

From youth to adulthood in France and Spain

This article tries to analyse, beginning from the departure from the home life of the French and Spanish young men/women, the developments and relations they have with their families, couples and friends during youth. The aim is to show that in both countries, people follow different construction processes of themselves till getting the autonomy from their parents. First goes the French case and next the Spanish one. The different ways of developing belong to two education models of the adult identity and also to different conceptions of the relations that the adults must keep with the beloved people around them.

Key words: youth, identity, family, couple, friends

Introduction

The French and Spanish young men/women leave their parents' home, not only in different moments, but also in different ways. The difference is not only the quantitative order but also the qualitative one. The first ones vary into different ways of life until they establish with a couple, whereas the second ones usually move from the parents' house to the conjugal residence. Both countries' young men/women construct their identity in different ways and that's why they leave their homes in different moments, but they leave in different moments because they construct themselves in different ways. Both actions are interrelated. This is possible because there are differences in both countries, both relating to the adult definition and the way somebody must fulfil one's aims to reach that statute.

When we talk about identity, we can talk about collective or individual identity. In this article we will talk about the individual identity and we will see how the young men/women construct it in France and Spain until they reach the total autonomy and independence from their parents. We will consider that the identity is not an essence of the individuals, that this can change and develop during life (E. Gil Calvo, 2001). People can have a bigger or smaller multidimensional identity. We will consider that the individuals have a multiple identity and that depending on the moments and/or circumstances of their lives, they develop and give more importance to some dimensions than to others. Some authors consider that some individuals never obtain a certain unity in their identity and that they are always divided (B. Lahire, 1998). We will see that the Spanish young men/women have a more important unity of their identity than the French ones. We will distinguish between different identities (F. de Singly, 1996). The personal identity comes from: the statute identity for oneself and for the others and the private identity for oneself and for the others. The private identity refers to the one hidden down in oneself. The statute identity refers to the one that comes from its statute in a certain situation. The aim will be to analyse how

both country's young men/women individualize. The two main dimensions of the individualization process are the autonomy (capacity of giving their own law) and the independence (capacity of obtaining their own resources) (F. de Singly, 2001). We will talk about the emotions and feelings individuals show in their reports, but we will do it analysing and taking into account the sense of the reports. These results come from a fieldwork made in France and Spain, with 60 semi-guided interviews in both countries. On first place we will see the French case and next the Spanish one.

I- France

1- To live together with the parents, taking distance

Young men/women become emancipated from their parents. Both parents and themselves consider that somebody cannot construct himself/herself correctly if he/she shares the same place with his family for too long time. It is considered that the total autonomy is only possible if somebody lives in a different place from the family. They explain that when they are living at their parents' home, as they get older, their clear aim is to be able to leave their parents' house soon. If they haven't done it, it's because they can't economically or due to familiar circumstances. Cédric (24 years old), who lives only with his mother says: « I am wishing to having my own house, to invite my friends whenever I want, to able to... to be able to play my music if I feel like and to be able to play video games if I want until five o'clock in the morning.» 25 years old is an appropriate age to leave parents' home (E. Maunaye, 2001). If the young men/women are working at this age it can be earlier, otherwise it can be delayed. Job is a sufficient condition but not necessary to become emancipated. For example, many son/daughter leave their parents' home thanks to their economical help for studying and without having a job (O. Galland, 2001).

We could think that young men/women create an important common world with them during the years they live with their parents, but that is not the case. In the interviews, they say that it is important to create an own personal world separate from their family world. For example, the young's partner has especially a relationship with him/her but not so much with the family. Sometimes the friends and the parents have no relation, since it is considered that the first ones belong to the young's personal life and the second ones to the familiar life. This means that young men/women have a split identity since they have to make different introductions depending on their parents or friends: they develop different facets of their identity that can be reconcilable between them. In the same way, young men/women don't tell their parents very much about their personal life. During the years they live together, they try to obtain their own means to pay for some of their expenses. For them this means having a greater autonomy. They do this independently how much money their parents have, and parents find natural that children look for money. To be constructed correctly, young man/woman must become autonomous and this autonomy begins even when the young man/women still lives with his/her parents. This model is approved by young men/women but also by their parents, who think that it is important for them to get a greater autonomy, even if they still live together with them. They try, for example, not to go with them to the doctor or to get involved in their personal life.

