

Migration and linguistic acculturation: socioeducational inclusion in the Catalan school

Ursula Hinostroza Castillo

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Migration and linguistic acculturation: socioeducational inclusion in the Catalan school

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Abstract

In the light of the latest migration flows, acculturation theory has been useful to analyze the linguistic and cultural changes produced by the contact of two or more cultures. Understanding these changes is a key factor to promote social cohesion, particularly in domains such as the educational one, where the arrival of a large number of immigrant students has required modifications to educational policies and practices. Aiming to do so, the present dissertation focuses on the general and linguistic acculturation orientations of "local" high-school students in the province of Lleida (Catalonia, Spain), as well as in the general acculturation orientations of students of immigrant origin. More specifically, it aims to identify the variables that determine the linguistic acculturation orientations of the majority group, to analyze the factors that shape them and the variables that predict a better school adjustment of students of immigrant origin. This doctoral dissertation follows a quantitative approach and is divided into 4 scientific papers. The first and second paper analyze the linguistic acculturation orientations of local students towards their Moroccan and Latin American peers, respectively. In addition, both articles also analyze the variables that could predict the adoption of each linguistic acculturation orientation. The third paper analyzes how cultural enrichment and perceived conflict mediates the acculturation orientations of local students towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian origin. And finally, the fourth paper analyzes the role of perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations and intergroup contact in the school adjustment of students of immigrant background. The overall results point towards the need to re-assess or design new policies and educational practices that promote integration practices instead of assimilationist ones. Particularly, it was found the need to promote the use and value of minority languages and increase intergroup contact and perceived cultural enrichment. The implementation of educational practices

such as translanguaging, and culturally responsive teaching are highly recommended.					

Resumen

A la luz de los últimos flujos migratorios, la teoría de la aculturación ha sido útil para analizar los cambios lingüísticos y culturales producidos por el contacto de dos o más culturas. La comprensión de estos cambios es un factor clave para promover la cohesión social, especialmente en ámbitos como el educativo, donde la llegada de un gran número de estudiantes inmigrantes ha requerido modificaciones en las políticas y prácticas educativas. Para ello, la presente tesis se centra en las orientaciones de aculturación general y lingüística de los alumnos "locales" de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria de la provincia de Lleida (Cataluña, España), así como en las orientaciones de aculturación general de los alumnos descendientes de inmigrantes. Más concretamente, se pretende identificar las variables que determinan las orientaciones de aculturación lingüística del grupo mayoritario, analizar los factores que las configuran y las variables que predicen un mejor ajuste escolar de los alumnos descendientes de inmigrantes. Esta tesis doctoral sigue un enfoque cuantitativo y se divide en 4 artículos. El primero y el segundo analizan las orientaciones de aculturación lingüística de los alumnos del grupo mayoritario hacia sus compañeros marroquíes y latinoamericanos, respectivamente. Además, ambos artículos también analizan las variables que podrían predecir la adopción de cada orientación de aculturación lingüística. El tercer artículo analiza cómo el enriquecimiento cultural y el conflicto percibido median en las orientaciones de aculturación de los estudiantes locales hacia sus compañeros descendientes de marroquíes y rumanos. Y finalmente, el cuarto trabajo analiza el papel de la discriminación percibida, las orientaciones de aculturación y el contacto intergrupal en el ajuste escolar de los estudiantes descendientes de inmigrante. Los resultados generales apuntan a la necesidad de reevaluar o diseñar nuevas políticas y

prácticas educativas que promuevan las prácticas de integración en lugar de las asimilacionistas. En particular, se constató la necesidad de promover el uso y el valor de las lenguas minoritarias y aumentar el contacto intergrupal y el enriquecimiento cultural percibido. Se concluye que existe una clara necesidad de la aplicación de prácticas educativas como el translanguaging y la enseñanza culturalmente receptiva.

Resum

A la llum dels darrers fluxos migratoris, la teoria de l'aculturació ha estat útil per analitzar els canvis lingüístics i culturals produïts pel contacte de dues cultures o més. La comprensió d'aquests canvis és un factor clau per promoure la cohesió social, especialment en àmbits com l'educatiu, on l'arribada d'un gran nombre d'estudiants immigrants ha requerit modificacions a les polítiques i pràctiques educatives. Per això, aquesta tesi se centra en les orientacions d'aculturació general i lingüística dels alumnes "locals" de batxillerat de la província de Lleida (Catalunya, Espanya), així com en les orientacions d'aculturació general dels alumnes d'origen immigrant. Més concretament, es pretén identificar les variables que determinen les orientacions d'aculturació lingüística del grup majoritari, analitzar els factors que les configuren i les variables que prediuen un ajustament escolar millor dels alumnes d'origen immigrant. Aquesta tesi doctoral segueix un enfocament quantitatiu i es divideix en quatre treballs científics. El primer i el segon article analitzen les orientacions d'aculturació lingüística dels alumnes locals cap als companys marroquins i llatinoamericans, respectivament. A més, tots dos articles també analitzen les variables que podrien predir l'adopció de cada orientació d"aculturació lingüística. El tercer article analitza com l'enriquiment cultural i el conflicte percebut intervenen en les orientacions d'aculturació dels estudiants locals cap als companys d'origen marroquí i romanès. I finalment, el quart treball analitza el paper de la discriminació percebuda, les orientacions d'aculturació i el contacte intergrupal a l'ajust escolar dels estudiants d'origen immigrant. Els resultats generals apunten a la necessitat de reavaluar o dissenyar noves polítiques i pràctiques educatives que promoguin les pràctiques dintegració en lloc de les assimilacionistes. En particular, es va constatar la necessitat de promoure l'ús i el valor de les llengües minoritàries i augmentar el contacte intergrupal il'enriquiment cultural percebut. Es recomana encaridament l'aplicació de pràctiques educatives com ara el translanguaging i l'ensenyament culturalment receptiu.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Spain is a linguistic and culturally diverse country not only in regional terms but also due to the large migration flows it has received during the last decades. On the one hand, the current Spanish constitution recognizes Spanish as the official language of the State along local or regional languages which are recognized as co-official according to the Statutes of Autonomy of bilingual territories (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2017). On the other hand, the number of foreign residents dramatically increased since the beginning of the 21st century (from less than a million to over 5 million by 2010, a number that remains until nowadays) (INE, 2022). The two Autonomous communities which received the largest immigrant population were Madrid and Catalonia, as both passed from hosting less than 200,000 foreign residents by the early 2000's to hosting over a million by 2010. Currently Catalonia has 1,250,665 foreign residents while Madrid has less than one million (INE, 2022).

This large cultural and linguistic diversity makes Spain an interesting territory to analyze intercultural dynamics, especially in bilingual territories with high levels of immigration such as Catalonia where local and foreign languages cohabit. In the case of Catalonia, linguistic policies have undergone several changes in order to adapt to social changes. Following Franco's dictatorship and rooted on the language revitalization somehow boosted by the 1978 constitution, the Act of Linguistic Normalization of Catalan enacted in 1983 had as its main aim to reverse the language shift and revitalize Catalan. The main goal of the act was successfully achieved mainly because of three reasons: 1) Introduction of Catalan as the vehicular language in the educational system 2) Presence of Catalan in the media 3) Use of Catalan by the Administration (Turell, 2001).

The act's success was depicted on normalized coexistence between Spanish and

Catalan, positive language attitudes towards both languages and equal opportunities for learning them (Solé 1981; Woolard & Gang, 1990). Although the success of this act was so relevant that it even was followed by other educational systems, the changes of the socio-demographic composition of Spain in the early 2000's led to inevitable policy changes.

The educational system played a key role on Catalan revitalization, and it has too on the efforts of achieving interculturality. In order to adapt the Catalan educational system to the new reality of immigration and linguistic and cultural diversity brought along with it, linguistic and educational policies whose main objective was to achieve social cohesion were implemented. The Catalan's government strategy was to achieve integration and social cohesion by promoting a public culture in which diversity is acknowledged and all members are able to fully participate and coexist. But overall, this public culture intended to make Catalan the backbone of common multilingual coexistence as Catalan was understood as the element that allowed multicultural communication, social mobility and cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008). Within the educational domain, the Plan for Language and Social cohesion 2004 [Pla per a la Llengua I Cohesió Social], its revisions and its current successor (Linguistic model of the educational System in Catalonia [Model linguistic del Sistema Educatiu de Catalunya]) (Generalitat de Catalunya 2007, 2009, 2018), stressed the importance of promoting and consolidating social cohesion through intercultural education and using Catalan as the vehicular language and backbone of a multilingual education.

Research has consistently found that one key aspect for achieving social cohesion is fostering integration and plurilingual acculturation strategies. Acculturation is understood as the phenomenon which takes place when two or more cultures get in first-hand contact. Different acculturation approaches have been postulated, the present

dissertation follows the principles and typology proposed by the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) (Bourhis, 1997) as it is the approach which most emphasizes the role of language in acculturation processes as well as the interdependence between the expectations of immigrants and natives.

This model follows the classic model of Berry as it proposes a typology based on two criterions: 1) the maintenance of linguistic and cultural identity of the minority linguistic group and 2) the adoption of linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group. The IAM proposes 5 acculturation orientations both for the dominant majority as well as for the linguistic minority population¹. The linguistic minority orientations consist of 5 strategies depending on if individual members of the linguistic minority group adopt or not the cultural identity of the majority group and maintain or not the cultural identity of their linguistic minority group. The 5 acculturation orientations are: 1) integration: high maintenance of the linguistic and cultural identity of the minority group as well as high adoption of the linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group 2) assimilation: low maintenance of the linguistic and cultural identity of the minority group meanwhile high adoption of the linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group 3) Separation: high maintenance of the linguistic and cultural identity of their minority group and low adoption of the linguistic and cultural of the majority group 4) Marginalization: low maintenance of the linguistic and cultural identity of the minority group as well as low adoption of the linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group 5) Individualism: lack of membership towards the linguistic and culture of the minority group as well as towards the one of the majority group.

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¹ Following the terminology proposed by Bourhis (1997), the introduction, discussion and conclusion of this doctoral dissertation uses the terms "acculturation orientations of the minority group" and "acculturation orientations of the majority group". Nonetheless, as the similarity in both terms may lead to confusion it must be clarified that the first term refers to acculturation profiles meanwhile the second one, refers to acculturation preferences of the majority group towards the minority group. These latter terms are used within each of the scientific articles.

On the other hand, the dominant majority acculturation orientations depend on whether individual members of the majority group(s) prefer members of linguistic and cultural minorities groups to either maintain their linguistic and cultural identity and/or adopt the linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group(s). There are also possible 5 acculturation orientations: 1) Integration: The majority group expects minority groups to both maintain their linguistic and cultural identity as well as adopt the linguistic and cultural identity of the majority group 2) Assimilation: Majority members wish individuals of the minority group only adopt the language and culture of the majority group, while progressively abandoning their heritage identity 3) Segregation: Members of the majority distance themselves from minority groups by not wanting them to adopt the language and culture of the host society but allowing them to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity 4) Exclusion: Majority members are intolerant towards minority groups either maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity nor adopting the language and culture of the majority group 5) Individualism: Members of the majority group define themselves as individuals rather than members of cultural and linguistic collectives (either the majority or the minority group)

Based on the tenets of the IAM as well as other acculturation models, studies based on these theoretical principles have consistently found integration as the most adaptive acculturation orientation, as well as the importance that acculturation orientations of the majority group match the ones of the minority group (Berry 2011, Bourhis 1985, Piontkowski et al. 2000).

The results found within this body of research have nurtured and shaped educational policies of different contexts including the Catalan one. Nonetheless, despite governmental efforts translated on educational and linguistic policies such as the ones described in earlier paragraphs, the Catalan educational system still has difficulties

achieving social cohesion and promoting integration orientations both in members of the majority group as well as of the minority groups.

One of the major challenges has been to adequately face prejudices and stereotypes targeting immigrants' students as a whole and in particular towards certain minority groups which have a major presence in Catalonia. The three minority groups with a major presence in Catalonia are Latin Americans, Moroccans and Romanians ². Different studies indicate that students from Moroccan origin suffer higher levels of discrimination in comparison to students from other migration origin (Basabe & Bobowik, 2013; Bobowik & Basabe, 2013). This is reflected on Moroccan students having more difficulties and barriers to achieve similar results than other peers of immigrant origin (de Miguel-Luken & Solana-Solana, 2017). Even so, that does not imply that Latin American and Rumanians do not struggle in the educational domain. Lucko (2011) study showed that students from Ecuadorean origin, face many obstacles that hinder their academic performance, including facing stereotypes towards Latin Americans such as the one which portrays Latin Americans as students with limited academic ability.

Linked to the difficulties brought up by discriminative behaviors rooted in stereotypes and false prejudices, another major challenge is the difficulties in fostering a genuine intercultural education. Undoubtedly, the Catalan educational system is characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity, nonetheless policies and educational strategies have failed to acknowledge and provide full participation to all students. One of the main difficulties to do so, is the lack of critical approaches which focus on getting to know the experiences of immigrant students and propose educational plans based on

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² In this study we group members of minority groups both by countries (Moroccans and Romanians) as well as by region (Latin Americans) due to contextual reasons. Inhabitants of Catalonia, including local high school students have a clear idea when referred to Moroccans and Romanians, nonetheless there is not a clear imaginary for each Latin American country but rather they are classified as members of a region.

their needs, expectations and moreover their knowledge. This is what some authors called epistemic injustice, not considering the experience of the individuals and thus losing the knowledge that each one of them can provide to society (Kessi, 2017). Educational plans which do not consider and include immigrant students in their decision-making process, do not only fail to attend to their needs but also denies the society the opportunity to learn from this knowledge (Dutta, 2018). Affecting immigrant students in particular and the educational system and society as a whole.

During the last decades, decolonial perspectives whose main aim is to reflect and question the explicit and implicit colonial heritage that is still present today, are more present in the educational domain. Specifically, approaches such as culturally responsive teaching and translanguaging allow us to understand linguistic and cultural diversity from a critical perspective, where the needs and moreover the expectations and knowledge of immigrant students are considered. Thus, immigrant students are not seen as "problems" to be solved but rather as assets to the educational system which enriches the learning process.

From one side, culturally responsive teaching builds on the students' cultural capital, their knowledge, and prior experiences, making learning encounters more meaningful and effective for all students (Gay, 2010). The main principles of this approach, allows contextual learning and enables students to be reflective and critical about their learning process and how it is affected by socio political aspects. From the other side, translanguaging follows similar principles but focusing on linguistic diversity and thus aiming that all students are able to use their full linguistic repertoire at schools without social and political boundaries defined by named languages (Otheguy et al. 2015). This perspective questions and challenges raciolinguistic ideologies which build from a violent racist and colonial history (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Hence, the

promotion of this perspective favors all students but especially linguistic minorities and promotes social justice.

Finally, another major challenge is promoting integration itself. A major mistake when addressing integration is to solely place the focus and the responsibility on immigrants (Sáenz-Hernández et al. 2021). Integration should entail the participation and the efforts of both majority members as well as of immigrants. Thus, this entails matching the needs and expectations of both groups. Studies drawn from acculturation theory have determined that the risk that could entail a mismatch between what the majority members prefer and what the immigrants prefer (Rojas, Navas et al., 2014). Studies within the educational domain in Spain, show that local peers endorse assimilation expectations towards their peers of immigrant origin (Sáenz- Hernández et al., 2020). Meanwhile students of immigrant origin tend to endorse integration or separation orientations. This mismatch in expectations could lead to possible conflict situations and hinders social cohesion

The challenges that the Catalan educational system has been facing in order to achieve social cohesion, has a series of consequences of mid and long-term impact both to immigrant students as well as to local students and the educational system itself. Constant barriers both in social and academic terms, lead immigrant students to have an overall low school adjustment which can be identified in either low sociocultural or psychological adjustment or even both. This low level in adjustment could be depicted in low academic performance, low self-esteem, low life-satisfaction, lack of network support, among other difficulties (Govaris et al., 2013; Schachner et al., 2017a). The combination and reiteration of these consequences, could lead immigrant students to drop out, be at risk of social exclusion and end up affecting their career goals, life expectations and in the last instance reducing their employability and quality of life

(Makarova & Birman, 2015).

Drawing upon this scenario, the present dissertation is located in Lleida, the most western province of Catalonia and uses acculturation theory in order to identify and analyze the general and linguistic acculturation orientations of the autochthonous high school students in this region. Moreover, it deepens on the factors that may mediate these general acculturation orientations by analyzing the role of cultural enrichment and perceived conflict, as well as it identifies which variables may predict the adoption of certain linguistic acculturation orientations. In order to question and challenge raciolinguistic ideologies behind the adoption of these linguistic acculturation orientations, it uses decolonial perspectives to propose alternative educational policies and strategies. Finally, it also analyzes linguistic acculturations of the minority groups as well as perceived discrimination and intergroup contact as predictors of school adjustment.

Based on one of the main tenets of the IAM, this doctoral dissertation approaches both the perspective of local students as well as of immigrant students. Moreover, it recognizes the specificity of each minority group by analyzing the three minority groups with major presence in Catalonia: Latin Americans, Romanians, and Moroccans. Each group is analyzed by separate so the needs of each one of them are clearly identified and thus, educational approaches are more adequately proposed.

The present dissertation is organized in nine chapters, and it is composed of a total of four studies presented in the form of scientific articles. Chapter 2 describes the general and specific objectives of the doctoral dissertation. Followed by chapter 3 which makes a general description of the methodology implemented in the doctoral dissertation. The four coming chapters present each one of the scientific articles. Chapter 4: Linguistic acculturation preferences of Catalan local students towards their

peers of Moroccan descent. The determining factors of linguistic assimilation delves into the linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous students towards their peers of Moroccan descent and analyzes which determining factors predict certain linguistic acculturation preferences. It specifically discusses the role of attitudes towards minority languages, attitudes towards multilingualism, Spanish self-identification, Spanish use with teachers and Catalan use with classmates.

Chapter 5: Linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous students towards their Latin American peers in Western Catalonia, follows similar objectives form the previous chapter as it identifies the acculturation preferences endorsed by autochthonous students towards their peers of Latin American descent as well as it identifies the determining factors that predict certain type of acculturation preferences. This chapter focuses on analyzing contextual aspects and how it particularly affects Latin Americans as the only minority group that share Spanish as a common language with the host country.

Chapter 6: Acculturation preferences, conflict and cultural enrichment on secondary education in Western Catalonia, focuses on identifying the general acculturation preferences endorsed by autochthonous students towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian descent as well as it analyzes how the variables perceived conflict and cultural enrichment mediates endorsing certain acculturation preferences.

Chapter 7: Predictors of school adjustment in high school students of immigrant origin in Western Catalonia, on analyzing which variables may predict a better or a lower school adjustment in students of immigrant origin. It specifically analyses the role of perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations and intergroup contact. It is worth noting that chapter 4 to chapter 7 include a brief but detailed description of the context of each study.

