves actively choose or construct. Cultural heritage identities (e.g. family, ties with origin) constitute the third and final sphere.

Figure 2

Territorial Collective Identities	Cultural Heritage Identities	Individuals' Social Identities

Identity Process represented along a dialectical Construction

The conceptualisation of these three spheres represents the whole dynamic of youth identity as being a continual dialectic construction from the past (territorial, collective identities) to the present and future (individuals' social identities), with a bridge (cultural heritage identities) connecting or linking these two spheres. It is the family that allows youth to navigate between cultural specificity and shared youth values in order to live collectively in a community as well as shaping in-

dividual ways of life. The dialectics between these three primary spheres facilitates the children's construal of situated identities (Weinreich, 1989). Simultaneous contradictions are based in the concept of dialectics. In others words dialectics is a method for understanding conscientiousness, movement and change as an interaction between contradictory elements.

While family provides some tools for dealing with multiple identities within a community, conflicts may arise when a person shares certain attributes with a person or group while at the same time rejecting some other attributes of that same person or group. Overall the "search of adolescence", both in relation to minority groups as well as the majority, can be interpreted in a similar way. We found that the clothes one wears as well as the music one listens play a very strong role in building youth identities. In the context of our study, national (or ethnic) boundaries were not consistent with music or sports preference. In other words, two youths from the same ethnic heritage may associate with different groups of friends at school, for example depending on their taste in music or sports.

In Piaget & Weil's study of Swiss and foreign children living in Geneva, they found that children used elements such as neutrality, freedom, a country spared by the war, the Red Cross to express their attachment to Switzerland: "It sounds like a naive summary of patriotic village speeches" (Piaget & Weil, 1951: 567). In our study, the respondents placed greater emphasis on commercial mainstream media (world music and sport values).

In examining the descriptions provided by the youth in our study, we have come to view youth identity as a multidimensional dynamic construction. As suggested by Hall (1992), we need to abandon the traditional conceptualisation of personal identity as fully centred, unified, and endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness and action. Our findings have led us to challenge this traditional idea of self as simplified and unitary ("centred"), instead replacing it with the concept of "decentred" subjectivity, as described by Hall: "The fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy. Instead, as the system of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities, any one of which we could identify with – at least temporarily" (1992: 277). In this way, it is possible that individuals see themselves through a variety of lenses or in ways that are not always consistent. While many participants in the study reported their mastery of parents' language (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, Italian), no one expressed projection in to the future in the parents' home countries.

During life, and particularly during adolescence, the question: "Who am I", becomes increasingly difficult to answer. This challenge is a result of both attributions by the self and by others. As pointed out by Garcia Coll: "We need to be aware that standardising demographic categories and comparing results across these categories has the potential limitation of reinforcing the assumption that 'race,' ethnicity, social class, and gender are independent, objective and bounded categories, fixed in both meaning and significance across contexts and over time" (1997: 2).

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We included photography in order to visually document multicultural aspects of the neighbourhood we observed. The photographs depict lively as well as frequent interactions between Swiss people and immigrants. In contrast to new housing projects in the surrounding suburbs of Geneva, in Jonction we observed a process of integration facilitated by a "historical memory of integration." New immigrants are rapidly incorporated into the local social life within the community of Jonction. In other words, the neighbourhood of Jonction has historically integrated other diverse populations such as rural Swiss workers, French Protestant refugees, and many other foreign political refugees (i.e. Lenin during his Swiss exile). In looking at the portraits of individual children, we found a global youth lifestyle, with the majority of them wearing caps or tee shirts displaying American athletic and music themes. It is evident that the media contributes to shaping youth lifestyle, and hence that lifestyle plays an intermediary role in defining one's self-identity.

Specific comparisons among groups revealed that Portuguese children are more apt to include the theme of school in their "cultural flower". School seems to play a key role in the integration of recent immigrant children by allowing them to support stress related to the process of acculturation. Swiss children declared a differential attachment to the theme of regionality. In our view, this demonstrates the relationship between the geographical – institutional makeup of Switzerland (federation among 22 states) and youth identity structure.

Although we intend to generate additional data analysis, at this point in our study we recognise two limitations. First, our collection of identity representation ("cultural flower") took place within a school setting. This poses the question of whether or not the three spheres of youth identity we extracted would also emerge within a familiar context. A second limitation is the lack of a longitudinal strategy in our investigation of cultural identity. It is important to look at later development of identity, especially during the years of middle and high school as well as during adulthood, in order to further understand the possible shifts in identity formation. In formulating an understanding of the processes involved in youth identity, it is clear that they will fluctuate and develop with time. While Swiss schools appear to protect students from discrimination against non-Swiss children, this is not necessarily the case outside of the school setting where citizenship in part determines one's social and economic opportunities. Thus, within the more global society, access to Swiss citizenship, primarily based on genealogical rights, is difficult to obtain, and this in turn is likely to affect a person's identity.

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IDENTITETI MLADIH U MULTIKULTURNOM OKRUŽENJU

SAŽETAK

U ovom istraživanju ispitivani su identiteti mladih u dobi od 11 do 12 godina koji žive u multikulturnom okruženju u Ženevi, Švicarska. U pokušaju da obuhvate višestruke dimenzije koje sadržavaju te identitete, autori su izradili metodološki pristup koji dopušta ispitanicima da opišu sebe vlastitim izrazima. Koristeći metaforu cvijeta, razvili su »cvijet kultura« u kojem su ispitanici ispunili onoliko latica s deskriptorima koliko su odabrali da ih najbolje mogu predstaviti. Pokraj ovog otvorenog kvalitativnog pristupa, korišten je i sociometrijski upitnik. Istraživanjem su otkrivene tri glavne kategorije: individualni društveni identiteti, teritorijalni kolektivni identiteti i identiteti kulturnog naslijeđa. Ti rezultati sugeriraju da se identiteti mladih iz ovog uzorka ne mogu reducirati na samo jedan deskriptivni element kao što je nacionalnost ili etničnost. Rezultati zapravo sugeriraju da mladi imaju višedimezionalne identitete koji se mogu izraziti kroz »kulturu mladih« (glazba, odjeća, šport). Ovo istraživanje potiče područje istraživanja o interkulturnim odnosima ističući općenitosti među mladima iz različitih kulturnih pozadina koji žive u multikulturnom okruženju.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: identitet, multikulturnost, etničnost, mladi, Ženeva