2- Irregular developments

When young men/women leave their parents' home, they don't have a long-term project: they don't know who they will live with, if they will get married or where they will work. This does not mean that having a regular life as a couple is not important. As J.-C Kauffman (1999) says, life as a couple is still the reference model that aims every individual. The important thing is leaving home at any moment. Some young men/women leave their homes to go for studying to another city, just because they want to leave their homes. Helène (24 years old), for example tells her case: «That was a way of being independent, because my parents were a little bit too protector. My mother has never worked and she has focused on her children. For my parents, it has always been important that we do well in a figurative and proper sense because they have spent much money. It is true that when I chose Lille, which is quite far away from Bordeaux (place where her parents lived) it was, consciously or unconsciously to get my independence». In the beginning, when they leave home, they come back very often, but with the time it is less and less often and they define, more and more, their own house and not their parents'.

Young men/women leave and usually they live alone or with their couples. Living alone at a certain time during youth is very appreciated. It seems that it is necessary to try this kind of life to find oneself and be sure that somebody has the necessary own autonomy to assume this kind of life. Living as an unmarried couple is something young men/women practice regularly. They often vary into different ways of life during youth; a time with a couple, then alone, then again another couple and so on. There are different combinations depending on each young.

Sharing house with some friends is not so common and actually there are not many social studies that focus on this way of life. Some young men/women share the house, but it is more often when they start their professional career than when studying. These last years, there has been an influence from young men/women that share house between some people, which does not fit with the reality, since it is not so usual. It doesn't either fit with the Spanish student model, the Spanish young people share the house during the school period but they keep having as their defined house, the family house.

During the years, the French young men/women construct themselves away from their families. Their parents only know what the children want them to know and nothing else and parents have less and less possibilities of knowing about their lives. Children change their houses, change cities, ways of life (alone, as a couple, sometimes they come back to the parents' house). When they start working they have no saved money, since they have paid for a house, electricity and all the usual expenses for years. When they start working they don't immediately get a property and keep renting houses to be able to save money.

Young men/women become individuals with a more personal life, where family is less and less involved. For example, when young men/women start living as a couple, sometimes parents don't meet the couple until some months after. In general they don't take into account their parents' opinion to take these decisions. It is something personal and the family, a priori, does

not have to give his/her opinion. Sara, one of the interviewees, started living together with her couple and her mother didn't know anything: «My mother didn't meet him. We started going out together in January, he came to live together with me in July and in August we went for holidays to my mother's house.» In some cases, after breaking up with their couples or after losing their jobs, young men/women go back to their parents' house but usually this return doesn't last very long. It's difficult either for the young men/women or for their parents to live together because each one has his/her own habits, and they have to adapt to the others, sometimes with tensions or conflicts. Both parents' and children's identities are very different and, as they know they are not going to live together for a long time, the efforts are quite limited.

Parents avoid being involved in their children's lives but they don't abandon or inhibit them. For instance, they pay much attention to their studies and help them economically, materially and morally so they can do it well: they pay for studies, help furnishing their houses and help them in the path of the autonomy, especially the first years, when they are away from their families and sometimes they feel lonely. (1) Children accept this help but they try to keep margins of economical independence: they work while they are studying, or during summer or even during the whole year.

This process makes young men/women live for some years with a certain material and affective insecurity since they don't know either if the couple relationship will last long or how their lives are going to develop materially. However, they try to assure the development of their personal identity above all, not only to adapt to established roles that they have in their family statuses such as "son, daughter of" or personal ones such as "boyfriend of, girlfriend of".