Finally, the doctoral dissertation ends discussing the overall results of the four studies (chapter 8) and describing the final remarks of the four studies, including its theoretical and practical contributions as well as the limitations of the study and future research questions (chapter 9).

CHAPTER 2: Objectives

General Objective

Identify and analyze the psychosocial variables that shape the acculturation and linguistic acculturation processes that take place in the educational domain in the province of Lleida (Catalonia, Spain). This study specifically focuses on students of the two last grades of mandatory high school in Spain.

Specific objectives

- To identify the linguistic acculturation orientations of local students towards their Moroccan and Latin American peers
- 2. To identify the determining variables which could predict the adoption of each linguistic acculturation orientation (both in the case of Moroccan peers as well as for the Latin American ones)
- To identify the acculturation orientation of local students towards their
 Moroccan and Romanian peers
- 4. To determine the degree of perceived conflict of local students towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian origin.
- To analyze the mediation effect of perceived cultural influence on the relationship between acculturation orientations endorsed by local students and perceived conflict.
- 6. To identify the acculturation orientations endorsed by students of immigrant origin

7.	To analyze the effects of acculturation orientations, perceived discrimination,					
	and intergroup contact in the school adjustment of students of immigrant origin					

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

In order to accomplish the aforementioned objectives, the present doctoral dissertation follows a quantitative methodology. Questionnaires on acculturation expectations and orientations, linguistic acculturation expectations orientations and, sociopsychological variables were applied as the main instrument to retrieve the data. A more informed description of the questionnaire and the scales applied can be found in the methodology section of each study.

Procedure

The data collection procedure was carried out at six secondary schools from the province of Lleida. In order to have access to them, the researchers contacted and obtained the approval of the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia. The local department of Education provided information regarding Catalan school's context and percentage of students of immigrant descents. Based on this information, schools were chosen and contacted. Researchers requested the collaboration of each school and once it was accepted, a schedule for data collection was stablished.

The instrument (questionnaires) were designed complying to ethical guidelines of the European Commission (2013). Thus, it was guaranteed that the participation of all high school students was voluntary, confidential, and anonymous. The questionnaire was applied collectively by a group of trained professionals during school hours. Students had time to ask questions or doubts regarding it. The process took around 60 minutes.

Participants

The participants of this study were 547 students of six secondary schools from the province of Lleida (51.7% boys, 48.3% girls, M_{age} = 15.15, SD = 0.84). Sampling technique as random cluster sampling (based on students' statistic on Lleida it is a

representative sample) was applied in order to obtain a significant sample. The sample included both local students as well as students from immigrant origin. On the one hand, a total of 349 local students participated in the study; participants were considered to be a local student only if both the students and their parents were born in Catalonia. On the other hand, to be considered a student of immigrant origin, either the students or one of their parents had to be born in a foreign country. A total of 198 students of immigrant origin participated in the study, students from Moroccan (N=51) and Romanian background (N=43) were the two most predominant origins, distantly followed by students from Ukraine (N=17) and Colombia (N=12). A total of 43 students were classified as Latin Americans.

Data analysis

Different statistical analyses were carried out using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS v.27). Descriptive statistics were obtained for all the main variables, meanwhile ANOVA analyses were carried out to analyze and compare the participants according to their acculturation preferences or acculturation strategies, and the main variables analyzed in each paper. Cluster analysis was used to identify the types of linguistic acculturation preferences, acculturation preferences and acculturation strategies. A mediation analysis was carried out using PROCESS Finally, linear regressions and multinomial logistic regressions were used to identify the variables that predict school adjustment and linguistic acculturations preferences, respectively. For more in depth information of the data analysis, see the methodology section of each study.

CHAPTER 4: Linguistic acculturation preferences of Catalan local students towards their peers of Moroccan descent. The determining factors of linguistic assimilationism

As a response to the migratory movements initiated at the end of the past century in Catalonia (Spain), its educational system aims to promote interculturality and multilingualism as a way to achieve social cohesion. For this purpose, it is important to improve our understanding of the linguistic acculturation preferences endorsed by local students towards students of immigrant origin – a scarcely studied factor. The present study applied 349 questionnaires to analyze the determining factors and linguistic acculturation preferences of local high-school students regarding the linguistic acculturation profiles of their peers of Moroccan descent in Lleida (Catalonia, Spain). The main results showed that, in order of frequency, assimilation to Catalan, assimilation to Spanish-Catalan and multilingual were the three linguistic preferences endorsed by local students. The multinomial logistic regression model found the following determining factors: attitudes towards minority languages, attitudes towards multilingualism, Spanish self-identification, Spanish use with teachers and Catalan use with classmates. These results highlight the importance and need to further promote the use and embracement of minority languages in school settings as a possible way to increase the construction of multilingual preferences and deconstruct prejudices and stereotypes to ultimately achieve social cohesion.

Introduction

Spain's linguistic diversity has gone through different stages of repression and revitalization. Franco's dictatorship (1939 – 1975) was one of the largest periods of linguistic repression in Spain and it was only with the Constitution of 1978 that Spain's multilingual reality was acknowledged and promoted. To democratize Spain and decentralize the power, the 1978 Constitution divided and granted autonomy to 17 regions of Spain known as Autonomous Communities. Additionally, article 3 of the named Constitution, opened the possibility to recognize other languages. This is how, Catalan became the official language of Catalonia, Valencia and The Balearic Islands, Basque of the Basque Country, and Galician of Galicia. The recognition of these languages as well as the autonomy given to each region led to bilingual education systems which promoted their regional languages and the use of Spanish (Taylor, 2022).

Globalization and large-scale migration flows shaped and posed new challenges to the Spanish educational system. Among its main challenges and goals was to ensure social cohesion and equal opportunities among students of immigrant origin 3 and local students, through an intercultural education which embraces language and cultural diversity (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018). These aspects are especially relevant for the educational system of Catalonia, as it is a bilingual community, with Spanish and Catalan as official languages, which has adapted its linguistic and educational policy towards a multilingual education whose main aim is to achieve social cohesion and upward social mobility.

³ Students of immigrant origin is used to refer to students who, regardless of where they were born or their citizenship, have a background that is culturally different from the majority. It is important to clarify that the Spanish citizenship is not acquired directly by birth.

To achieve these goals, it is necessary to understand the linguistic acculturation processes of all students. Understanding these processes involves recognizing the interplay between the acculturation strategies of students of immigrant origin and the preferences of locals (Piontkowski et al. 2000; Sáenz-Hernández et al. 2020; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Hence, the importance of promoting multilingual preferences in local students that recognize and value the cultural and linguistic background of their immigrant peers (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2021; Petreñas et al., 2021; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020). These preferences will help to achieve an intercultural education system and will help to reduce discrimination levels and possible conflict situations caused by the mismatch between local students' acculturation preferences and immigrant students' acculturation profiles. As a consequence, immigrant students' strategies will be strongly shaped by what local students prefer.

In this regard, previous studies have identified that acculturation preferences in general and linguistic ones in particular, are influenced by a variety of factors including variables related to multiculturalism and multilingualism, such as attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration, attitudes towards multilingualism, multicultural ideology, ethnic tolerance, and attitudes towards minority languages (Richardson, op den Buijs, & Van der Zee, 2011; Van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012), and also factors related to ethnolinguistic identification (Montaruli et al., 2011a; Montaruli et al., 2011b).

Besides these factors, another major aspect which shapes linguistic acculturation preferences of the majority group is the valuation they assign to the minority group they are referring to. Immigrant groups' valuation and status depend on many aspects such as cultural closeness, religion, language, and cultural values (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). In the Spanish context, Moroccans are depicted as a devalued group in comparison to

other minority groups, such as Latin Americans who are highly valued due to their cultural ties and common language (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013; Briones et al., 2012) and Romanians who although are also a devalued group, are valued higher than immigrants from Maghreb (Briones et al., 2012). Moroccans have a high cultural distance from Spanish culture which ultimately hinders their social integration (Basabe & Bobowik, 2013). Research has proved that this devaluation also applies to the educational context (Lapresta-Rey, 2021; Lapresta-Rey, 2022). As a result of this low valuation, local students have tended to endorse assimilation preferences towards their Moroccan peers (Briones et al., 2011).

With this background and considering the importance of acculturation processes in the configuration of an intercultural and multilingual educational system, this article's main objective is to explore preferences and attitudes endorsed by local students towards the linguistic acculturation profiles of their Moroccan peers. The influencing factors that shape these preferences will also be investigated. Based on the knowledge generated, a further aim of this analysis is to discuss its implications in the creation and consolidation of an educational system that enhances social cohesion.

Linguistic acculturation and education

Acculturation is understood as the phenomenon that takes place when individuals of different cultural groups come into first-hand contact (Redfield et al., 1936). The classic model of acculturation proposed by John Berry (1997), states that the acculturation profiles of minority groups are the product of combining two dimensions:

(1) maintenance of heritage⁴ culture, (2) and adoption of host culture. From the

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⁴ A heritage language is defined as a language spoken by the students' parents at home and crucially, it does not refer to a dominant language.

possibilities of combining these two dimensions, four types of profiles on acculturation are obtained: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization.

Different authors claim the important role that language plays in acculturation process by acknowledging that all acculturation processes are linguistic by nature as intergroup relations imply linguistic interactions (Noels & Clément, 1996). Linguistic interactions such as the acquisition of other languages require the adoption of new social representations and cultural elements of the other group (Rubenfeld et al. 2006). As Gardner (1969) states, learning a new language does not only entail learning new vocabulary but also includes acquiring symbolic elements of the ethnolinguistic community.

Highlighting the role of language on acculturation processes and following Berry's classic model, Bourhis (2001) proposed the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM). This model considers languages as the carrier of culture and so it claims that the process of acculturation allows understanding the changes in linguistic behavior such as language shift and loss and linguistic integration. This model, as well as Berry's one, distinguishes between the linguistic acculturation strategies adopted by the minority group and the ones adopted by the majority group. From now on, linguistic acculturation profile will be understood as the strategy adopted by the minority group (i.e. students of immigrant origin), meanwhile the term linguistic acculturation preference will refer to the preferences endorsed by the majority group towards specific linguistic minority groups (i.e. locals' preferences endorsed towards students of immigrant origin) (Bourhis, 2001).

Maintenance of heritage language

High	Low	

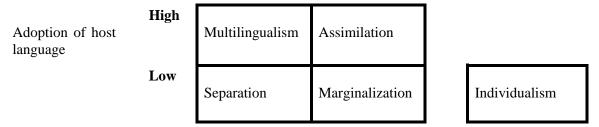


Figure 1. Linguistic acculturation preferences' typology. Adapted from Bourhis (2011) and Berry (1997)

Thus, the Bourhis model (2001) proposes a different set of typologies for each group. As shown in Figure 1, this model proposes the following typology to refer to the linguistic acculturation preferences endorsed by the majority group towards minority groups: (1) multilingual: high adoption of the host language as well as high linguistic maintenance of the heritage language, (2) assimilation: high linguistic adoption of the host society and relatively low linguistic maintenance of the heritage language, (3) segregation: low linguistic adoption of the host language and high linguistic maintenance of the heritage language, (4) exclusion: low linguistic adoption of the host society as well as low linguistic conservation of the heritage culture, and (5) individualism: this preferences is exclusive for this model and portrays the preference of identifying as individuals rather than part of the minority or majority group (Bourhis, 2001). This model also claims that the linguistic acculturation preferences of the majority group are influenced by the valuation endorsed towards the minority group. Majority members are more likely to adopt a multilingual preference with valued groups and more likely to endorse an assimilation, segregation or even marginalization preference with devalued groups (Briones et al., 2012; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rojas et al., 2014).

Linguistic acculturation preferences are a shaping factor in society at large as well as in educational contexts. For children and youngsters, schools are one of the main contexts where acculturation dynamics take place. Consequently, school contexts

and acculturation processes are interrelated (Schachner, 2019). The acculturation processes carried out within educational contexts seem to follow the characteristics of acculturation processes within public domains, as previous research has found that locals, including students and teachers, endorse assimilation and to a lesser extent multicultural preferences towards immigrant students (Navas et al., 2005; Navas et al., 2007).

In this regard, several authors indicate that the orientation of reception policies (at both educational and linguistic level) is one of the factors that best explain the development of acculturation preferences endorsed by the majority group (Berry, 2001; Bourhis, 2001; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). In this regard, intercultural and multilingual schools that opt for linguistic and educational policies which embrace diversity, tend to promote the development of multilingual linguistic acculturation preferences; meanwhile, assimilationist policies tend to promote assimilation preferences. However, even if intercultural and multilingual educational policies are pursued, they do not fully guarantee the endorsement of multilingual acculturation preferences by the majority group. This phenomenon could be explained by two main factors. First, for an educational system to be truly intercultural and to value multilingualism, society at large must also be socially, economically, politically, linguistically, and culturally intercultural (Berry et al., 2006; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

Second, the lack of a truly intercultural society leads to a gap between multicultural educational policies and daily educational practices (Faas et al., 2014; Petreñas et al., 2021). This gap is rooted in misconceptions such as thinking that intercultural education should be only addressed to minority groups, or to educational centers with high levels of cultural and linguistic diversity. Likewise, another common

misconception is to assume that any type of cultural contact leads to a real capitalization and valuation. This real valuation could only appear if some conditions are met, including the fact that it involves the participation of all educational members and not only members of minority groups (Galyapina & Lebedeva, 2016; Petreñas et al., 2021).

As indicated above, despite previous research supporting the promotion of multilingual preferences, studies in Spain and other countries such as Belgium, Finland, Portugal or Denmark have found that students of immigrant origin may feel pressured by their teachers and local peers to assimilate. As teachers consider assimilation as the best option for students to have better educational and social outcomes and peers show more social acceptance towards students with assimilation strategies (Briones et al., 2012; Van Praag et al., 2016, Schachner et al., 2006). Thus, the need to better understand the factors that shape the linguistic acculturation preferences endorsed by local students towards their peers of immigrant origin.

Determining factors of linguistic acculturation preferences

Previous studies not merely focused on linguistic acculturation processes but rather on general ones have found the influence of psychosocial variables (attitudes towards multilingualism, multiculturalism, and minority languages, language uses, language attitudes and identifications, etc.) on acculturation preferences. In relation to multiculturalism, Van Osch and Breugelmans' (2012) study found that Dutch participants were more supportive of multiculturalism towards minority groups that were perceived as less different, less threatening, warmer, and more competent. Furthermore, a study carried out in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania identified that perceived safety from the Ossetians towards Russians is linked to higher scores on multiculturalism, tolerance, and mutual integration (Galyapina & Lebedeva, 2016; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013). Nonetheless, equality by itself is not enough to promote

multicultural attitudes. According to Berry (2017), it is necessary for both quality and diversity to be present, as diversity without equality leads to separation or segregation preferences and equality without diversity may lead to assimilation profiles and preferences.

Additionally, strong identification with a single ethnic group has been linked to less welcoming attitudes towards outgroups (Montaruli et al., 2011b). Thus, people with strong single ethnic identification have more likelihood to endorse assimilation, segregation, and exclusion preferences towards other cultural groups, meanwhile people with dual identification are more likely to endorse a multicultural preference (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Studies carried out in the Basque country have shown similar results when addressing ethnolinguistic identification. Three types of identities have been identified in this context: monolinguals which can be either Spanish identity or Basque identity and bilinguals- biculturals (Montaruli et al., 2011a). Differences were found depending on their ethnolinguistic identity. It was found a pattern of ingroup favoritism in all participants as well as it was identified that Basque identifiers tend to have more bicultural patterns than Spanish identifiers (Garcia et al., 2017). Moreover, it was also found that strong regional identifiers tend to have less welcoming acculturation preferences than bilinguals, and that Basque identifiers and Spanish identifiers have more problematic relationships among them while dual identifiers usually play the role of language brokers and promote multiculturalism (Montaruli et al. 2011b).

Similar results were found in Catalonia, where Saenz-Hernández et al. (2020) explored the linguistic acculturation preferences of local young people towards Moroccans and Romanians and found that bicultural identification was a predictor of multilingual profiles. Assimilation and separation scores were also relatively high, and

the participants favored the language they identified with for assimilation. In general, there was no difference between the answers regarding Moroccans and Romanians except for the fact that adopting a Catalan identity or bicultural identity predicted lower marginalization scores towards Moroccans.

At the same time, linguistic identification and language use have been proved to point towards the same direction, as the use of language, especially in public spaces works not only for communication, but also carries a symbolic function as it represents the presence and strength of this language within this society. In this setting, the presence of the in-group language contributes to a positive identification towards the ethnolinguistic group (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Hence, it would be expected that natives with a high use of their in-group language have a high ethnolinguistic identification and hence more likelihood to endorse assimilation, segregation, and exclusion preferences towards other cultural groups (Montaruli et al., 2011a; Montaruli et al., 2011b).

Focusing on Catalonia, the last linguistic survey of 2018 showed that language use varies according to the individual's origin and its unequal distribution may play a role on language maintenance. Respectively, this survey found that Catalan is mostly spoken by the inhabitants born in Catalonia as 98.2% of them prefer to use it, meanwhile this percentage decreases to a 61.1 % in inhabitants born in other regions of Spain and drops to a 51% in the cases of foreign born (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018a).

Studies focused on the language attitudes of members of the majority group towards minority languages are scarce (Lapresta et al., 2010; Lasagabaster & Huguet, 2007). Lapresta et al. (2010) study carried out with secondary students in Catalonia found out that local students' attitudes towards the minority languages of their peers are

neutral or slightly positive. However, these attitudes are based on folkloric beliefs rather than on a real valuation. Nonetheless, the study of Newman, Trenchs-Parera & Ng (2008) also carried out in Catalonia shows that the languages of immigrant students are symbolically valued by local students who developed a cosmopolitan ideology.

There are few studies centered on the majority group's attitudes towards multilingualism. In this regard, Kimber's (2014) study carried out in Japan with university students, found out that most of the participants' understanding of multilingualism includes English as one of the languages spoken; pointing out that possibly the conceptualization of multilingualism includes majority languages rather than minority ones.

However, there is more evidence on attitudes towards multicultural ideology. Previous research on this topic has identified negative correlations with strong ingroup identification (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012) and positive relationships between bicultural or multicultural identities and preferences as well as tolerance towards diversity and uncertainty (tolerance of ambiguity) (Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Huff et al., 2017). Despite these previous findings, literature on multilingual ideology and linguistic acculturation preferences is still scarce. The lack of research focused exclusively on linguistic acculturation preferences creates the need to delve into this topic which is the main aim of the present article.