3- The Nets

Youth is a life's phase when young men/women start having more autonomy and when they start separating progressively from the adolescence friends (C. Bidart, 1997). They prefer organizing their relations in nets. An adult is somebody who doesn't have a group of friends but visits his/her friends from time to time. If the group keeps up in adulthood, it's not considered as something positive. The group of young people that keeps up after the adolescence is considered as something bad, as young immigrants going around dangerously in the city. It looks like somebody can't individualize keeping groups of friends. This makes young people have split identities since they can make different introductions of themselves depending on the friends. Ariane tells us thus, her preference of having different friends: «I like having my life with certain people, I don't like seeing always the same people because... Besides, somebody is not always the same person, it is not the same style of going out, it depends on who somebody is with and... I am not very sure about my university friends getting on very well with my friends. I don't know. Everyone has her life, everyone has... Well, but they know each other, and with the other friends is the same, they know each other, but nothing else.» Life's different fields young people belong to, are not strongly related and becoming an adult means separating them and finding oneself in the middle of different worlds, which are not connected between them. For example, parents and friends don't always know each other and when they do know each other, they don't make any activity together such as having

(1)
Interview analysis carried out by students of D.U.T. Carrières Sociales - University of Le Havre.

lunch or having a coffee. Esteeming somebody doesn't mean introducing him/her to the family and mixing them.

4- The conjugal autonomy

Young people try to have a personal autonomy also in the couple life. First we will see the sense they give to this kind of life when they are an unmarried couple. We can make two groups. In the first one there are young men/women who live life as a couple, as a cohabitation that can last for a time, but also can stop any day. They start living together but they don't know which the future will be for them and they have no established plans. Sometimes one of them begins coming to the other's house to spend the night, and one day one of them leaves his/her house and moves to the other's house, or they move into a new house. These young men/women can have more than one couple before they get married with one of them. Erwan wanted to try living alone in his house and he did it during a year, but he couldn't see his girlfriend, who also lived alone, very often, so he had to leave his house and move into his girlfriend's: « *Every two nights I used to sleep at Florence's house or she used to come home, but it wasn't very nice for me because I had to prepare my classes and I used to take a lot of papers to her house and sometimes, at 11 o'clock in the evening I used to run back home because I had forgotten something there. Thanks god it was quite close because otherwise it wouldn't have been possible.*» As J.-C. Kaufmann (2) says: «Young couples develop around love feelings and interpersonal relations and they don't even think on establishing a home». Some young people take the decision of living together once the situation already exists because they are usually at the other's house: «The young people who begin living together don't do it having the idea of establishing a home, they do it before they get the idea of doing it» (J.-C. Kaufmann, 1992).

In the second group we find young people who live with the person they pretend to get married to, but this is a minority group. They often do what in France is called "Fiançailles", which is a marriage engagement in front of the families and friends before life as a couple.

For young people who live as an unmarried couple is important to keep a familiar autonomy, but also a conjugal one. For example, if we have a look at how they organize economically we can see that it is very important for all of them to separate the money and to have separate accounts. In general, they place some money in a box or they have a common account where they send some money to pay the expenses such as food or rent, but when they go out for dinner or buy a present, then they pay with individual accounts. This brings some amazing situations from the conjugal fusion point of view: a couple goes out for dinner and one of them can invite the other one, or each one pays for his/her bill. Franck, who has been living with his girlfriend for some years explains us how they organize: «We often go to restaurants and I usually say: "I pay". But sometimes she pays. She pays for the Mc Donald's and I pay for the restaurant, or I pay for the Mc Donald's, well, I pay for the Mc Donald's or for the restaurant". Usually, as men earn more money at their jobs than women, men pay more often for the restaurants". This wish of autonomy also comes out when seeing friends. The members of the couple keep some friends individually, who are usually visited without the other member. Erwan, for example, explains the importance this has for him: «They are different dimensions, with my friends Laura and Anna, I always

(2)
KAUFMANN J.-C. La trame conjugale. Analyse du couple par son linge, Nathan, Paris, 1992.

...speak about things that I would never speak with my girlfriend or about things that I don't have much to speak about with her...because implicitly I can't talk about... yes, about things that I can't talk with her in an explicit way.» These young men/women's behaviour shows that they try to be individualized individuals.

5- Marriage

Young people get married when they think that the person they live with, is the person they are going to spend the rest of their life with. This can happen when they live together for years or also when they get their first child. Marriage doesn't really change anything in the young's life because they have already lived together. Marriage is a ceremony that belongs only to young men/women, not to the family; we can see this through the analysis of their organization. Young men/women organize it themselves and when it is not so, it's because they personally asked the families to do so. On the ceremony day, the witnesses are friends and not members of the family such as the parents of each one. In the wedding breakfast, the couple does not sit with the family but with the friends. It is a marriage between individualized individuals and not between children who are defined by the statute of "son of". It could be said that, even before the wedding day, these young men/women consider themselves and are considered socially adults. Marriage in France is not any more a rite of passage as it was formerly. « Although these days many marriages don't celebrate any passage, they still keep the category of rite since they still offer a space of symbolization» (M. Segalen, 1998, p.96).

After marriage, young men/women keep the same behaviour with their couples as they had in their previous life. With reference to the family, they don't have many obligations with the family and the relationship between them depends more on the wish they all have than on the paper of the statute each one has within the family. For example, on a birthday all the family does not necessarily meet every year with all the members of the family. Sunday's lunches are not very institutionalised. However, there are some differences between the behaviour of the married couples and the unmarried couples. For example, married couples spend more often Christmas together at one of the two families' house, and they don't approve celebrating them separately.

II. Spain

1- A close cohabitation

Usually the Spanish young men/women stay at their parents' house until they get married (L. Garrido, M. Requena, 1997). It's considered that a young man/woman will be able to construct himself/herself keeping a great statute identity as "son/daughter of" if he/she lives with her/his parents for years. In the interviews young people don't seem to have a great wish of leaving their parents' house. In the Spanish family, the relations have been less and less authoritarian and more democratic in the last years (I. Alberdi, 1999). Sometimes they have a job but they don't show any wish of leaving their houses, they prefer leaving them when they get proper material and affective conditions. Some of them study in a different city but they are used

to coming back home for the weekend and they keep defining the family home as their home; they often come back home when they finish their studies.

Their parents accept this situation and they even live it proudly. If a son/daughter leaves the house too soon, that's a deception, it seems that they have done something wrong. The young men/women who work and live together with their parents are not considered as immature adults. Somebody can be an adult and can also live together with some members of the family such as parents or sisters/brothers. Luis (28 years old), although he's got a good economical situation, doesn't leave the family house: « I feel very well so I don't even think about it. For the moment I will not rent a house. I've got everything I need and this is more comfortable than renting a house: My clothes are always ironed, lunch is ready... Then, why should I spend money?» Job is a necessary condition but not enough to leave home since young people want to leave the house with good economical conditions, they want to save money and even start paying for a mortgage before leaving. At home young people are not as in a hotel, they also do favours to their parents and they give them affection and company. «In the Spanish society not only is usual for some members of different generations to live together - young singles who live in their parents' house until they are thirty years old and a widow parent who starts leaving with his/her son/daughter after his/her couple dies - but also to help each other is usual between ancestors and descendants who live in different houses». (L. Flaquer, 1998, p.131).

During the cohabitation years with their parents, young men/women keep an important common life with them. For example, usually parents and friends know each other and they even celebrate birthdays or go for dinner together. Being adult or becoming an adult doesn't mean separating the different worlds individuals belong to. Thanks to this, young men/women have a great unity of their identity. For example, if they are together with their parents and friends, they have to harmonize the identity of "friend of" with the one of "son of".