Sociolinguistic and educational context of Catalonia

The Catalan context is particularly interesting for the field of linguistics due to its change from a bilingual to a multilingual society. As previously stated, the 1978 constitution enabled language revitalization throughout different Spanish regions. In the case of Catalonia, this process was boosted by the 1983 policy called Normalizació Lingüística (Linguistic Normalization). Its main aim was to reverse the language shift

and revitalize Catalan by promoting bilingualism in a context where Spanish and Catalan were two competing languages. Language revitalization took place through mass media and the introduction of Catalan as the vehicular language of the educational system. Catalan was seen as a sign of social cohesion and at the same time bilingualism was promoted as a way to reduce potential ethnolinguistic conflict between groups (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

It was from the first decade of the 21st century onwards that the socio-demographic reality of the Catalan population changed due to the arrival of a large number of immigrants. This has been translated into the educational system, which has gone from 4.36% of foreign students in 2003 to 12.26% in 2020 (IDESCAT 2020a, 2020b). As a result, classrooms' reality shifted from a Catalan-Spanish bilingualism to a multilingual reality. Nowadays, this cultural and linguistic diversity is reflected in the presence of students from more than 140 nationalities (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2021).

In the light of this reality, new educational policies were designed and implemented. The Plan for language and Social Cohesion 2004 [Pla per a la Llengua I Cohesió Social], its revisions (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007, 2009) and its current successor: Linguistic model of the educational System in Catalonia [Model linguistic del Sistema Educatiu de Catalunya] (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018b) have as the main objective to promote and consolidate social cohesion through intercultural education and using Catalan as the backbone of a multilingual educational model. These new policies build on the Linguistic Normalization policy by adding socializing elements which allows fostering multilingualism and social integration (Trenchs-Parera & Newman, 2015; Trenchs-Parera 2018 & Lapresta et al., 2016).

All the above is transferrable to Lleida, the Western province of Catalonia.

Lleida is an ideal context to analyze the linguistic acculturation processes of students for two main reasons. Firstly, it is the Catalan province with the highest proportion of immigrants 21.4% (IDESCAT 2020c, 2020d); and secondly, its foreign resident population (and hence, students of immigrant origin) is unequally distributed. More specifically, immigrants of African origin, mostly from Maghrebi countries have the highest presence (45.33%), distantly followed by citizens of other EU countries, predominantly Romanians (24.95 %), and immigrants from South American countries (12.65%) (IDESCAT, 2020e).

Objectives

The present study has two main objectives: first, to identify the linguistic acculturation preferences of local students towards their Moroccan peers, second, to identify which variables could predict the adoption of each linguistic acculturation preference. Regarding the factors that determine linguistic acculturation preferences of local students, it was hypothesized that variables related to linguistic and cultural diversity, namely, linguistic use and identification, ethnic tolerance, attitudes towards multilingualism, and attitudes towards minority languages, may influence specific acculturation preferences.

Based on the results obtained, challenges of the current educational and linguistic policies in Catalonia will be discussed, as well as possible measures and interventions which could help improve and increase the creation of multilingual preferences, and ultimately social cohesion.

Methodology

Participants:

Participants were 349 local students (50.7% girls and 49.3 % boys, M age=

15.04, SD = 0.79) from six different secondary schools from the province of Lleida. To be categorized as local, the students and both of their parents had to be born in Catalonia.

Procedure:

First, the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia was contacted to obtain the necessary authorizations. After obtaining the approval of the Department of Education and based on its information regarding immigration, six schools were contacted in order to request their interest and collaboration to establish a schedule for data collection.

Instruments:

The instruments were applied collectively by a group of researchers. The questionnaire was applied during school hours on the students' classrooms; two researchers were assigned per classroom, which allowed them to clarify the students' doubts personally. Researchers ensured that students did not confuse the languages to which each item was referring to. Additionally, teachers were not present during the application. The process took around 60 minutes. The questionnaire was designed respecting the ethical guidelines established within Spanish territory. Informed consents from all participants were retrieved; therefore, participation was voluntary, and the confidentiality and anonymity of each participant were guaranteed. According to National Spanish Law no ethical committee approval was needed for this type of data. The following are the instruments used in this study.

Linguistic acculturation preferences towards Moroccans were measured using four Likert items ranging from 1 – never to 5 – always. The items are based on previous scales designed by Berry (2005), Bourhis et. al (2001), Navas et. al (2005, 2007), and

Lapresta et al. (2021) and they referred to the level of maintenance of the heritage language of the minority group (Moroccans) and adoption of the host languages (Catalan and Spanish) in two contexts: with their teachers, and with their classmates.

Linguistic identifications with Spanish and Catalan language were measured by two items on a 5-point Likert scale relating to the following questions: "To what extent do you identify with the Catalan language? And to what extent do you identify with the Spanish language?"

Use of Spanish and Catalan were assessed using a total of 4 items on a 5-point Likert scale which measured the frequency of use of each language in two different educational settings: use of the language with classmates and with teachers.

Ethnic tolerance assesses the acceptance and recognition of individuals or groups that are culturally different. The ethnic tolerance scale was adapted from the tolerance/prejudice scale of the Mutual Intercultural Relation in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) questionnaire by Berry (2017). This scale is composed of 6 items on a 5-point Likert scale and its coefficient of internal consistency is of 0.75.

Attitudes towards multilingualism was composed by ten items on a 5 – point Likert scale which evaluate the perception, attitudes, and feelings towards learning and knowing two or more languages, ("It is important to know two or more languages", "Speaking two or more languages makes it easier to find a job", etc...). Its internal consistency is of 0.54.

Attitudes towards minority languages included five items of a 5-point Likert scale related to embracing the presence minority languages ("We should strive to further promote the use of languages other than Catalan and Spanish (Arabic, Romanian,

Chinese, Fula, etc...)") and other five items related to the lack of interest towards minority languages ("It is useless to learn another language other than Catalan or Spanish (Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc...) as I probably will never have to use it"). The Cronbach's Alpha obtained for this scale is 0.74.

Statistical treatment:

Data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS v.27). A k-means cluster analysis allowed to classify the linguistic acculturation preferences according Bourhis (2011) typology. Moreover, a multinomial logistic regression was conducted to analyze the determining factors of the linguistic acculturation preferences. One-way ANOVAs analyses were conducted to support the results of the regression analyses.

Results

Linguistic acculturation preferences of local students towards their peers of Moroccan origin

Results from the cluster analysis indicated three linguistic acculturation preferences: assimilation to Catalan, assimilation to Catalan and Spanish and multilingual (Table 1). Namely, 199 participants (46.71%) showed an assimilation to Catalan preference by giving low scores on the adoption of Spanish and the maintenance of the heritage language of their Moroccan peers but high scores on the adoption of Catalan. Meanwhile, 138 participants (32.39 %) endorsed an Assimilation preference to Spanish-Catalan, as they reported high scores on the adoption of Catalan and Spanish, and low scores in the maintenance of the heritage language of their Moroccan peers. Finally, 89 participants (20.89 %) obtained high scores in all clustering variables, corresponding to a multilingual preference.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of maintenance of L1 and adoption of Catalan

for assimilation and multilingual preferences

Linguistic Maintenance /		Catalan		Catalan-		Multilingual	
Adoption		Assimilation		Spanish		(n = 89)	
		(n = 199)		Assimilation			
				(n=1)	38)		
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
	Classroom	1.42	0.64	1.25	0.47	2.97	0.97
Maintenance	Teachers	1.29	0.52	1.18	0.41	2.86	1.01
of L1	Schoolyard	2.53	1.10	2.17	1.03	3.53	0.83
	Classroom	3.89	1.06	4.55	0.66	3.85	0.90
Adoption of	Teachers	3.85	1.05	4.51	0.60	3.92	0.81
Catalan	Schoolyard	3.04	1.16	3.83	1.01	3.24	0.99
	Classroom	2.62	0.91	4.43	0.61	3.75	0.83
Adoption of	Teachers	2.45	0.87	4.35	0.69	3.80	0.79
Spanish	Schoolyard	2.55	0.95	3.88	0.88	3.42	0.91

Psychosocial and linguistic variables by linguistic acculturation preferences

A series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted to analyze the differences between linguistic acculturation preferences with regard to the psychological and linguistic variables of interest (see Table 2). The ANOVAs indicated there were significant differences among groups in five variables: *Catalan use with teachers, Spanish use with teachers, Spanish self-identification, ethnic tolerance, attitudes towards multilingualism and attitudes towards minority languages*. The Bonferroni post-hoc tests conducted to further explore these differences showed that participants who endorsed a multilingual preference *used Spanish with teachers* more frequently than participants who endorsed assimilation to Spanish and Catalan (t = 2.59, p = .031, t = .14) and those who endorsed assimilation to Catalan (t = 3.29, t = .003, t = .18). They also had stronger *Spanish self-identifications* than their peers endorsing assimilation to Spanish and Catalan (t = 2.67, t = .024, t = .14).

Furthermore, participants with assimilation to Spanish and Catalan preferences used *Catalan with teachers* more frequently than their peers with Catalan assimilation preferences (t = -2.43, p = .046, r = .13). Similarly, participants with a preference for

assimilation to Spanish and Catalan had more favorable attitudes towards multilingualism than those with multilingual preferences (t = 2.67, p = .024, r = .15). Finally, participants who endorsed Catalan assimilation showed higher *ethnic tolerance* than the ones with assimilation to Spanish and Catalan preferences (t = -3.09, p = .006, r = -.17).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and summary one factor ANOVA for psychological and linguistic variables by linguistic acculturation preferences

		Catalan assimilation		Spanish	Catalan and Spanish assimilation		Multilingual		p
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Catalan	use	4.25	1.11	4.55	0.80	4.27	1.00	3.66	.027
(teachers)									
Spanish	use	2.34	1.37	2.48	1.28	2.94	1.21	5.72	.004
(teachers)									
Catalan	use	3.51	1.63	3.56	1.56	3.53	1.53	0.03	.968
(classmates)									
Spanish	use	3.13	1.65	3.18	1.66	3.50	1.54	1.48	.229
(classmates)									
Catalan	self-	3.94	1.40	4.15	1.26	3.89	1.21	1.35	.261
identification									
Spanish	self-	3.29	1.55	3.64	1.38	3.83	1.36	3.86	.022
identification									
Ethnic tolerance		3.45	0.64	3.23	0.74	3.39	0.65	3.14	.044
Multilingualism		30.24	4.31	31.47	4.31	29.63	4.43	5.30	.005
attitudes									
Attitudes to minority langua	wards ages	3.56	0.64	3.52	0.71	3.76	0.62	3.79	.024

Determining factors of linguistic acculturation preferences

A multinomial logistic regression was carried out to assess which variables may be determining factors of the linguistic acculturation preferences of local students. The multilingual preference was used as the reference category. Table 5 displays the results of the regression model. The logistic regression model was significant ($\chi^2 = 67.96$, p < .001) and both the deviance statistic (p = .458) and the Pearson test indicate the model is a good fit of the data (p = .274).

The values of R statistic both for the Nagelkerke measure ($R^2 = .20$) as well as for the Cox and Snell measure ($R^2 = .22$) are relatively similar and positive, and they indicate relatively decent size-effects.

Table 3. Multinomial Logistic regression model predicting the linguistic acculturation preferences (category reference: Multilingual preference)

							C.I. 95% for Odds Ratio	
		В	SE	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	Lower	Upper
Assimilation	Catalan use (teachers)	-0.43	0.24	3.25	.072	0.65	0.41	1.04
o Catalan	Spanish use (teachers)	-0.54	0.18	9.18	.002	.583	0.41	0.83
	Catalan use (classmates)	-0.23	0.21	1.23	.268	0.79	0.53	1.20
	Spanish use (classmates)	-0.06	0.20	0.10	.747	0.94	0.64	1.37
	Catalan self-identification	-0.09	0.18	0.25	.617	0.91	0.64	1.31
	Spanish self- identification	-0.29	0.15	3.92	.048	0.75	0.57	1.00
	Ethnic tolerance	0.33	0.26	1.54	.215	1.38	0.83	2.31
	Attitudes towards multilingualism	0.10	0.04	5.36	.021	1.11	1.02	1.21
	Attitudes towards minority languages	-0.92	0.30	9.45	.002	0.40	0.22	0.72
Assimilation	Catalan use (teachers)	0.45	0.25	3.26	.071	1.58	0.96	2.58
to Spanish and Catalan	Spanish use (teachers)	-0.10	0.17	0.33	.564	0.91	0.66	1.23
	Catalan use (classmates)	-0.56	0.20	7.96	.005	0.57	0.39	0.84
	Spanish use (classmates)	-0.18	0.19	0.97	.325	0.83	0.58	1.20
	Catalan self-identification	0.11	0.18	0.36	.549	1.11	0.78	1.58
	Spanish self-identification	-0.07	0.14	0.21	.648	0.94	0.71	1.24
	Ethnic tolerance	-0.11	0.25	0.17	.679	0.90	0.55	1.48
	Attitudes towards multilingualism	0.17	0.04	14.92	.000	1.18	1.09	1.29
	Attitudes towards minority languages	-0.96	0.29	11.05	.001	0.38	0.22	0.68

The results show that there are four variables that predict if a person is more likely to have an Assimilation to Catalan preference than a multilingual one: Spanish use with teachers, Spanish self-identification, attitudes towards multilingualism, and attitudes towards minority languages. Namely, for participants who endorsed an assimilation to Catalan preference, higher scores on Spanish use with teachers, Self-identification with Spanish and attitudes towards minority languages indicate more likelihood of endorsing a multilingual preference. Respectively the change in the odds is 1.72 for Spanish use with teachers, 1.33 for Spanish self-identification and 2.5 for attitudes towards minority languages. On the other hand, for participants with an assimilation to Catalan preference, as attitudes towards multilingualism increases by one unit, the change in the odds of endorsing a preference for assimilation to Catalan is 1.11.

Likewise, three variables also predict the likelihood of a participant endorsing an Assimilation to Spanish and Catalan preference over a multilingual one: attitudes towards minority languages, Catalan use with classmates, and attitudes towards multilingualism. As in for the first group, an increase in the attitudes towards minority languages increases the odds by 2.63 for endorsing a multilingual preference; the same effect that creates the variable Catalan use with classmates as higher scores on it increases the odds by 1.75 for endorsing a multilingual preference, meanwhile the variable attitudes towards multilingualism increases the odds by 1.18 for endorsing a preference for assimilation to Catalan-Spanish.

Discussion

Regarding linguistic acculturation preferences, three preferences were identified: assimilation to Catalan, assimilation to Spanish-Catalan and multilingual. A great

proportion of the participants (74.3%) tend towards an assimilation preference, either to only Catalan or to both Spanish and Catalan, in comparison to the 25.7 % who favor a multilingual preference. This finding goes in line with studies on acculturation and linguistic acculturation preferences which claim that multicultural and multilingual preferences are usually adopted in valued groups (Bourhis, 2001), while assimilation is mostly endorsed in devalued groups such as is the case of Moroccans in Spain (Briones et al., 2012). However, one of the few studies focused on Catalan high-school students found that their linguistic acculturation preferences towards Moroccan and Romanian peers were predominantly multilingual, closely followed by assimilation and separation (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020). These differences may be due to the domain analyzed in each study. Sáenz-Hernández et al.'s (2020) analyzed general linguistic acculturation, while this study focuses on the educational domain. Thus, the type of acculturation area seems to be a deciding factor, in line with Navas et al. 's (2005) acculturation model, which claims that acculturation preferences differ according to the domain analyzed. As the educational context belongs to the public domain, it makes sense that assimilation preferences were adopted (Navas et al. 2005; 2007). Moreover, these preferences could have been influenced by the role played by Catalan within the educational system, as it is not only the language of instruction, but it is also linked to educational and professional success (Lapresta et al., 2021).

With respect to the determining factors, of the nine variables analyzed, five were found to significantly predict linguistic acculturation preferences: *Spanish use with teachers, Spanish self-identification, Catalan use with classmates, attitudes towards minority languages and attitudes towards multilingualism.* The results show the relationship between language uses and self-identifications, as both *Spanish use with teachers* and *Spanish self-identification* increased the likelihood of endorsing a

multilingual preference rather than an assimilation to Catalan preference. Using Spanish and self-identifying with it in the Catalan educational context, where it is used as the instruction language and its continuously reinforced by educational agents, could be understood as the use and embracement of both languages, hence the multilingual preference.

For the case of participants who have an assimilation to Spanish and Catalan preference it was found that *Catalan use with classmates*, increased the likelihood of endorsing a multilingual preference. In this case, self-identification does not play a role; nonetheless a similar effect where both languages are appreciated can be identified. As using Catalan when endorsing a preference for assimilation to Spanish and Catalan could be understood as the embracement of both languages. Furthermore, previous studies have found that supporting Catalan is interpreted as protecting threatened languages which leads to support other minority languages and thus the multilingual preference (Pujolar & Gonzàlez, 2013).

As expected, and in line with previous research (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012), more positive *attitudes towards minority languages* increased the likelihood of endorsing a multilingual preference rather than any of the two assimilation preferences.

On the other hand, higher scores on attitudes towards multilingualism predicted assimilation preferences. Although at first glance it could seem odd that this variable increases the likelihood of endorsing an assimilation preference rather than a multilingual one, it is important to bear in mind that multilingualism entails using two languages or more, indistinctly of which type of language it is (Baker, 1992). These results go in line with Kimber's (2014) study as it could be interpreted that participants who favor multilingualism do not necessarily support the use of minority languages, but

rather favor the use of more than one language, indistinctively whether those languages are a minority or a majority language such as English.

Educational implications and recommendations

The results of the present study point out the need to continue working towards a truly multilingual educational model in which there is no gap between policies and educational practices. For this purpose, it is necessary to continue promoting and embracing the use of minority languages within the whole educational community. In this regard, the current programs and strategies included in the actual educational model should be reinforced. For instance, language courses of heritage languages should be extended to all educational centers; furthermore, they should be addressed as a transversal issue rather than as an isolated knowledge only applied within language courses. A way to do so is to expand the range of courses by offering more courses in terms of number, languages and levels offered (e.g. A1, A2, etc...). Moreover, is key to continue raising awareness of the importance and utility of learning minority languages among teachers and students.

In parallel, the curriculum should be reviewed and updated. Specifically, one major change could be to adopt a culturally responsive teaching approach. This approach would allow to embrace and recognize heritage languages and cultures as well as design educational content and activities which deconstruct and reflect on stereotypes and discriminatory perceptions of culturally different students. To adopt this approach, curriculum changes are not enough, it is also essential to offer continuous training for teachers and members of the educational community. Thus, it is important to raise awareness of the topic from early childhood and promote genuine intergroup contact among students and teachers. If done correctly, this contact will lead a genuine

intercultural and multilingual education.

Finally, policies should also be improved in order to genuinely promote multilingual acculturation preferences. Based on our results, we consider that it is necessary to design and implement measures adjusted to the characteristics of each group. Since our results are focused on the preferences towards Moroccans, we find the need to further work and promote cultural enrichment towards minority groups, but especially towards devalued minority groups as Moroccans, aiming to deconstruct prejudices and discriminatory beliefs attached to this group.