2-Stability paths

Most of the young people leave their houses when they are going to get married. Just some of them leave it to start leaving as a couple and even less people start living with friends or on their own. Spanish young men/women don't like living alone. The young man/woman who lives alone is because he/she is alone affectively and this way of life is not valued or wished. Sharing house with friends is something young people do only during the studying period. Usually young people don't have much experience until they start living as a couple: they don't live in different cities and they don't even change they way of life they had. For example, they don't live first as a couple, then alone, afterwards with friends... With this model of behaviour we see that they don't try different cohabitation situations during their lives and before marriage. Sometimes they leave their parents' home to live as a couple or they live one or two years with friends and next as a couple. But they don't spend years varying situations. This means that once they start living as a couple they don't have much experience about how to organize a house.

This means young men/women construct themselves in a familiar closeness and keeping an important common identity with their parents for years. Thanks to this, they have more relations with their families in future, because they get on well with each other. This is why meetings are nice and wished by the members of the family. Parents accept this kind of stable paths, deep-rooted both in the family and geographically. They help their children economically for years, both directly (when studying in another city) or indirectly (keeping them at home for years so they can save money). They also protect them: they get affection, parents go with them to the doctor and always support them. Young people stay at their parents' home for years even if they have a job. This makes them save money to buy a house. The only case when parents don't help their children is when they want to become emancipated without getting married or when they leave the house just because they want to live alone, even in the same city as the parents. In this case here comes the speech: "ok, if you want to leave is ok, but I don't really want to, so I'm not going to help you to make things even easier for you". Parents don't urge children to study far away or to leave the house. In the same way, parents will not help children become emancipated if it's not really necessary.

3- The Groups

During youth young people construct themselves in groups. They have different groups of friends who are also interrelated between them. They often distinguish: friends from school, friends from university and/or friends from work. The friend groups is an institution, the person who doesn't have one is suspicious: is he/she rare? Strange? Does he/she have any problem? One of the important things of these groups is that they last in the time and don't belong only to a phase of their lives. The maintenance of the groups is possible due to the slight geographical mobility parents and young people have. There is a Spanish tradition that makes people get a property (J. Leal Maldonado, 1998) and this makes families spend years in the same house and children go to the same schools. There are universities all over Spain so people don't have to change the city very often. This makes possible to have stable social relations in space and time. Groups don't only exist during youth, but also during adulthood. It is not considered as something bad, on the contrary, it is something positive to keep friend groups when somebody is "installed" in a stable familiar and professional life. Groups are interrelated between them. For young people it is important that their different worlds get mixed in certain moments. For example, if they estimate a friend, it is good to introduce him/her to his/her parents. Parents and friends sometimes go together for lunch, for example when there is a public festivity or when they celebrate a birthday. When young men/women mix around interrelated groups, they have a strong unity of their identity. Sometimes they have to introduce themselves to different people, for example the couple and the family or friends and the family.

4- The conjugal fusion

Usually when young men/women start living as a couple, they ask their parents about it and if they don't agree, they negotiate to accept the couple. Sometimes, if the opposition is very strong, some of them can give up the idea and get married. Young men/women have a strong statute identity and

it is important for them to have their parents' support in their decisions. Some of them keep this way of life even if parents are not very happy with it, but there are not many cases really. They have a strong personal identity comparing to some other Spanish young men/women. We can distinguish into three different kinds of young men/women who live as unmarried couples depending on which sense they give to this kind of life.

In the first group we find more young women, who live this way because their couples don't want to get married. The partner who lives with this kind of woman, lives with her because she is the person he is going to marry further on, but not from the beginning. Juan's girlfriend is in this situation, he explains it: «For her it is a problem not being married, it's against her principles and her education. Usually she doesn't feel comfortable with this situation. She introduces me as her boyfriend but not as the person she lives with».

In the second group young men/women say they are going to get married but not for the moment and bear conjugal or familiar pressures. They say they are waiting to have a better economical situation to organize the marriage.

In the third group we find young people who live as unmarried couples without a defined project and without having the idea of getting married, or without having the idea of how long they will live together.