Conclusions and limitations

This study helps broaden the literature on the understudied field of linguistic acculturation (Gaudet & Clément, 2009; Lapresta et al., 2019, 2020, 2021; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020; Petreñas et al., 2019) highlighting the importance of language in acculturation processes and, hence, the importance to review and adjust linguistic and educational policies according to it and the sociolinguistic context. In this regard, the results of the present study as well as its limitation suggest further work that could be developed within this field.

In regard to its limitations, a qualitative approach could complement the current results and extend it to all Catalan provinces in order to identify patterns and compare results. Specifically, qualitative studies could focus on analyzing the values, perceptions, and judgements linked to the acculturation preferences of local students. This analysis will help identify which educational measures and policies should be designed to reduce discrimination perceptions and which could help increase multilingual and multicultural practices within daily life. Furthermore, as the valuation of the immigrant group plays an important role in the linguistic acculturation

preferences endorsed by the locals, a comparison among Catalan provinces could help to broaden our understanding of the situation, as each one of them hosts different proportions of minority groups. A better and a wider understanding of the linguistic acculturation preferences of local students will help to develop more adequate and culturally sensitive policies to ensure a truly multilingual education.

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CHAPTER 5: Linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous students towards their Latin American peers in Western Catalonia

Located in the province of Lleida (Catalonia, Spain), this study aims to identify and analyze the predictors of linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous high-school students towards their peers of Latin American descent.

Autochthonous high-school students (N = 349) filled a questionnaire measuring linguistic acculturation and a series of linguistic and socialpsychological variables (i.e. multicultural ideology, ethnic tolerance, attitudes towards minority languages, identification with Catalan culture and identification with Spanish culture). A k-means cluster analysis identified that autochthonous students endorse two linguistic acculturation preferences towards their Latin American peers: assimilation and multilingual preferences. Meanwhile, a logistic regression model found that participants with higher scores on attitudes towards minority languages have more likelihood to endorse a multilingual preference. The results highlight the importance and need to further work for a genuine intercultural educational model that allows the integration of Latin American students as well as of other minority groups. Particularly, this study found the importance of boosting the use of minority languages through educational approaches such as translanguaging and language architecture.

Introduction

Acculturation processes affects immigrants' life satisfaction and their psychosocial adaptation (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Within an educational domain, the acculturation strategy adopted by students of immigrant origin shapes their academic success and social adaptation (Haenni Hoti et al., 2017), as well as their life outcomes (Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2018). Nevertheless, immigrant students' choices are not only shaped by individual aspects but also by a series of contextual factors, such as the host society's preferences, educational practices and policies (Schachner et al., 2017).

In educational settings, preferences of the host society are usually focused on teacher and autochthonous peers' perception (Van Praag et al., 2016). These preferences have been found to be influenced by attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration, multicultural ideology, ethnic tolerance and attitudes towards minority languages (Richardson et al., 2011; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012), as well as identification towards an ethnolinguistic group (Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi, & Larrañaga, 2011). Additionally, contextual factors, such as the multilingualism and multiculturalism of a society (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and ethnic composition and density (Jurcik et al. 2013) could also shape one's acculturation preferences.

Language and race play an important role on acculturation processes. The power dynamics between the host language(s) and the minority languages as well as of the racial affiliation of both autochthonous and minority members will shape the acculturation outcomes, including the acculturation preferences. These two aspects are especially relevant for the Educational system of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Spain), which has Catalan and Spanish as official languages and Catalan as

language of instruction at schools. Moreover, Catalonia's linguistic repertoire does not limit to Spanish and Catalan, major sociodemographic changes resulting from the migratory movements initiated at the end of the past century has turned Catalonia into a multilingual territory. The largest communities settled in Catalonia are from the Maghreb region, Romania, and Latin American countries (IDESCAT, 2019a). As these communities differ with respect to cultural distance and social valuation (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013; Briones et al., 2012; López-rodríguez et al., 2013; Oliveau et al., 2019) it is important to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the immigrant population and analyze each group separately. Aiming to broaden the current research which has focused on the preferences towards Romanian and Moroccan students (Sáenz- Hernández et al., 2020; Lapresta-Rey et al., 2021), the main objective of this work is to identify and analyze the linguistic acculturation preferences and predictors of autochthonous students towards their Latin American peers in the province of Lleida.

Acculturation, language and race in the educational field

Acculturation understood as the phenomenon that takes place when two or more cultures get in contact, considers language as a key aspect (Redfield et al., 1936). Within the different models of acculturation, the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) proposed by Bourhis (1997) considers language as the carrier of culture and so it claims that the process of acculturation allows to understand the changes in linguistic behavior such as language shift and loss and linguistic integration. The IAM, which is rooted on Berry's classic acculturation model (1997) claims the following typology of acculturation preferences: (1) multilingual⁵: high adoption of the host language as well as high maintenance of the heritage language, (2) assimilation: high adoption of the host language and relatively low maintenance of the heritage language, (3) segregation: low

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⁵ Multilingual is used to refer to a linguistic integration acculturation preference.

adoption of the host language and high maintenance of the heritage language, (4) exclusion: low adoption of the host language as well as low conservation of the heritage culture, and (5) individualism: this preferences is exclusive from this model and portrays the preference of identifying as individuals rather than part of the minority or majority group (Bourhis, 2001).

Previous studies have found that members of the host society tend to endorse assimilation preferences towards their immigrant peers (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Richardson et al., 2011; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012). The educational domain is no exception, teachers consider assimilation as the best acculturation strategy as it allows students to have better educational and social outcomes (Figgou & Baka, 2018; Van Praag et al., 2016). These beliefs may end up making students to feel pressured to assimilate. In fact, assimilation seems to be the predominant acculturation strategy chosen by students of immigrant origin (Figgou & Baka, 2018; Nwosu & Barnes, 2014).

As clearly stated, language is an inherent component of acculturation. While language is essential for understanding the acculturation process, race is another factor that cannot be understood away from language, especially when analyzing processes that involve immigrant students.

Race and language are intertwined, they emerge from one another (García et al., 2021). Additionally, languages are socially constructed, as its speakers continuously transform them. Thus, the importance of considering socio historical aspects when analyzing the relationship between them (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Language and race conaturalization is greatly rooted on European colonialism and it has been used as the foundation for the construction of modernity and the European national project (Rosa & Flores, 2017). This co-naturalization in which languages are understood as a separate

object linked with particular racial groups, supports a language hierarchy in which whiteness and European languages are on top of it. Decolonial approaches challenge and question these raciolinguistic ideologies founded on colonial distinctions between Europeanness and Othered non- Europeanness (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

A common raciolinguistic ideology that has permeated educational practices with minority students, is the idea of language appropriateness, more specifically what is known as academic language. In general terms, low-income immigrant students are depicted as lacking academic language; nonetheless what is understood as academic language does not follow objective and empirical linguistic practices but rather is a raciolinguistic ideology which poses minorities languages practices as inherently deficient (Flores, 2020; García et al., 2021). Instead of promoting language appropriateness, Flores (2020) proposes to adopt the perspective of language architecture. This perspective frames the languages used by minority students as integral to their academic development, thus it encourages teachers to step away from dichotomous practices rooted on academic language and instead focus on helping students make connections between their existing knowledge and academic requirements.

Along with language architecture, García et al. (2021) proposes a pedagogical approach known as translanguaging whose main aim is to embrace the vast complexity and heterogeneity of languages practices, eliminating language hierarchies and the understanding of languages as separate entities. Thus, this approach encourages educators to enable bilingual students to use their entire linguistic repertoire in order to build their knowledge and understandings.

Recent qualitative studies on the Catalan context show how present are raciolinguistic ideologies in educational practices. More specifically they have found

that heritage languages are side-lined in academic settings, prioritizing local languages such as Catalan (Sáenz-Hernández, Lapresta-Rey, Petreñas, & Ianos, 2021b). In this context, the imposition of Catalan is used as a raciolinguistic ideology which equals Catalan to whiteness and hence questions the ability of students of immigrant background to speak Catalan, despite their real linguistic proficiency (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021). This ideology is rooted on discourses which legitimate heritage languages but only in private domains and discourages it or even punishes them on educational contexts. This explains why in some settings Catalan is considered as the only legitimate language and a sign of integration (Sáenz-Hernández et al. 2021; Petreñas et al., 2020).

Predictors of linguistic acculturation preferences

Perceptions of the majority group towards the minority group shape the majority's attitudes and hence their acculturation preferences. According to the IAM model, the acculturation preferences of the majority group are influenced by the valuation towards the minority group (Bourhis et al., 1997). Majority members are more likely to adopt an integration preference with valued groups and more likely to endorse an assimilation, segregation or even marginalization preference with devalued groups (Briones & Tabernero, 2012; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Ordóñez-carrasco et al., 2019; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Rojas et al., 2014). This hypothesis posits that minority groups are valued according to their closeness in aspects such as culture, religion and language (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Along this line, Van Osch & Breugelmans (2012) found that Dutch participants were more supportive of multiculturalism towards minority groups that were perceived as less different, less threatening, warmer and more competent. Further supporting the relationship between majority's perception, acculturation preferences, multicultural

ideology, and ethnic tolerance; a study carried out in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania identified that perceived security from the Ossetians towards Russians, are linked to higher scores on multiculturalism, tolerance and mutual integration (Galyapina & Lebedeva, 2016).

On the same way, further studies of security's perception, have also found that cultural security predicted integration attitudes, tolerance and social equity (Lebedeva and Tatarko, 2012). Nonetheless, equity by itself is not enough to promote integration attitudes and multiculturalism; according to Berry (2016) is necessary to both have equity and diversity, as diversity without equality will be translated in segregation preferences and equality without diversity may lead to assimilation preferences and strategies.

Studies have also identified that multicultural ideology is negatively correlated with strong ingroup identification (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012). Strong identification with a single ethnic group has been linked to less welcoming attitudes towards outgroups (Montaruli et al., 2011a). Thus, people with strong single ethnic identification have more likelihood to endorse assimilation, segregation and exclusion preferences towards other cultural groups; meanwhile people with dual identification are more likely to endorse an integration preference (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Studies carried out in the Basque country have shown similar results when addressing ethnolinguistic identification. Three types of identities have been identified in this context: monolinguals which can be either Spanish identity or Basque identity and bilinguals- biculturals (Montaruli et al., 2011b). Differences were found depending on their ethnolinguistic identity. It was found a pattern of ingroup favoritism in all participants as well as it was identified that Basque identifiers tend to have more

bicultural patterns than Spanish identifiers (Garcia et al., 2017). Moreover, it was also found that strong autonomous identifiers tend to have less welcoming acculturation preferences than bilinguals and that Basque identifiers and Spanish identifiers tend to have more problematic relationship among them, meanwhile dual identifiers usually play the role of language brokers and promote multiculturalism (Montaruli et al., 2011a).

Similar results have been found in Catalonia. Sáenz-Hernández et al. (2020) study explores the linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous young people towards Moroccans and Romanians and found that bicultural identification was a predictor of multilingual profiles. Assimilation and separation scores were also relatively high, and the participants favored the language they identified with for assimilation. In general, there was no difference between the answers regarding Moroccans and Romanians except by the fact that adopting a Catalan identity or bicultural identity predicted lower marginalization scores towards Moroccans.

Latin Americans in Spain

The historical relationship between Spain and Latin America has mediated the immigration fluxes among both regions (Ballesteros et al., 2009). The latest Latin American migration phenomenon towards Spain had its early beginning in the decade of the 60's, nonetheless its peak was during the decade of the 90's and early 2000's. Latin Americans mainly migrated to get away from the consequences of failed economic reforms and political crisis (Gil Araujo, 2010); as well as they were attracted to Spain because of its economic growth, common language, cultural closeness and positive policies towards migrants (Tedesco, 2010). Latin Americans' arrival and posterior stay in Spain was fostered by laws, treaties, pacts, agreements and regulations that favored them. The possibility to obtain the Spanish nationality in a short period of

time was one of the main factors the contributed to Latin Americans settle in Spain (Gil Araujo, 2010; Ballesteros et al., 2009).

Along with those migration policies, Spanish as a common language (despite of the differences between the variety spoken in Latin America and the one spoken in Spain) has helped Latin Americans to join the labor force which at the same time also portrays them as a valued minority group in comparison to others which face language barriers and a larger cultural distance to Spanish culture (Martinez-Brawley & Gualda, 2016; Bobowik & Basabe, 2013). Despite these advantages, racism against Latin Americans is still present in the contemporary Spanish society, and it is actually rooted on colonialism thinking which is manifested in racist and language behaviors towards members of former colonies (Corona & Block, 2020).

Context of the study

Spain has a high level of Latin American immigration (28.10%) most of the members of this collective are settled in the autonomous communities of Madrid (25.48%) and Catalonia (22.35%) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2021a). The present study was settled in the Catalan province of Lleida, which by 2021 had a 24.3% of foreign population (INE, 2021b). Almost 43% of Lleida's foreign population are from African origin, 33.32% belong to EU countries, 12.92% are from American origin (predominantly from Latin American countries) and 10% from Asian origin (Institut d'estadística de Catalunya [IDESCAT], 2021a).

As previously mentioned, the distinctive characteristics of Latin Americans and their historical relationship with Spain may have given them both advantages as well as disadvantages. Nonetheless, when situating us in the educational system of the Autonomous community of Catalonia, these advantages, specifically the linguistic ones, may change or even disappear. Catalan is the instructional language of the Catalan

educational system and at the same time is a minority language with a long history of repression (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021). Thus, speaking Spanish has little value for a successful academic trajectory and it can even cause tension between educators who defend Catalan ideologically and practically speaking (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2014). The use of Catalan in the educational system, is seen as many students of Latin American origin as an imposition which latter on ends up on an active resistance towards it (Corona, Nussbaum, & Unamuno, 2013).

Furthermore, there are lexical, phonological, and grammar differences between the Spanish spoken in Spain and the Spanish spoken in Latin America. Ardila (2020) distinguishes two Spanish subcultures: The Iberian Spanish and the Hispano American, each subculture has a distinctive variety of Spanish. The Iberian Spanish subculture is characterized by its homogeneity and represents the one known as Castilian (term used in Spain to differentiate Spanish to other languages spoken in Spain). On the other hand, the Hispano American culture is more heterogenous but with the commonality that all of its Spanish varieties have a major influence of the Spanish used in Andalusia and languages from indigenous groups and African countries (Ardila, 2020).

The Spanish used and required in the Spanish educational system is the Castilian variety and despite its similarities, the Hispano American one is considered less valued and it is actually penalized in academic settings (Block & Corona, 2022). Considering the Hispano American variety as an inappropriate language for academic settings results in perpetuating colonial thinking and intrinsically promotes the use of standardized test and state-level data which do not account for racial inequalities (Beaman, 2019). The use of these assessment instruments entails an implicit color-blindness which does not critically reflect on how racial inequalities are affecting minority students. If racism is not identified, anti-racist solution cannot be designed (Khan & Gallego-Balsà, 2021).

To address the needs and challenges faced by immigrant students, governments have designed different policies. The Catalan educational system has been established following the principles of immersion bilingual education, with the final aim of guaranteeing that all students finish compulsory education proficient in both Catalan and Spanish. Socio-political and demographic changes brought by the migration wave at the turn of the century led to the implementation of new educational policies. The Plan for language and Social Cohesion 2004 [Pla per a la Llengua I Cohesió Social], its revisions (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2007, 2009) and its current successor: Linguistic model of the educational System in Catalonia [Model linguistic del Sistema Educatiu de Catalunya] (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018a) have as the main objective to promote and consolidate social cohesion through intercultural education and using Catalan as the backbone of a multilingual educational model.

Objectives

The present study has as main objective to understand the linguistic acculturation preferences and its predictors of Catalan autochthonous high-school students towards their Latin American peers in the province of Lleida. The following hypotheses were posed:

H1: The most adopted linguistic acculturation preference will be assimilation.

H2: High levels in *attitudes on social equity*, *multicultural ideology*, and *attitudes towards minority languages* will predict a multilingual acculturation preference.

H3: High levels on *Identification with Spanish culture* and *Identification with Catalan culture* will predict an assimilation linguistic acculturation preference.

Methodology

Participants

Participants were 349 autochthonous students (49.3 % boys and 50.7% girls, M_{age} = 15.04, SD = 0.79) from six different Secondary schools from the province of Lleida. To be categorized as autochthonous, the students and both of their parents had to be born in Catalonia.

Procedure

Firstly, the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia was contacted to obtain the necessary authorizations. After obtaining the approval of the local Department of Education and based on its information regarding immigration on Catalan's schools, six Secondary schools were contacted to request their agreement, collaboration and to establish a schedule for data collection.

The instruments were applied collectively by a group of trained professionals during school hours. The process took around 60 minutes. The questionnaire was designed respecting the ethical guidelines of the European Commission (2013); therefore, the participation was voluntary, and the confidentiality and anonymity of each participant were guaranteed.

Instruments

Linguistic acculturation preferences were measured using three Likert items ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always). The items are based on previous scales designed by Berry (2005), Bourhis et. al (2001) and Navas et. al (2005,2007), and they referred to the level of maintenance of the heritage language of the minority group (Spanish-Hispano American Variety) and adoption of the host language (Catalan) in three contexts: at class, with their teachers and in the schoolyard.

Identifications with Spanish and Catalan culture were measured by two items on

a 5-point Likert scale relating to the following questions: "To what extent do you identify with Catalan culture? And to what extent do you identify with Spanish culture?"

Attitudes on social equality assesses the level of support towards equal and unequal practices related to racial and ethnicity aspects. The ethnic tolerance scale was adapted from the tolerance/prejudice scale of the Mutual Intercultural Relation in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) questionnaire by Berry (2017). This scale is composed of 6 items on a 5-point Likert scale (i.e. "we should recognize that ethnic and cultural diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Catalonia", "the best thing for Catalonia is for all people to forget their cultural heritage") and it aims to assess attitudes towards cultural prejudice and tolerance. The coefficient of internal consistency is 0.77.

Multicultural ideology was assessed with the multicultural ideology scale of the MIRIPS questionnaire (Berry, 2017), which evaluates the level of support towards cultural diversity and multicultural societies. This scale is composed of 10 items on a 5-point Likert scale and its internal consistency is 0.70.

Attitudes towards minority languages included five items of a 5-point Likert scale which assess the level of appreciation towards minority languages ("We should strive to further promote the use of languages other than Catalan and Spanish (Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc...)") and other five items related to the lack of interest towards minority languages ("Is useless to learn another language other than Catalan or Spanish (Arabic, Romanian, Chinese, Fula, etc...) as I probably will never have to use it"). The Cronbach's Alpha obtained for this scale is 0.75.

Statistical treatment

The data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS v.20). The linguistic acculturation expectations were obtained using k-means cluster

analyses. A series of correlations and a one-way ANOVA were carried out to analyze the differences between linguistic acculturation expectations and to delve into the relationship between the psychological and linguistic variables. Finally, a binary logistic regression was used to identify the predictors of the linguistic acculturation preferences.

Results

Linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous students towards their Latino American immigrant peers

A cluster analysis was carried out to obtain the linguistic acculturation preferences which were labelled according to Bourhis' IAM model (2001). Two linguistic acculturation preferences were identified: assimilation and multilingual (Table 1). Namely, 199 participants (61.1%) showed an assimilation preference by obtaining low scores on the maintenance of the heritage language of their Latin American peers and high scores on the adoption of Catalan; meanwhile, 129 participants (39.3%) obtained high scores in all clustering variables, corresponding to integration preferences.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of maintenance of L1 and adoption of Catalan for assimilation and integration preferences. Comparison between linguistic acculturation preferences

Linguistic Maintenance /		Assimilation $(n = 199)$		Multilingua	Multilingual ($n = 129$)		
Adoption		M	SD	M	SD		
	Classroom	1.31	0.50	3.12	0.94		
Maintenance	Teachers	1.24	0.49	2.91	1.02		
of L1	Schoolyard	2.32	1.02	3.63	0.79		
	Classroom	4.27	0.90	3.77	0.96		
Adoption of	Teachers	4.24	0.92	3.76	0.97		
Catalan	Schoolyard	3.50	1.11	3.16	1.08		

Note: * p < .05

Psychological and linguistic variables by linguistic acculturation preferences

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to analyze the differences between linguistic acculturation preferences regarding the psychological and linguistic variables of

interest. According to the results showed in Table 2, participants' answers regarding ethnic tolerance, identification with both Catalan and Spanish culture were similar, regardless of their linguistic acculturation preferences. Differences were observed for two variables. Namely, participants with multilingual preferences had significantly higher scores on multicultural ideology and attitudes towards minority languages than those with assimilation preferences.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics and summary one-way ANOVA for psychological and linguistic variables by linguistic acculturation preferences

	Lingu	iistic pre	ferences	S			
Variable	Assin	nilation	Multil	ingual			
	M	SD	M	SD	F	p	r
Attitudes Social Equity	4.06	0.83	4.09	0.86	0.73	.787	.65
Multicultural ideology	3.22	0.60	3.38	0.64	5.32	.022	.92
Attitudes towards minority	3.53	0.67	3.71	0.65	6.09	.014	.93
languages Identification Catalan culture	4.01	1.31	3.94	1.15	0.21	.650	.41
Identification Spanish Culture	3.40	1.46	3.31	1.43	0.28	.600	.47

Correlations between psychological and linguistic variables

Table 3 displays the correlation matrix of all the scale variables used in the model. Two aspects are worth mentioning. In first place, social equity is the variable with the greatest number of significant correlations, as it had a significant correlation with all the remaining variables. In second place, the other variables which assess cultural diversity (multicultural ideology and attitudes towards minority languages), had a significant correlation among them.

Table 6. Correlation matrix

1 2 3 4 5

1. Attitudes social						
equity	-					
2. Multicultural	.44*					
ideology	.44	-				
3. Attitudes	.46*	.53*	_			
minority languages	.40	.55	_			
4. Identification	.15*	.09	.09			
Catalan culture	.13	.09	.09	-		
5. Identification	12*	08	03	37*	_	
Spanish culture	12	00	03	57	=	

Note. * p < .05.

Predictors of linguistic acculturation preferences

A binary logistic regression was carried out to assess which variables may be predictors of the linguistic acculturation preferences of autochthonous students. Table 4 displays the results of the regression model. The logistic regression model was significant ($\chi^2 = 13.251$, p < .000). One inferential test (Hosmer – Lemeshow test) and two descriptive measures (R^2 indices of Cox & Snell and Nagelkerke) were carried out to assess the goodness-of-fit statistics. The Hosmer – Lemeshow test suggests that the model fits to the data as it yielded a $\chi^2(8) = 6.51$, p = .590. The Cox & Snell ($R^2 = .04$) and Nagelkerke ($R^2 = .06$) indices also suggest that the model had a good fit.

Table 7. Logistic regression model predicting the linguistic acculturation preferences (Reference: Multilingual)

		В	S.E	Wald	p	Exp(B)	C.I. 95% for EXP (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Constant		-1.86	1.01	3.39	.066	0.16		
Attitudes social equity		-0.26	0.23	1.25	.263	0.77	0.49	1.21
Multicultural Ideology		0.47	0.27	3.21	.073	1.59	0.96	2.67
Attitudes	minority	0.46	0.23	4.01	.045	1.60	1.01	2.49
languages								
Identification	Catalan	-0.14	0.11	1.61	.205	0.87	0.71	1.08
culture								
Identification	Spanish	-0.12	0.09	1.60	.206	0.89	0.74	1.07
culture								

The linguistic acculturation preferences have as a predictor the variable attitude towards minority languages. Namely, participants with higher scores on attitudes

towards minority languages have more likelihood to endorse a multilingual linguistic preference than an assimilation one.

Discussion

The present study analyzed the predictors and linguistic acculturation preferences held by autochthonous high school students towards their peers of Latin American origin in the province of Lleida. The study was focused on the educational domain.

Regarding the linguistic acculturation preferences, Hypothesis 1 was accepted as assimilation was the predominant preference followed by multilingual preferences. This finding goes in line not only with studies on acculturation and linguistic acculturation preferences (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Richardson et al., 2011; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012), but also matches the findings of acculturation preferences within educational contexts which claim assimilation as the most predominant preference endorsed by majority members (Figgou & Baka, 2018; Van Praag et al., 2016). However, one of the few studies focused on Catalan high-school students found that their linguistic acculturation preferences towards Moroccan and Romanian peers were predominantly multilingual, closely followed by assimilation and separation (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020). Multilingual and assimilation seem to be the most favored preferences, however the predominance of one to the other needs to be better understood in order to be able to foster the development of multilingual preferences and strategies. Two main differences between Sáenz-Hernández et al.'s (2020) study and the present study are worth noting. First, the different groups of immigrant origin analyzed may be associated with different acculturation preferences. Second, Sáenz-Hernández et al.'s (2020) analyzed general linguistic acculturation, while this study focused on the educational domain. Thus, the type of acculturation area seems to be a deciding factor, in line with Navas et al. 's (2007) findings. This raises several questions regarding the Catalan educational system and the successful implementation of its policies geared towards educational inclusion (Decree 150/2017 of the Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya), as it seems that further work is needed to achieve its objective of promoting an intercultural environment, ultimately reflected by a predominance of multilingual preferences in educational settings.

With respect to the psycholinguistic variables used as predictors, it was found that the variables linked to diversity and equity (i.e. multicultural ideology, attitudes towards minority languages and social equality) had a positive correlation among them and moreover had the highest correlation coefficients among all. On the other hand, as expected, the correlation analyses also showed that the variable *identification with Spanish culture* had a negative association with the variable *identification with Catalan culture*; nonetheless what is interesting is that it was also found a negative relationship between the variable *identification with Spanish culture* and the variable *attitudes towards social equality*. Previous studies have found a negative relationship between multicultural related variables and a strong single ethnic identification (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001), thus it could be hypothesized that the negative relationship results from it, nonetheless the fact that the correlation coefficient is low (0.12) and that the negative association applies only for the variable identification with Spanish culture calls the attention.

The results of the ANOVA go in line with previous studies which show a link between integration attitudes and multiculturalism (Lebedeva & Galyapina, 2016) and cultural identifications (Montaruli et al., 2011a, 2011b; Saenz et al., 2020), as the participants who endorse a multilingual preference had significantly higher levels in the variables *multicultural ideology* and *attitudes towards minority languages* than those

who endorsed assimilation preferences.

Regarding the linguistic acculturation predictors, hypothesis 2 was partially confirmed as only one variable was confirmed as a predictor (Attitudes towards minority languages). Interestingly this variable is the only variable which embraces cultural diversity and is directly linked with linguistic issues at the same time. Although acculturation preferences are a widely researched topic (Berry, 2005; Navas et al., 2005), the field of linguistic acculturation remains understudied, which is why previous research has delved into the predictors of acculturation preferences but not of linguistic acculturation preferences. Thus, the variables linked to cultural diversity (i.e. multicultural ideology and social equity) which do not include linguistic aspects, may be predictors of acculturation preferences (Richardson et al., 2011; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012; Jurcik et al., 2013), but not necessarily work as predictors of linguistic acculturation preferences.

The predictor found in this study hints towards the importance of implementing or readjusting educational policies and practices. Linking the present finding with previous qualitative studies on the Catalan context, puts in evidence the importance of recognizing minority languages, in this specific case the Hispano American variety of Spanish as legitimate and appropriate for academic settings. To do so, educational practices such as translanguaging and language architecture could be implemented to promote multilingual practices that recognize and build on from the knowledge of immigrant students (N. Flores, 2020; García et al., 2021). To expect successful outcomes, these changes should be accompanied with intercultural practices which continue promoting in an effective way intercultural education.

Finally, hypothesis 3 was not confirmed as cultural identifications were not found as predictors of assimilation preferences. Previous studies have found the

relationship between strong cultural identification and assimilation preferences (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montaruli et al. 2011a; Montaruli et al., 2011), the reason why there are differences between our findings and the ones of previous studies, could be due to the domain and age group analyzed in each study. The present study focuses on high school students in the educational domain, meanwhile previous studies are mostly focused on undergraduate students and other domains (e.g., culture, marriage and work).

Additionally, another aspect worth discussing is the minority group analyzed. Students from Latin American origin are the only minority group that has knowledge of one of the official languages, despite of that they do not count with a linguistic advantage as the variety spoken has not the same value as the Iberian variety and even more are required to use Catalan in educational settings. In this sense, students of Latin American origin are found in the tension between Catalan and Spanish and what each language represents in educational settings. From one side, Catalan is a minority language which comes from a long history of repression against the State language (Spanish) which makes understandable why the presence of Spanish, even the Hispano American variety, could be considered as a threat (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2014). From the other side, Latin American students may consider Catalan as an imposition and be resistant towards using it. This can be problematic as Catalan is linked to social recognition (Woolard & Frekko, 2013) and hence to integration (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021b). The findings of this study which points towards assimilationism corroborates this tension and highlight the importance to deconstruct raciolinguistic ideologies which perpetuate not recognizing students from Latin American origin as legitimate Catalan speakers and hence fully integrated. Likewise, it is also necessary to reflect and deconstruct on the false discourse which mistakenly confuses assimilation with integration. The use of these type of discourses reinforces assimilationism and puts the responsibility for adapting to immigrant students rather than considering a responsibility of the society as a whole (Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2021b).

Moreover, the differences between the Iberian Spanish and the Hispano American variant (Ardila, 2020) could lead to think that the perception of autochthonous students towards both variants are different. This hypothesis raises the following question: does the Spanish Latin American variant also compete with Catalan in the same way as the Castilian variant (Ianos et al., 2016) or on the contrary, is it perceived as a minority language due to its association with a minority group? Although the findings of the present study do not give a clear answer to this question, both the findings and the data from the latest linguistic survey (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018b) points towards a predominance of use and preference of Catalan in the educational domain, and hence the need to further promote linguistic diversity to achieve a multilingual education.

This study sheds new light into previous studies on acculturation preferences as many of them focuses on teachers' perspective and do not address autochthonous students (Figgou & Baka, 2018). It is important to also consider the perspective of autochthonous students as they are the ones who have most contact with immigrant students in terms of social interaction, enabling language socialization and contributing on the development of linguistic ideologies built by immigrant students (Larrea Mendizabal, Trenchs-Parera, & Newman, 2014; Newman, Patiño-Santos, & Trenchs-Parera, 2013).

Although this study showed assimilation preferences towards students of Latin American origin, the causes and factors which shape these preferences are different from contexts which observe similar trends such as U.S.A (Roth, Musci, & Eaton, 2019; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007). This calls the need to be cautious when comparing

contexts as well as the need to identify specific aspects for each context.

In conclusion, the findings of the present article are relevant not only because they broaden the available literature on linguistic acculturation preferences, but also because they provide in-depth knowledge for the Catalan context. In general lines, the results show that autochthonous students have an assimilation linguistic preference towards their peers of Latin American origin rather than a multilingual one. This finding highlights the need to re-assess intercultural and multilingual policies to better address this issue. Furthermore, the results showed that favorable attitudes towards minority languages may lead to multilingual preferences, hence the need to expose and embrace different languages specially minority languages. This implies not only guaranteeing the presence of minority languages at school settings but allowing a genuine contact and learning process of them by including them in the curriculum, educational practices and activities. To do so, educational policies should reflect on implicit raciolinguistic ideologies that are promoted through conventional educational practices and in turn propose new alternatives such as language architecture and translanguaging.

Limitations and future studies

This study has a series of limitations that could be further improved in future research. First, the findings only apply to the province of Lleida. Future research could be extended to all the Catalonia provinces in order to identify patterns and carry comparisons. Specifically, it would be interesting to carry out comparisons with Barcelona where more than 40% of immigrants are from Latin American origin (IDESCAT, 2020a, 2020b), but at the same time, language identification and linguistic uses differ from the remaining provinces (Lleida, Girona and Tarragona), as the population of Barcelona identifies and uses more Spanish than Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018b).

Considering context as a main aspect of acculturation preferences (Navas et al., 2005), future studies carried out in the remaining provinces, may add other variables as predictors to better fit in the context as well as to delve in the predictors of linguistic acculturation preferences. Thus, variables that have been found to be linked with acculturation preferences and depends on the context such as prejudice and perceived threat towards minority groups could be added (Briones & Tabernero, 2012; Escandell & Ceobanu, 2009; López-rodríguez et al., 2013; Maisonneuve et al., 2014; Nshom & Khalimzoda, 2019; Tip et al., 2012; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012).

Finally, qualitative studies not only with autochthonous peers but also with immigrant students will be useful to capture their voice and have in-depth information on why certain variables predict multilingual preferences rather than assimilation ones.

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CHAPTER 6: Acculturation preferences, conflict, and cultural enrichment on secondary education in Western Catalonia

Located in Western Catalonia (Spain), the article's aim is to analyse the acculturation preferences of majority group high-school students towards their peers of Moroccan and Romanian descent. Furthermore, it aims to delve deeper into the influence on the perception of conflict with these groups mediated by cultural enrichment. The data are the result of conducting a questionnaire among 349 autochthonous students enrolled in Compulsory Secondary Education in Western Catalonia. The data have been analyzed using cluster analysis, ANOVA, and mediation analysis. The findings show that a small number of high-school students construct integration acculturation preferences towards Moroccans and Romanians, while the majority of the preferences are of assimilation or segregation. In addition, the perceived conflict is higher for Moroccans than Romanians, and the cultural enrichment is higher for Romanians than for Moroccans. Finally, there is a low mediating effect of cultural enrichment on the relationship between acculturation preferences and degree of conflict. The relevance and originality of this article stems from the application of Acculturation Theory on the construction of acculturation preferences in the educational domain. Additionally, it is a context characterized by an exceptional cultural and linguistic diversity. Furthermore, acculturation preferences, perceived degree of conflict and perceived cultural enrichment are analyzed comparatively regarding descendants of Moroccans and Romanians. This approach has scarcely

been used at an international level, and practically never at the Spanish and Catalan level.

Introduction

Catalonia, a region located in the northeast of Spain, is characterized by its Superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007). So much so that the latest data indicate that 150 nationalities cohabit (Idescat, 2021) and more than 300 languages are spoken in its territory (Linguamón, 2021).

Evidently, all of this is reflected in the educational system, which has opted for an educational model that develops and consolidates multilingualism and interculturality as its main axes which also provides students with the competence to coexist in a diverse environment (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

This strategic line is complementary to those found in Catalonia's various citizenship and migration plans known as *Plans de Ciutadania i de les Migracions* (Citizenship and Migrations Plan) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2017), as well as in its education policies as reflected in its language and social cohesion plan *Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesió Social* (Plan for Language and Social Cohesion) developed in 2004 and later updated (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004, 2009).

Beyond academic goals, all of these documents emphasize the importance of an intercultural education, the creation of a shared project for co-existence based on plurilingualism and cultural diversity, the value of all cultures and languages that co-exist in Catalan territory, the promotion of the knowledge and recognition thereof and the fight against any form of discrimination.

Therefore, one of the main goals of the educational system is to create acculturation profiles that strengthen mutual knowledge and a positive view of all cultures. All of this is done to foster satisfactory co-existence which prevents conflict.

Considering all of the above, the main objective of this article is to analyse the acculturation preferences that high-school students of the majority group endorse towards those in minority groups (descendants of Moroccans and Rumanians) in the educational domain. Moreover, it aims to study its influence on perceived conflict mediated by perceived cultural enrichment.

A further purpose is pursued based on the knowledge obtained, which is to provide guidelines to assess the outputs of the Catalan educational system.

Acculturation theory

The concept of acculturation refers to 'those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact', which necessarily involves changes and adjustments in and between groups (Redfield *et al.* 1939, 149).

Based on this idea, the first approaches of acculturation theory were formulated between the 1970s and '80s. These approaches have been revised and reformulated over the last decades. Currently, although there is no completely unified theoretical framework, a shared idea among all the approaches in that they account for both the acculturation profiles of minority groups (in this case, descendants of migrants), as well as the acculturation preferences of the majority group (Berry, 1980, 2005; Bourhis et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2007).

It must be noted that from now on, when we refer to either profiles or preferences, we are referring to an indicative typology which follows theoretical guidelines. Acculturation processes in real life are more complex (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

On one hand, acculturation profiles refer to the strategies constructed by descendants of migrants as a result of the combination between the extent to which their traditions and cultural customs of origin (theirs or that of their ascendants) are maintained and the extent to which they adopt the majority ones. Four profiles can be established based on this: a) a profile of integration, which involves a high degree of maintenance of one's own cultural particularities yet also adoption of the majority group(s); b) a profile of assimilation, which involves not maintaining one's own particularities but rather incorporating those of the majority group(s); c) a profile of separation where the preservation of one's culture is acceptable yet not the adoption of the majority group(s); and d) a profile of marginalization with a low level of conservation of the culture of origin as well as the incorporation of the majority group(s).

On the other hand, the acculturation preferences of the majority group refer to the desirable choices they project over the minority group(s). Consequently, there are also four preferences based on the desirability of cultural maintenance/adoption (parallel to the foregoing): a) integration; b) assimilation; c) segregation; d) exclusion.

The importance of these preferences lies in the fact that they influence the construction of acculturation profiles of descendants of migrants, as well as, among others, racism, prejudice, or the perception of minorities.

In this line, Zick et al. (2001) analysed the relationship between acculturation preferences, racism and prejudice towards ethnic minorities in Germany. The study found that acculturation preferences are mostly assimilationist or segregationist, and that prejudice and racism were lower towards immigrant groups perceived as opting for assimilation or integration.