What is really interesting is that in the first two cases the young couples live as married in every level. Sometimes they have bought a house, even before going to live together. Economically they mix their money. This means that they mix their salaries and share the expenses in every level. They live the couple with quite an important fusion: they visit their friends together, and also the families. They accept spending Christmas separately but they know their parents prefer them to be together and hope that situation will not last very long. Sometimes these young people's parents don't know how to behave with them and what to do in this kind of life. Some of them vary into different attitudes. When they are not happy with this situation, they don't help them to make things easier. For example when they sleep at their parents' house, they have to sleep in separate beds. In some other cases parents tell them that they should spend Christmas with one family or the other one but no separated; the family wants them to behave as a married couple.

Relating to friends, they usually see them together and different groups mix up. When it's not so, they visit one of the groups more often but all of them keep in contact. In any case, couples go out together at weekends during the night and see the friends without the couple during the day.

Marriage

Marriage is still something very important in the transition of young men/women into adulthood. For some of them is still a rite of passage. This is sometimes the first experience as a couple and away from the family house. When they get married they try to save money to be able to buy a house and to keep having a similar living standard after the marriage. In the beginning the new life is complicated since they have to organize the house,

job, money and the couple every day and they are not used to it yet. Once they are married, young men/women live the couple with fusion and their couple is for them the most important reference person in their lives, a head “significant other”, somebody who helps him/her confirm his/her identity. After the marriage, young men/women keep having important relations with their families, sometimes they live quite close and the contact they all have is regular, even daily or weekly. Some young people even go back to their parents’ home for some days when the couple is away. Or for example, in some other cases, a member of the couple goes for lunch to the familiar home daily. This makes young people keep a string familiar identity even after the marriage. In the same way, the family thinks that young people keep having obligations to them.

Conclusion

In France and Spain young men/women follow different processes to construct their identities, different from the total autonomy and independence from their parents.

The first ones leave the familiar home quite early and in the last years of the cohabitation, they create a personal world. Once they leave, they spend years developing their personal identities and they have a great affective and material insecurity. They don’t know very well which their future will be and they don’t have any established projects. The day by day experience settles the future decisions. They construct themselves “on their own” and they decide which relations they have with their families, friends or couples in an autonomous way. Their parents only know what the children want them to know and nothing else. What is important for these young men/women is the development of the personal identity. If later on, this coincides with the familiar identity, they will keep more or less important relations with their parents. In any case, people create these relations depending on how they get on with their parents and the motivations they have apart from the statute identities. These young men/women have a splitter identity since they introduce themselves in different ways. This is possible because their worlds don’t mix between them.

Young men/women want to be autonomous from their parents but also from their couples. They try to keep their individualization through the economical organization (each one has his/her account) or through friends’ organization (to visit them sometimes without the partner). Marriage comes after some years of cohabitation and sometimes after the birth of the children. It is not already a rite of passage, it’s a ceremony that creates, above all, the engagement between two individuals, and not between two “son/daughter of”.

In Spain, the construction of the young men/women comes from a great logical establishment. They leave the house quite late and the identity establishment is quite strong. They develop their personal identities in a way that it doesn’t dispute too much the identity relating to the statute of each one. Due to this, once they are autonomous, they can have strong familiar relations, because the common identity is very important. They construct themselves in groups and not on their own. Their different groups are related so young men/women can have a unity in their identities. Young men/women often move from the familiar home into the conjugal home and there are not many people who follow movable and original paths. Marriage

is a rite of passage for them and sometimes it's a unity between two young men/women who define themselves strongly through the statute of the family. Some of them live as unmarried couples, but in the same way as the married ones, they also share an important world with their couples.

In both countries there are different definitions about the adult signification and about the process somebody has to follow to get this statute. Also about the relations adults must have with their partners, family or friends. In France the adult is a more individualized individual than in Spain and the process a young man/woman must follow is the one that takes him/her to a greater individualization. This would be the ideal construction of the identity but in both countries there are young people who look alike between them due to circumstances. The difference is that the pattern in a country responds to the exception in the other one and vice versa.

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