In a similar vein, a study carried out in the United Kingdom and focused on Pakistanis, found that preferences of the majority group were shaped by the perception towards this minority group (Zagefka et al. 2012). Thus, those who perceived that Pakistanis wanted to assimilate were more likely to construct integration preferences and showed less prejudice (Zagefka et al. 2012). Also, Nshom and Khalimzoda (2019), in this case studying the preferences of adolescents in Finland, concluded that younger youth are more assimilationist than older youth, as well as men are more than women.

There are also studies in Spain that reiterate the importance of acculturation preferences for promoting a satisfactory coexistence. López-Rodríguez et al. (2014, 2016) analysed how group valuation and threat perception shape the acculturation preferences constructed by the majority group towards Ecuadoreans and Moroccans. In this case, the majority group is more integrative with Ecuadoreans than with Moroccans, as the latter group is perceived as more threatening and culturally distant.

Acculturation in the educational domain

Acculturation preferences differ depending on the domain to which they refer (Berry and Sam 1997), although the empirical evidence proves that, as a general trend, majority group tends to prefer minority groups to integrate or assimilate in public areas and integrate or maintain their traditions in private areas (Berry and Sam 1997; Bourhis *et al.*, 2009; Rojas *et al.*, 2014).

Nonetheless, acculturation preferences that are specifically constructed in the educational domain have been scarcely studied. That is, although there are studies that address general patterns of acculturation constructed by students or studies which consider the educational domain as another dimension, there are scant studies that explore the patterns of acculturation constructed within the educational domain.

The importance of an analysis of the educational domain is amplified by its condition as a basic agent of socialization. Added to this is the fact that an education system anchored in the principles of an intercultural education should promote integration acculturation preferences (Perry and Southwell, 2011; Coulby, 2006; Faas *et al.*, 2014; UNESCO, 2006, 2014).

Although it may be considered valid, this last idea must be discussed and even questioned. Firstly, the very Theory of Acculturation as well as others such as that of Segmented Assimilation Theory (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes et al., 2005) indicate that an educational system may pursue the construction of integration patterns of acculturation, this is not always possible to achieve if the society at large is not socially, economically, politically and culturally integrating (Berry et al., 2006; Leong and Ward, 2006; Yagmur and Van de Vijver, 2012). Secondly, the education model itself must be truly intercultural. Several authors (Faas, 2008; Garreta et al., 2020; Petreñas et al. 2021; among others) have indicated that intercultural premises are often not translated into practice which generates the mistaken thought that such education is exclusively aimed at the minority groups or schools with a high degree of cultural diversity. At the same time, one can fall into the reductionism of assuming intercultural contact per se capitalizes and emphasizes the value of the cultures in contact. Intercultural contact can of course lead to a real valuation of this kind yet only when it involves all students. In other words, intergroup contact must be approached as cooperation to achieve common goals and the different groups must value each other reciprocally for it to be considered quality contact (UNESCO, 2006, 2014).

Although it is true that acculturation preferences in the educational domain have not been extensively analysed, there are some studies conducted with students from the majority group, mainly university students. Hillenkens et al. (2019) show how the

acculturation preferences of majority group students in Belgium with respect to Turks and Moroccans tend to be segregationists, considering the cultures are hardly compatible. Montreuil and Bourhis (2004), studying the acculturation preferences of undergraduates in Montreal, conclude that they are mainly for integration, but also show that there are differences between the English-speaking and French-speaking majority, reflecting the intergroup relations between the two groups marked by their nationalist consciousness, with French-speakers opting for assimilation preferences to a greater extent.

In Spain and closer to this work, we can highlight the work of Garcia et al. (2017) in the Basque Country or Petreñas et al. (2021) in Catalonia. García et al. (2011) study the influence of ethnolinguistic identity on attitudes towards cultures, languages and language groups in contact in the case of high school students. They identified three identity prototypes (Spanish / Basque / dual) that influence attitudes towards groups traditionally in contact (Basque and Spanish), but little with respect to descendants of foreign migrants.

In a rather similar vein, but in this case focusing on linguistic acculturation preferences among students in Catalonia, Lapresta-Rey et al. (2020a), show how the most integrationist identity prototypes (Spanish / Catalan / dual) are those that develop dual identity constructs. Finally, Petreñas et al. (2021) show how the acculturation profiles of descendants of migrant students tend to be of integration or assimilation, being largely influenced by how they are perceived by their peers in the majority group. More specifically, the discourses of the descendants of migrants indicate that they perceive that the concept of integration of their peers on many occasions corresponds to the concept of assimilation, that is, the person who assimilates is considered to be integrated.

Acculturation Preferences, Perceived Conflict and Cultural Enrichment in the educational domain: Valued and devalued groups

As indicated above, one of the main objectives of any intercultural education model is to promote the construction of integration acculturation patterns among all students. The aim is to approach cultural differences as a value, with the ultimate goal of avoiding current or future social conflict.

Since its very first approaches, acculturation processes reflect that conflict (and the perception thereof) increases when there is dissonance between the acculturation profiles constructed by the minority groups and the preferences of the majority (Berry and Sam, 1997; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997). In the case of majority groups, this conflict is largely mediated by perceived cultural enrichment, understood as the result of the difference between benefit and a cultural threat (Navas *et al.*, 2005). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the degree of cultural enrichment should mediate the acculturation preferences and perceived intergroup conflict (Briones, 2010) (Figure 2).

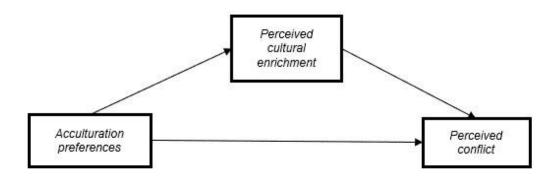


Figure 2. Conceptual mediation model

Studies that have approached perceived cultural enrichment and other correlates make

clear how integration preferences tend to be associated with more satisfactory intergroup outputs (Bourhis *et al.*, 2009).

Nevertheless, it is also true that not all groups are valued in the same way. For instance, Navas *et al.* (2005) show that overall, the 'natives' perceive a worse influence from Maghreb culture on Spanish culture than from Sub-Saharan culture. Moreover, people of Spanish origin who prefer integration perceive a better influence of their cultures on Spanish culture whereas those who choose exclusion find it worse. In other work with students, Briones *et al.* (2011) concluded that high-school students of the majority group perceive a worse influence on Spanish culture from Ecuadorian and Moroccan culture than the other way around. In the aforementioned studies of García *et al.* (2017) and Sáenz-Hernández et al. (2020, 2021), or in the ones of Larrañaga *et al.* (2016) or Montaruli *et al.* (2011), it was found that students' opinions towards Moroccans are more negative than towards other groups, such as Romanians.

These differences between groups are by no means casual. Different groups are accepted and valued unequally - for language, ethnic, religious, economic and other reasons. This can lead to differences in their cultural, linguistic and educational adjustment based on whether they are 'valued' or 'devalued'. This can lead to differences in their cultural, linguistic and educational adjustment based on whether they are "valued" or "devalued". On the same line, research has demonstrated that the majority group endorse more integration preferences over better-valued minority groups than over those that are less valued and who tend to experience more discrimination, prejudice, conflict and a lower degree of perceived cultural enrichment (Bourhis et al., 2009; Montreuil and Bourhis, 2004). This research was carried out in Lleida, a city located in the extreme western portion of Catalonia with a population of 138,956 inhabitants (Spanish National Statistics Institute, 2020). The province of Lleida hosts a

total of 26,040 foreigners (18.74%) of which 20.60% are of Romanian origin and 21.38% of Moroccan origin. These figures are reflected in the sociodemographic composition of its school-age population.

In the case of foreigners aged 10 to 19 (which largely corresponds to the period of compulsory secondary education), those of Romanian nationality represent 29.47% of the total, while those of Moroccan nationality represent 23.21% (Spanish National Institute of Statistics, 2020).

Due to the presence of two official languages, Catalan and Spanish, Lleida is also a province that presents singularities with regard to its sociolinguistic characteristics. These two languages coexist with a similar presence among their inhabitants; Catalan is the language commonly used by 57%, the identification language by 55.40% and the initial language of 47.90% of the population (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

Regarding the educational system, it was revealed that the predominant language used in the educational context in Lleida is Catalan (32.7%) followed by a mix between Catalan & Spanish with a predominance on Catalan (29.3%) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2019).

Under this theoretical and contextual framework, the objectives of this article are:

To explore the acculturation preferences within the educational domain of high-school students of the majority group at the end of the Compulsory Secondary Education (14-16 years old) with respect to descendants of Moroccans and Romanians.

To study the perceived cultural enrichment of Moroccan and Romanian cultural

customs.

To determine the degree of perceived conflict among young people in the majority group and descendants of Moroccans and Romanians.

To analyse the mediation effect of perceived cultural influence on the relationship between acculturation preferences adopted in the educational domain and perceived conflict.

These objectives aim to answer the following Research Questions:

RQ1. Do the preferences of majority group students at the end of the Compulsory Secondary Education differ towards Moroccan and Romanian descendants?

RQ2. Is the perceived cultural enrichment of the students of the majority group similar for both groups?

RQ3. Is the perception of conflict also equivalent in both cases?

RQ4. Does greater or lesser cultural enrichment have a mediating effect on the relationship between acculturation preferences towards Moroccan and Romanian descendants and perceived conflict with these groups?

These objectives and research questions will allow to reach a final objective which is to verify to what extent education initiatives are meeting the goal of fostering the development of integration acculturation preferences among high-school students in the majority group.

Method

A questionnaire was chosen for data collection as this instrument has been widely used and shown to be operational on research in acculturative processes which includes those addressed by our objectives and research questions, and the type of analysis proposed) (Bourhis et al., 2009; Briones, 2010; Navas et al., 2007).

Participants

The total number of students in 3rd and 4th year of the Compulsory Secondary Education from the majority group in 2020 (non-descendants of international migrants with Spanish nationality) in Lleida is 3,792 (n=3,792).

The sampling technique used was random cluster sampling. Taking into account that the confidence level is 95%, the error level is $\pm 5\%$ and that p=q=0.5, the sample size amounts to 349 high-school students.

Of these, 50.72% are girls and 49.28% boys. Their mean age is 15.04 years.

Therefore, we work with a representative sample which makes the results generalizable to the context studied.

Variables

The variables used in this research were:

Acculturation preferences within the educational domain of high-school students of the majority group endorsed towards descendants of Romanians: the scales provided by Navas *et al.* (2004, 2007) and Lapresta-Rey et al. (2020) were adapted to a 5-point Likert scale on the extent of the adoption of Catalan and Spanish customs and the maintenance of Romanian ones in two educational scenarios (the classroom / the

schoolyard). Examples of these questions include: To what extent should they adopt [Catalan/Spanish] customs [in the classroom / at the schoolyard]? To what extent should they maintain Romanian customs [in the classroom / at the schoolyard]. Therefore, a total of 6 items (2 scenarios x 3 cultures) were used to construct the preference.

Acculturation preferences within the educational domain of high-school students of the majority group endorsed towards descendants of Moroccans: carried out in a similar way as above, but in this case referring to descendants of Moroccans.

Perceived cultural enrichment of one's own culture (Romanian culture): adapted from the work of Navas *et al.* (2004) and Briones *et al.* (2011) with a 5-point Likert scale and a question about how positive the influence of Romanian culture is on one's own.

Perceived cultural enrichment of one's own culture (Moroccan culture): carried out in a similar way as for the foregoing yet referring in this case to the influence of Moroccan culture.

Perceived conflict with descendants of Romanians: inspired and adapted from the work of Navas *et al.* (2004) and Briones (2010) with a 5-point Likert scale and the question: Which is the degree of conflict with descendants of Romanians?

Perceived conflict with descendants of Moroccans: Carried out in a similar way as the foregoing, but in this case referring to descendants of Moroccans.

Data Analysis

A k-means clustering was carried out to detect acculturation preferences using the Euclidean distance as a measure of similarity and maximum variance between clusters with the 6 items described above for each group (descendants of Romanians

and of Moroccans). They were not standardized since all the variables are measured on the same scale. This technique has been widely used in this kind of studies (Lapresta-Rey et al., 2020; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020).

Descriptive statistics, t Student, and ANOVA's were used to analyse the differences in the degree of perceived conflict and cultural enrichment of Romanian and Moroccan descendants, as well as to analyse how conflict levels varied by acculturation preferences.

A mediation design using the PROCESS for SPSS program (Hayes, 2012) was used to examine the effects of the independent variable and the mediation variable on the dependent one. PROCESS is a path analysis modelling tool for SPSS based on ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Standardized coefficients were used to facilitate the interpretation of the results. Additionally, we report bias-corrected and accelerated (BCa) confidence intervals based on 10,000 bootstrap samples (Efron and Tibshirani, 1993; Field, 2013) (Figure 3).

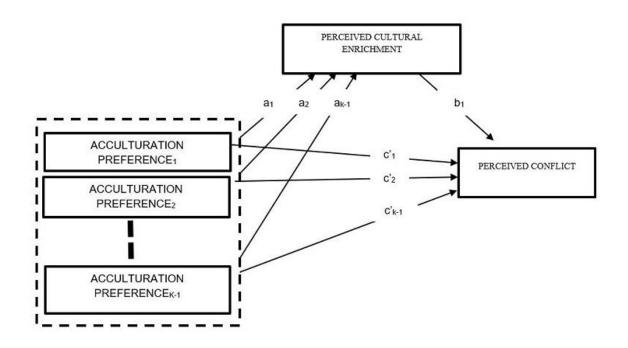


Figure 3. Statistical diagram of mediation model

The model was applied to two situations: Acculturation preferences in the educational domain towards descendants of Romanians / Acculturation preferences in the educational domain towards descendants of Moroccan.

Procedure

Once the corresponding authorities were informed and the necessary authorizations were obtained, we addressed six high schools in order to request their approval and collaboration.

The surveys were conducted collectively with the class groups by personnel trained for this purpose. They took 30-45 minutes to complete.

The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (All European Academies, 2021) was followed at all times.

Results

Acculturation Preferences in the Educational Domain

Majority Group vs. Descendants of Romanians

High-school students of the majority group constructed four acculturation preferences in the educational domain as concerns descendants of Romanians.

The one with the most subjects is Segregation (33.33%). In other words, the highest percentage of high-school students obtain high scores (on a scale of 1-5) in reference to maintaining Romanian customs and lower scores when it comes to adoption of Catalan and Spanish customs. Quite close behind are those who construct a Catalan-Spanish Assimilationist acculturation preference (28.65%), which are those who think they should adopt Catalan and Spanish cultural customs and not maintain Romanian ones. Some 20.18% develop an Integration preference which means combining Catalan, Spanish and Romanian customs whereas 17.84% present a Diffused preference without reflecting any clear pattern as concerns their ideal acculturation preference (Table 8).

Table 8. Acculturation preferences in the educational domain with respect to descendants of Romanians. Final centres of clusters

		INTEGRATION 20.18%	SEGREGATION 33.33%	CATALAN- SPANISH ASSIMILATION 26.85%	DIFUSSED 17.84%
Maintenance of heritage culture	Classroom	3.42	3.08	1.50	3.07
	Schoolyard	3.77	3.44	2.07	2.07
Adoption of Catalan culture	Classroom	4.28	2.96	4.41	2.58
	Schoolyard	3.90	2.52	4.05	3.01
Adoption of	Classroom	4.04	2.73	4.32	3.24
Spanish culture	Schoolyard	3.80	2.48	3.97	1.97

Majority Group vs. Descendants of Moroccans

The cluster analysis carried out reflects five acculturation preferences in the case of descendants of Moroccans.

The one with a higher percentage of high-school students is assimilation (a total of 36.84% including those who construct a preference of Catalan-Spanish Assimilation - 29.53% - and of Catalan Assimilation - 7.31%), followed by those with a preference for the Diffused one (33.33%), the ones who chose integration (16.96%) and those choosing Segregation (12.87%) (Table 9).

Table 9. Acculturation preferences the in educational domain with respect to descendants of Moroccans. Final centers of clusters.

		INTEGRATION 16.96%	SEGREGATION 12.87%	CATALAN- SPANISH ASSIMILATION 29.53%	CATALAN ASSIMILATION 7.31%	DIFFUSED 33.33%
Maintenance	Classroom					
of heritage		3.36	3.59	1.48	1.52	3.18
culture	Schoolyard					
		3.60	4.27	2.09	2.32	2.58
Adoption of	Classroom					
Catalan		4.16	2.89	4.44	4.44	2.63
culture	Schoolyard					
		3.98	2.27	3.99	4.20	3.04
Adoption of	Classroom					
Spanish		3.97	2.34	4.28	1.56	2.99
culture	Schoolyard					
		4.03	2.16	4.12	1.84	2.77

Perceived Cultural Enrichment, Perceived Conflict and Acculturation Preferences. Bivariate Analysis

High-school students of the majority group perceive moderate levels of conflict with their peers of Romanian descent (M= 2.59; SD= 1.10, on a scale of 1 to 5) and higher levels with those of Moroccan descent (M= 3.12; SD= 1.17) (t(348)=9.171; p< .001).

On the other hand, they perceive moderate cultural enrichment from their peers

of Romanian descent (M= 2.55; SD= 0.97), and lower from their peers of Moroccan descent (M= 2.42; SD= 0.98) (t(348)=-3.201; p< .001).

Finally, the analysis of the degree of conflict with descendants of Romanians and Moroccans in relation to the acculturation preferences reveals that focusing on the descendants of Romanians, the high-school students that develop an integration preference in the educational domain perceive a higher degree of conflict than those who tend to lean towards segregation. In the case of descendants of Moroccans, there are no differences as far as the perceived degree of conflict based on acculturation preferences (Table 10).

Table 10. Acculturation preferences in the educational domain perceived cultural enrichment over the degree of perceived conflict. Descendants of Romanians and Descendants of Moroccans

DEGREE OF PERCEIVED CONFLICT (1-5)					
DESCENDANTS OF	M	SD			
ROMANIANS					
Acculturation Preferences					
Integration	2.88	1.18			
Segregation	2.37	1.01			
Catalan-Spanish assimilation	2.69	1.07			
Diffused	2.55	1.08			
F	3.47				
Posthoc	Integration > Segregation*				
DESCENDANTS OF	M	SD			
MOROCCANS					
Acculturation Preferences					
Acculturation Preferences Integration	3.27	1.07			
	3.27 2.93	1.07 1.22			
Integration					
Integration Segregation	2.93	1.22			
Integration Segregation Catalan-Spanish assimilation	2.93 3.26	1.22 1.18			
Integration Segregation Catalan-Spanish assimilation Catalan Assimilation	2.93 3.26 3.08	1.22 1.18 1.25			

⁺p<.1

^{*}p<.05

^{**}p<.01

Perceived Conflict, Acculturation Preferences and Perceived Cultural Enrichment. Direct and Mediation Effects

For the analysis of the direct and mediation effects, the model was applied to two situations: Descendants of Romanians and Descendants of Moroccans.

3.4.1 Descendants of Romanians

In the case of high-school students from the majority group, the most outstanding result reflected by the model is the mediation effect of perceived cultural enrichment for those preferring Catalan-Spanish Assimilation (β = .08, SE = .04, 95% CI [0.01, 0.17]) or Diffused (β = .08, SE = .04, 95% CI [0.01, 0.18]). In other words, in comparison to the ones who preferred integration, perceiving less cultural enrichment means a higher degree of conflict for these groups. This fact is particularly relevant when observing how the direct effect goes in the opposite direction (-.49** and -.39**) (Figure 4).

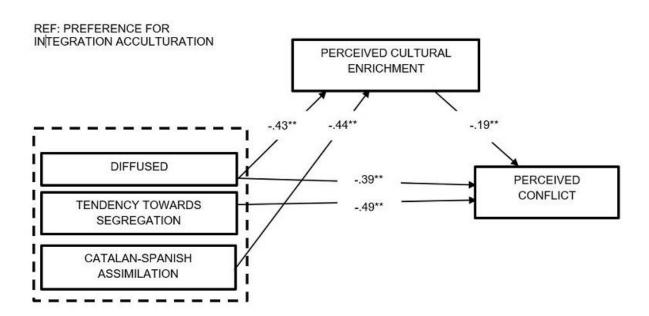


Figure 4. Mediation analysis model. Dependent variable: Perceived conflict. Independent variable: acculturation preference. Mediator variable: Perceived cultural enrichment. Majority group — Descendants of Romanians

3.4.2 Descendants of Moroccans

As for the descendants of Moroccans, only direct effects of their acculturation preferences on the perceived cultural influence were found ($F_{(4,344)}$ = 9.21; p < .01). The same is true for the latter on the level of perceived conflict ($F_{(4,344)}$ = 3.27; p < .01) (Figure 5).

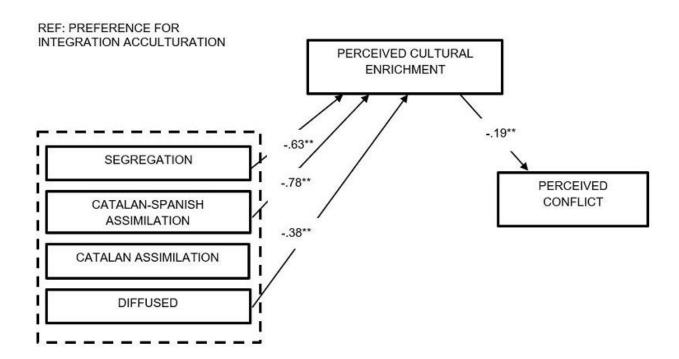


Figure 5. Mediation analysis model. Dependent variable: Perceived conflict. Independent variable: acculturation preference. Mediator variable: Perceived cultural enrichment. Majority group — Descendants of Moroccans

More specifically, compared to those with a preference for Integration, those who prefer Catalan-Spanish Assimilation, Segregation and Catalan Assimilation perceive a worse influence from Moroccan culture on Catalan culture. On the other hand, the higher the degree of perceived cultural influence, the lower the level of conflict.

Discussion

The acculturation preferences in the educational domain vary depending on the groups. With respect to the descendants of Romanians, Segregation and Catalan-Spanish Assimilation predominate. Meanwhile, most attitudes towards the Moroccan

group are either not noticeably clear (diffused) or show a preference for Assimilation.

These results have similarities and differences with prior research. Thus, there are clear differences with previous work indicating that preferences for integration or assimilation usually predominate in public areas (Bourhis *et al.*, 2009; Larrañaga *et al.*, 2016; Montreuil and Bourhis, 2004; Montreuil *et al.*, 2004; Rojas *et al.*, 2014). Nonetheless, there are also many similarities with those developed not strictly in the educational field but with students or undergraduates, in the sense that on many occasions assimilation and segregation preferences rather than integration preferences are the ones that predominate (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Hillekens et al., 2019; Zick et al., 2001).

In any case, these results open up various points for reflection. On the one hand, it points out the limited development of integration preferences in contrast to what would be expected. On the other hand, it reflects differences between the two groups.

In reference to the first aspect, the non-construction of integration preferences may be a reflection of certain educational shortages which hinder the achievement of the goals established. This leads to the construction of other profiles and behaviour that are not so clear. This may indicate that the educational system, at least in the case of the majority group and in reference to Moroccan and Romanian descendants, still faces challenges. This argument will be further discussed, but it should be recalled at this point that, studies related to this issue in Catalonia have shown that although the discourse claims to be intercultural, this is not completely the case in practice. This is primarily due to the continued belief that intercultural education is only for minority groups or for schools with a high percentage of descendants of migrants (Garreta *et al.*, 2020; Petreñas *et al.*, 2021).

Moreover, from a more general point of view, it should not be forgotten that acculturation preferences (also in the educational domain) are subject to the social context in which they develop. In this sense, the current socio-political situation in Catalonia provides elements of judgment to understand these results and establish similarities and differences with other contexts. The current socio-political situation in Catalonia is well known, characterized by the existence of a strong national consciousness (to the point of having built a strong pro-independence sentiment in different layers of the population that confronts non-independence supporters). From this point of view, these results would not be so far removed from those obtained in other places where there are also groups with a strong "confrontational" national consciousness, such as the Quebec one. As we have seen, the work in these contexts indicates that among groups with a strong nationalist sentiment (Catalan or Spanish in our case) the acculturation options tend to be to a greater degree of assimilation, considering the descendants of migrants a challenge not so much in terms of the construction and reconstruction of culture (in which language is crucial), but in terms of their political aspirations.

This is not to say that in other places such as Finland, UK or Germany, assimilation or segregation preferences may also predominate, but not necessarily for these reasons, since intergroup relations are of a different nature.

Regarding the second aspect, a first element to consider is the significant number of students which opt for a segregation preference towards their Romanian peers. To understand this result, it is worth noting that different works carried out in the context of this study show how, in the educational domain, Romanians are considered to be mostly non-confrontational and non-threatening. This seems to be a result of Romanians feeling that they have satisfactorily integrated (although in reality they tend to

understand assimilation as integration) (Petreñas et al., 2018; Lapresta-Rey et al., 2019; Sáenz-Hernández et al., 2020, 2021; Petreñas et al., 2021). From this, it can be inferred that a preference of segregation from the majority group may be interpreted as a form of valuation of Romanian culture and their customs in educational settings.

By contrast, acculturation preferences in the educational domain with respect to those of Moroccan descent are mostly of assimilation or diffuse. This coincides with other studies that show that minority groups tend to prefer to adopt the majority culture in the public sphere and relegate their culture to the private sphere (Berry and Sam, 1997; Bourhis et al., 2009; Rojas *et al.*, 2014).

On the other hand, the conflict perceived by high-school students of the majority group is medium with descendants of Romanians and higher with descendants of Moroccans. Also, and although again cultural enrichment is medium-low both as concerns the Romanians as well as the Moroccans, it is higher for the first than for the second.

At this point, the results absolutely coincide with previous research. Other authors have highlighted that while both groups are devalued, Moroccans are more, as they are perceived as more culturally distant and threatening (Bourhis *et al.*, 2009; Bourhis *et al.*, 2010; Lebedeva *et al.*, 2004; Montaruli *et al.*, 2011; Montreuil and Bourhis, 2004; Sáenz *et al.* 2020; Verkuyten and Thijs 2010).

All of the above helps to understand the results of the mediation analyses carried out. Although the integration acculturation preferences are not a majority in any case, for those who construct them with respect to Romanians' descendants, a greater perceived cultural enrichment produces a reduction in the degree of conflict. On the other hand, in the case of Moroccans' descendants, this mediating effect does not exist

even among students with the highest levels of integration.

This can be understood as the consequence of the fact that reciprocal cultural knowledge and appreciation are still limited, as they have not been sufficiently focused as a value that produces a mutual closeness. Therefore, it is possible that this cultural enrichment does not produce a generalized reduction of conflict (Briones, 2010; Briones *et al.*, 2011; Lapresta-Rey et al., 2020; Navas *et al.*, 2005).

Conclusions

The present study has the limitations inherent to any quantitative approach as far as discursive depth is concerned, making it necessary to analyse it from a qualitative approach. The results presented herein make it possible to draw a few theoretical and contextual conclusions.

Firstly, they show the operability of the conceptual tools found in Acculturation Theory applied to the educational domain, proving their idiosyncrasy and need to be specifically approached. Furthermore, they are elements that may be used to detect the different profiles or preferences and their relationships with the degree of conflict or cultural enrichment. Moreover, it is a good indicator of how well the very education system functions. Thus, this paper shows how, apart from exploring the global acculturation preferences of the majority group (including here the public-private sphere differentiation), in order to advance knowledge and the construction of an intercultural educational model, it is necessary to analyse the preferences that are specifically constructed in the educational domain. This makes it possible to understand more deeply their implications in other educational processes.

Secondly, the Catalan educational system is challenged by the need to promote integration acculturation patterns within all its students (but especially among the

majority group). It is also necessary to articulate educational and social formulas that favour a real appreciation among all cultures present in the educational system, in such a way that mutual cultural enrichment reduces conflict. To achieve this, it is necessary for the educational system to limit the creation of biased, stereotyped, and discriminatory perceptions of the culturally different. Undoubtedly, there are many actions to be carried out, but they exceed the limits of this work, nonetheless based on the results it seems essential to promote quality intergroup contact, seeking the creation of educational spaces of cooperation to achieve common objectives. In parallel, a revision and update of the curriculum, which takes into account diversity and allows students to develop critical thinking in relation to their context. But if anything, this work shows that these social and educational measures must be context-specific, and in this case, one of its main objectives must be to limit perceptions that approach integration as cultural and linguistic assimilation.

Thus, changes to shift from the multicultural paradigm to the intercultural one will be enhanced within educational practices, where, in addition to the presence of different cultures, emphasis is placed on the participation and learning of all students.

However, it is important to be aware that, undoubtedly, education in and of itself cannot resolve all issues faced. It is absolutely necessary to adopt social measures that guarantee satisfactory co-existence in a diverse society.

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CHAPTER 7: Predictors of school adjustment in high school students of immigrant origin in Western Catalonia

Low levels on school adjustment will lead students to experience school failure or even to drop out. As immigrants still lag behind their native peers, is crucial to identify which aspects may hinder or improve their levels of school adjustment. Aiming to do so, this study analyses the effects of acculturation strategies, intergroup contact, perceived discrimination, and origin in the school adjustment of immigrant students in the province of Lleida (Catalonia – Spain). Students of immigrant origin (n=198, $M_{age}=15.31$), filled a questionnaire on school adjustment and a series of social-psychological variables. The students were divided in three main origins: African, Latin American and European. A k-means cluster analysis showed high-school students adopt 4 different types of acculturation strategies: marginalization, assimilation to Catalan culture, integration, assimilation to Catalan and Spanish culture. On the other hand, a linear regression model found three significant predictors: intergroup contact, integration vs. marginalization and integration vs. assimilation to Catalan culture. Namely, participants with higher scores on intergroup contact are more likely to have higher levels of school adjustment, meanwhile adopting integration or assimilation to Catalan culture strategies predicts higher levels of school adjustment than adopting a marginalization strategy.

Introduction

As a result of the latest migration flows, schools have become more culturally and linguistically diverse. This diversity has posed new challenges to the educational system, including how to effectively support the adaptation process of immigrant students (Demaray, 2019). Research has consistently shown that immigrant students have lower academic performance in comparison to their native peers (Schachner et al., 2017a), higher levels on school anxiety (Govaris et al., 2013) and in general, low levels of school adjustment, which ultimately puts them at risk of social exclusion and dropping out (Makarova & Birman, 2015).

Achieving high levels of school adjustment is considered as a major developmental outcome for immigrant students (Phalet & Baysu, 2020). Understanding students' school adjustment implies considering the different factors that shape it. School adjustment understood as an acculturation outcome is shaped by acculturation strategies and acculturation conditions (Makarova & Birman, 2015). This study focuses on analysing the role of acculturation strategies, origin and two acculturation conditions: discrimination and intergroup contact.

Discrimination has been identified as one of the main factors that hinders school adjustment, as it undermines psychological well-being, behavioural conduct, and engagement in school (Demaray, 2019). Furthermore, is important to approach discrimination during adolescence, as it is a critical period to examine its antecedents and consequences for adulthood (Benner & Graham, 2013).

On the other hand, previous research has found that intergroup contact allows students to have a more positive image and better perception of other cultures (Briones et al., 2011; Calderón & Navas, 2015). Moreover, a positive contact with the majority group either with peers or teacher has been found to work as an identity protection for

immigrant students (Phalet & Baysu, 2020).

Although all immigrants go through acculturation processes, adolescents may seem particularly affected by it as it entails to navigate how to attend their parents' demands as well as their peers' (Berry, 2012) placing school as a crucial setting where youth spend most of their time interacting with peers as well as teachers (Fang, Sun, & Yuen, 2016).

Spain, among other European countries such as Italy, France and Germany, has become one major host country for foreign citizens during this last decade. Geographical origin of immigrants is quite diverse (Oliveau, Larue, Doignon, & Blöss-Widmer, 2019), nonetheless statistics show that the majority of them belong to Latin American countries (24.57%) followed by immigrants from the Maghreb region (17.48%) and Eastern Europe (16.84%) (National Statistical Institute [INE], 2020).

The same proportions are seen in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, where 27.28% of the foreign population belongs to Latin American countries, 19.93% to the Maghreb region and 11.54% to Eastern Europe (Statistical Institute of Catalonia [IDESCAT] a, 2021). In order to attend this diversity, the Catalan educational system follows an intercultural education approach which aims to promote and guarantee the school adjustment of students of immigrant background.

Based on the scarce literature that addresses the school adjustment of immigrant students in Spain and recognizing the importance of identifying the aspects than can promote or hinder immigrant's school adjustment, this study aims to broaden it by analysing how does acculturation strategies, intergroup contact, perceived discrimination, and origin affect the school adjustment of high-school students of immigrant origin in Western Catalonia.

Acculturation in the educational domain & school adjustment

In broad terms, school adjustment refers to the degree of satisfaction and adaptation of students in the school environment (X. Chen et al., 2018; Mera, Martínez-Taboada, & Elgorriaga, 2014). This satisfaction and adaptation can be measured in different outcomes. Authors have understood and focused on different aspects of school adjustment; some of them have centred on the attitudes, affects, satisfaction, wellbeing and sense of school belonging towards school environment (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a; Martinez-Taboada et al., 2017); meanwhile others have focused on the social competence performance and academic achievement (X. Chen et al., 2018).

The present research focus on satisfaction, wellbeing and sense of school belonging and follows the classification of school adjustment proposed by Ishida (2009) and later replicated by Honma & Uchiyama (2014) which organizes school adjustment in four factors: (1) friendship: feeling recognized and valued from peers in their school environment (2) schoolwork: level of satisfaction and success on academic activities (3) teacher-child relationship: entailing good and trustworthy relationship with teachers (4) school in general: level of school belonging.

Drawing from the importance played by school adjustment in the development of immigrant students, is vital to understand the factors that shape it. School context and acculturation processes are interrelated (Schachner, 2019). Schools introduce the host culture to immigrant children as well as they foster intergroup interactions (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2012; Schachner, 2019; Trickett & Birman, 2005). Thus, the importance of analysing the effects of acculturation processes (strategies and conditions) on school adjustment.

To understand the process of acculturation within the school context is necessary

to bear in mind the typology of acculturation strategies. Based on the model of Berry (1997) there are four types of acculturation strategies obtained from the combination of the maintenance of the heritage culture and the adoption of the host culture. (1) Assimilation implies a high level of adoption of the culture, values and language of the host culture and a low one of the heritage culture (2) Separation entails a high level of maintenance of the culture, values and language of the heritage culture and a low adoption of the host culture. (3) Integration refers to both the adoption of values, culture and language of the heritage culture as well as the maintenance of the values, culture and language of the heritage culture. (4) Marginalization entails a lack of both adoption of the values, culture and language of the host society as well as lack of maintenance of values, culture and language of the heritage culture.

In general terms, integration has been generally depicted by literature as the most adaptative acculturation strategy, characterized by less stress and better well-being experiences; meanwhile marginalization has been described as the least adaptive (Berry, 1997; 2001; 2006). Studies in Spain confirm that integration is the most frequently adopted profile (Briones, Tabernero, and Arenas 2011; Martinez-Taboada et al. 2017; Sánchez-Castelló et al. 2020); followed by separation (Martinez-Taboada et al., 2017) and in less extent marginalization (Briones et al., 2011).

Bearing in mind the wide range of variables that shape the adoption of acculturation strategies, studies focused on acculturation strategies and school adjustment have found a broad variety of results. According to the metanalysis of Makarova & Birman (2015) those findings are widely diverse and the lack of consistency in the use of terminology and measurements have fostered the lack of conclusive findings. In that sense, findings have shown relationship with different acculturation strategies.

As in for integration, a large body of research have found a link between integration strategies and both psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Schachner, He, Heizmann, & Van de Vijver, 2017b; Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2018). Furthermore, studies with school adjustment's related variables such as academic success (López, Ehly, & García-Vázquez, 2002), school satisfaction and self-esteem (Fang et al., 2016), and higher levels of well-being (Lee, 2019) have also been linked with integration strategies.

Despite integration's clear link with better levels on school adjustment, other studies have found different results. Specifically, it has been found an association between psychological adjustment and separation strategies (Anderson & Guan, 2018; X. Chen et al., 2018; Schachner et al., 2018) and a relationship between sociocultural adjustment and assimilation (X. Chen et al., 2018; Schachner et al., 2017b; Trickett & Birman, 2005). Even more, Schachner et al.'s (2017) study not only found an association between assimilation and sociocultural adjustment, but how these results changed according to the country's migration policies. These results highlight the importance of context, minority groups' valuation, migration policies and school adjustment's construct for understanding the acculturation strategies adopted by each minority group.

Additionally, and corroborating the lack of consistency within this topic, there are also studies which have found no relationship with acculturation strategies. A study carried in USA showed no statistical relationship between acculturation strategies, self-efficacy and college outcomes (L. Y. Flores, Navarro, & DeWitz, 2008), meanwhile two studies in Spain have also found no statistically significant relationship between acculturation strategies and academic achievement (Martinez-Taboada et al., 2017) and

no statistical difference among groups in regard to their level of school adjustment (Mera et al., 2014).

Despite its importance, studies in Spain including the ones in Catalonia are scarce and partial as most of them do not solely focus on school adjustment and some studies focus on only one ethnic group (Sánchez-Castelló, Navas, Ordóñez-Carrasco, & Rojas, 2020). Overall, previous studies have identified a positive relation between integration and school adjustment (Alvarez-Valdivia, Schneider, & Villalobos Carrasco, 2015; Alvarez-Valdivia & Vall, 2013), psychological adaptation (Briones et al., 2012) higher levels of social self-efficacy and satisfaction on socio-cultural interactions (Briones, Tabernero, & Arenas, 2005).

Among these studies it's worth noting the longitudinal research of Vaquera & Kao (2012) which took place in the same province as the present research (Catalonia). Researchers found that immigrant students' adjustment did not vary significantly according to their country of origin. Even more, against the predictions of the authors, it was found that Latin Americans, who were expected to have an advantage because of their knowledge in Spanish, had lower achievement in math, Spanish, and Catalan compared to other regional-origin groups and to third- generation native Spaniards. Similarly, Alvarez-Valdivia & Vall (2013) found that students from Latin American and Eastern European origin had the lowest marks from all participants.

Intergroup contact & school adjustment

Schools are a key context for the development of peer relations. The type of peer relations formed (i.e. intragroup or intergroup relationships) on school settings have a direct impact on the student's school adjustment and psychological well-being (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2018). For the case of intergroup relationships, the type of impact caused to the student's school adjustment will differ whether the intergroup contact was

positive or negative. On the one hand, positive intergroup contact, most of the cases portrayed on intergroup friendships or teacher support, allows immigrant students to nurture their sense of belonging at school and to feel valued (Phalet & Baysu, 2020). On the other hand, negative contact portrayed on discrimination experiences hinder the students' sociocultural adjustment (Guerra et al., 2019)

Delving in the findings related to positive intergroup contact, research has found a wide variety of benefits from intergroup friendships. Among these benefits, it has been found that intergroup friendships predict higher levels of school engagement and more positive psychological affects (Shum, Chan, Tsoi, & Lam, 2021); higher levels on psycho-social adjustment, including the reduction of depressive symptoms in the case of boys (Kelleghan et al., 2019), better academic outcomes (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2014) Graham (2018) and Graham et al. (2014) have found that intergroup friendship is related to feelings of safety and fewer victimization experiences. It is worth noting that these two last studies also found that schools with higher diversity increases the probability of forming intergroup friendship, which result in more positive intergroup attitudes (Graham, 2018; Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014).

On the other hand, research has found that negative intergroup contact hinders students' sense of belonging at a school environment, making them to feel disengaged with school which is reflected on poor academic performance leading not only to academic failure but in some cases even to drop out (Baysu et al., 2014). These negatives outcomes stress the importance on promoting positive intergroup contact at schools that will help students of immigrant origin to increase their sociocultural adjustment and students of native origin reduce or eliminate their prejudices, leading to a decrease on discriminative behaviours (Guerra et al., 2019).

Within the Spanish context, research on intergroup contact and youth has mostly

been focused on the ingroup and exogroup perception. Additionally, it has been usually focused on two of the minority groups with major presence on Spain: Latin Americans and Moroccans. Calderón-López & Navas (2015) found that the image that both Spanish as well as Latin American adolescents have of their exogroup is significantly better in participants who have higher levels of intergroup contact. On the same direction, Briones et al.'s (2011) research carried out with both Spaniards as well as with Moroccans and Ecuadorians, found out that adolescents of both minority groups perceived high cultural enrichment of contact with autochthonous adolescents than the other way around, and only Spanish adolescents with low in group bias perceived more positive the influence of other minority cultures than over Spanish culture.

Discrimination, origin & school adjustment

Discrimination has been widely identified by literature as a factor that hinders adolescent's development and well -being (Benner, 2017). Ethnic discrimination understood as the experiences in which youth belonging to specific ethnic groups are treated purposefully or unintentionally different by teacher and peers (Demaray, 2019), is one major challenge for immigrant students (Roche & Kuperminc, 2012).

Research has established a clear relationship between discrimination experiences and negatives adjustment outcomes for immigrants. More specifically, findings have shown the negative effects of ethnic discrimination on overall adjustment (Berry et al., 2006), sociocultural adjustment (Schachner et al., 2018) and psychological adjustment portrayed in increased levels of psychological stress (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

When addressing immigrant youth, studies have consistently found that perceived discrimination has a negative impact on school adjustment, specifically depicted in poor academic outcomes (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen,

Bámaca, & Zeiders, 2009; DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004; Lokhande & Reichle, 2019; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004; Phalet & Baysu, 2020; Roche & Kuperminc, 2012).

Furthermore, it has been identified that discrimination can be one of the main causes of acculturative stress (Roche & Kuperminc, 2012; Zychinski & Polo, 2012) and identity threat (Baysu et al., 2014). Ultimately, frequent experiences of discrimination increase the prevalence of engagement in risk behaviours such as substance abuse and delinquent behaviours (Benner, 2017).

Levels of perceived discrimination are shaped by contextual and individual factors (Hartung & Renner, 2013). Minority Groups that are less valued, experience more rejection and discrimination which in the long term ends up affecting their adaptation outcomes (Berry, 2012). Different studies in the Spanish context support this hypothesis as African immigrants which are considered as one of the less valued minority groups in Spain (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013; Briones & Tabernero, 2012; López-rodríguez, Zagefka, Navas, & Cuadrado, 2013) tend to experience more discrimination than other minority groups. Not only Moroccans experience high levels of discrimination, Álvaro et al.'s study (2015) which analyse the role of values and discrimination towards violence, found that Spanish college students accept more police violence when the victim was Moroccan or Romanian Gypsy; meanwhile the support was greater when the victim was Spanish. Moreover, a report on housing accessibility and migration (2015) supports this statement by describing that the minority group that experience highest rates of discrimination when accessing for housing were immigrants from sub-Saharan African immigrants (42.9%), followed by Maghreb immigrants (28.6%) and Latin Americans (14.3%) (SOS racismo, 2015).

Previous studies have also ratified the relationship between discrimination and poor physical and mental health outcomes. García-Cid et al. (2020) study carried out with the three most predominant minority groups of Spain, found out that each group perceive different levels of discrimination, being African immigrants the ones who feel more excluded, followed by migrants from Eastern Europe and Latin America. Additionally, the results pointed out that these levels of exclusion affect negatively the psychological wellbeing and life satisfaction of migrants. A study in the Basque country which sought to analyse the factors that hinder the health outcomes of both immigrants and natives, found that Chinese immigrants and Maghreb women were the minority collectives that have the highest levels of perceived discrimination (Rodríguez Álvarez, González-Rábago, Bacigalupe, Martín, & Lanborena Elordui, 2014).

Context of the study

This study was focused on students of immigrant origin in the province of Lleida located in Western Catalonia. Catalonia is the autonomous community with the highest rate of immigrant population (23.02%) of Spain (INE, 2020). Within Catalonia, 20.34% of the population of Girona is from immigrant background, in Lleida's case is 18.51%, followed with a 16.71% by Tarragona and Barcelona with a 15.25% (IDESCAT b, 2021).

Spain has three major minority groups: Eastern European, African and Latin Americans (IDESCAT a, 2021). In Catalonia, the minority group with major presence are Europeans (31.09%), followed by Americans (28.3%) and Africans (25.72%). Notwithstanding within Lleida, the distribution changes as Africans are the minority group with major presence (45.33%), followed by Europeans (29.74%) and Americans (16.49 %) (IDESCAT, 2020). Both as in Catalonia as in Lleida, Romanians are the majority of the European group (18.61% in the case of Lleida), Moroccans of the

African one (21.66%) and Latin Americans of the American one (16.35%) (IDESCAT, 2020).

Data retrieved both from International as well as National students' assessment show that immigrant students have lower school performance in comparison to their native peers (MECD, 2018). This low performance translates into higher dropout rates and higher percentages of school failure. To address the needs and challenges faced by these students, governments have designed different policies to meet their needs and demands. In the case of Catalonia, a series of public policies from the Plan for language and social cohesion (2005) to the Citizenship and Migration (2017-2020) have been implemented to promote inclusion and social cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004). The current public policy aims to continue working towards the same line as previous policies, whose main objectives have been to foster an intercultural and multilingual education through embracing diversity, promoting equal opportunities, and preventing discrimination and racism (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2016). Among these main objectives, creating equal opportunities has been one their mayor goals as this will allow to reduce school failure levels in students of immigrant origin and hence, improve their school adjustment (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2016).

Hypotheses

The main aim of this study was to analyse the effects of acculturation strategies, perceived discrimination, and intergroup contact in the school adjustment of high-school students of immigrant origin in the province of Lleida. Furthermore, it also aimed to analyse the acculturation strategies endorsed by high-school students of immigrant origin within the educational domain.

Specifically, five hypotheses were posed:

(1) Integration will be the most adopted acculturation profile adopted by immigrant

students.

- (2) Integration will be the acculturation profile which predicts better school adjustment.
- (3) Higher levels of intergroup contact will predict high levels of school adjustment.
- (4) Higher levels of perceived discrimination will predict lower levels of school adjustment.
- (5) School adjustment levels could vary according to students' origin.

Methodology

Participants

The participants of this study were 198 students of immigrant origin (52.5% boys, 47.5% girls, M_{age} = 15.31, SD = 0.91) of six Secondary Institutes of Lleida. Participants were divided in three groups according to their origin: Europe (n = 80), Africa (n = 76) and Latin America (n = 43). Most of the participants of the European group were from Romania (n = 43); in the African group, Moroccan participants (n = 51) were the majority, meanwhile the distribution in the Latin American group was quite homogeneous. To be labelled as an immigrant student, either the student or at least one of their parents had to be born in a foreign country.

Instruments/ Measures

Acculturation strategies were measured using two items of a 5-point Likert-type scale based on scales designed by Berry (2006), Bourhis et.al (2001) and Navas et. al (2005, 2007). The items refer to the level of maintenance of the heritage culture of the participants (culture of the country of origin of the participants) and the level of adoption of Spanish culture and Catalan culture in two educational contexts: at class and at recess.

School adjustment was assessed through the scale developed by Ishida (2009)

and replicated in (Honma & Uchiyama, 2014). This scale aims to assess emotional engagement and measures school adjustment in four factors: friendship (e.g. Do you have a lot of good friends at school?), schoolwork (e.g. Do you enjoy your classes at school?), teacher-child relationship (Are you able to talk about anything with your teachers at school?) and school in general which assesses school belonging (e.g. Are you proud to be a student at your school?). The overall scale has an adequate internal consistency (α = 0.82).

Discrimination was assessed through 3 items of a 5-point Likert-type scale which assessed the discrimination perceived towards Latin Americans ("rate the extent to which you think young people from your country (or your parents' country) are treated worse than Catalans") in three educational settings: at school, with classmates and with teachers. Previous research within the same area of study have also measured discrimination with a similar number of items (two items) and have also focused on assessing discrimination experiences within the educational context and/or caused by teachers (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Internal consistency of this scale was alpha =0.83.

Intergroup contact was measured through 2 items of a 5-point Likert-type scale, which addressed the contact of immigrant students with their Catalan peers in two educational settings: at classroom and at schoolyard ("to what extent do you interact with Catalans in your daily life"). The internal consistency of the scale was adequate, alpha = 0.89.

Procedure

The Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia was contacted in order to have access to the seven secondary Institutes where the data was retrieved. With its approval and based on the data of immigration at Catalans schools, a first

contact was established with Secondary Institutes. Once the schools granted their permission and agreed to collaborate with the study, researchers established a schedule and further details to move forward with the data collection.

A group of trained professionals visited the Secondary Institutes on an agreed schedule and applied the questionnaires, this process took around 45 minutes. This study complied with the ethical guidelines on research established by the European Commission (2013). Hence, the participation was voluntary, and the confidentiality and anonymity of the data was guaranteed to all participants.

Statistical treatment

The data was analysed using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS v.27). The analysis included descriptive analysis, correlations, ANOVA analysis and a linear regression model. In first place, a k-means cluster analysis was carried out to identify the acculturation strategies of the participants. Correlations were carried out between all quantitative variables, meanwhile ANOVA analyses were carried out to assess mean differences between school adjustment and origin and acculturation strategies. Finally, dummy variables were used to introduce the categorical variables of acculturation strategies and origin within the linear regression model.

Results

The overall level of school adjustment obtained by the participants was close to $4.0 \ (M=3.39, \ SD=0.65)$. A k-means cluster analysis was carried out to obtain the acculturation strategies adopted by the students of immigrant origin. Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for each cluster.

Four groups were identified: marginalization, assimilation to Catalan culture, integration and assimilation to Catalan and Spanish culture. A total of 47 participants

(24.1%) were labelled under the marginalization cluster as they obtained low scores both in the adoption of Catalan and Spanish culture and in the maintenance of their heritage culture. Almost the same percentage of participants (22.05%) were categorized under the cluster of assimilation to Catalan culture, as they endorsed high scores on the adoption of Catalan culture and relatively low scores on the adoption of Spanish culture as well as in the maintenance of their heritage culture. Opposite to the first pattern, 65 participants (33.33%) obtained relatively high scores in both the maintenance of their heritage culture as well as the adoption of the Catalan and Spanish culture, placing them under the category of integration. Finally, 40 participants (20.51%) were categorized under the cluster of assimilation to Spanish and Catalan culture, as they obtained relatively low scores in the maintenance of their heritage culture but high scores in the adoption of Catalan and Spanish culture.

Table 11. Means and standard deviations of maintenance of heritage culture and adoption of Catalan and Spanish culture for acculturation strategies.

Culture Maintenance / Adoption		Marginalization (n=47)		Assimilation Catalan culture (n=43)		Integration (n=65)		Assimilation Catalan & Spanish culture (n=40)	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Maintenance	Classroom	2.25	1.13	1.47	0.70	3.91	0.80	1.50	0.55
of heritage culture	Schoolyard	2.53	1.23	1.58	0.76	4.05	0.84	1.68	0.69
Adoption of	Classroom	1.77	0.70	4.00	0.90	3.51	1.08	4.15	0.98
Catalan culture	Schoolyard	1.70	0.72	3.63	1.11	3.34	1.09	3.28	1.38
Adoption of	Classroom	2.06	0.94	2.14	0.99	3.80	0.92	4.45	0.64
Spanish culture	Schoolyard	2.13	1.01	2.00	0.90	3.83	0.99	4.38	0.74

On the other hand, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare the effect of the acculturation strategies and origin in the levels of school adjustment. The one-way ANOVA between school adjustment and origin was not significant ($F_{(2, 179)}$ 0.667, p=

.514); meanwhile the one- ANOVA between school adjustment and acculturation strategies was significant ($F_{(3, 176)} = 4.175, p = .007$)

Gabriel post hoc tests (Table 2) indicated there are significative differences on the scores of school adjustment of participants who belong to the marginalization group in comparison to participants who belong to the integration and Assimilation to Catalan culture group. Respectively, students who belong to the Assimilation to Catalan culture group (M= 3.57) and the ones who belong to the integration group (M= 3.49) had higher levels of school adjustment than students from the marginalization group (M= 3.11).

Table 12. ANOVA Post-hoc Gabriel test. Acculturation Strategies and school adjustment

		t	r	p
	As. Catalan	-3.29	.24	.010
Marginalization	Integration	-2.94	.22	.020
	As. Catalonia &	-2.11	.16	.198
	Spain			
	Marginalization	3.18	.23	.010
Assimilation	Integration	0.64	.05	.987
Catalonia	As. Catalonia &	1.10	.08	.852
	Spain			
	Marginalization	2.94	.22	.020
Integration	As. Catalonia	-0.63	.05	.987
	As. Catalonia &	0.59	.04	.992
	Spain			
Assimilation	Marginalization	2.11	.16	.198
Catalonia &	As. Catalonia	-1.09	.08	.852
Spain	Integration	-0.58	.04	.992

A Pearson correlation analysis was carried out to explore the relation between school adjustment, perceived discrimination, and contact. The analysis showed there is a significant positive correlation between contact and school adjustment (r = -.21), meanwhile there are no significant correlations among the discrimination variable.

A linear regression analysis was carried out to determine the predictors of school adjustment. As two of the variables included in the variables were categorical, dummy variables were created for each variable (Table 3). For the origin variable, two dummy

variables were created. These variables have the Latin America group as the category of reference (Latin America Vs. Europe and Latin America Vs. Africa). On the other hand, three dummy variables were created for the acculturation strategies' (Marginalization Vs. Catalan & Spanish assimilation, Marginalization Vs. Integration and Marginalization Vs. Catalan Assimilation).

Table 13. Linear Regression School adjustment, acculturation strategies and general discrimination. Based on 10000 bootstrap samples

					C.I. 95%	for B
	β	В	S.E	p	Lower	Upper
Constant		2.72	0.23		2.24	3.19
Discrimination	-0.06	-0.04	0.04	.377	-0.11	0.04
Contact	0.17	0.10	0.04	.024	0.02	0.18
Latin America Vs.	0.04	0.05	0.12	.670	-0.19	0.29
Europe						
Latin America Vs.	0.17	0.23	0.13	.086	-0.05	0.51
Africa						
Marginalization Vs.	0.15	0.23	0.15	.126	-0.06	0.50
Catalan & Spanish						
Assimilation						
Marginalization Vs.	0.26	0.35	0.13	.006	0.10	0.59
Integration						
Marginalization Vs.	0.26	0.43	0.17	.007	0.12	0.74
Catalan assimilation						

The regression model was significant (F = 3.831, p = .005), and three variables scored significant within the model (i.e. contact, marginalization Vs. Integration and marginalization Vs. Assimilation to Catalan culture). The Beta value of the contact variable shows that scores on school adjustment increases as scores on intergroup contact go up as well. More specifically, the intergroup contact favours higher levels of school adjustment. As for the remaining variables, the Beta value of the two dummy variables represent the change in school adjustment scores of participants who adopt a marginalization strategy, in comparison to participants who adopt any other type of strategy. Namely, the change in school adjustment goes up as a participant changes from marginalization to integration or to assimilation to Catalan culture.

Discussion

This study analysed the influence of acculturation strategies, intergroup contact, perceived discrimination, and origin in the school adjustment of students of immigrant origin in Western Catalonia. Furthermore, it also described and analysed the acculturation strategies endorsed by immigrant students within the educational domain.

Regarding acculturation strategies, four acculturation strategies were identified: marginalization, assimilation to Catalan culture, integration, and assimilation to Catalan and Spanish culture. The findings showed that although the integration cluster was the one with the highest volume of participants, assimilation was the most adopted strategy as two types of it were endorsed (42.56%). Although these results do not confirm hypothesis 1 in a complete way, it goes along with other studies in the educational domain (Figgou & Baka, 2018; Nwosu & Barnes, 2014).

Assimilation as the most adopted type of acculturation strategy raises questions to the educational system and the current educational policies which promote and embrace social cohesion and integration (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2016). The results point out there still might be some challenges for immigrant students within the educational system and the need to further work in the field, so it is clear which aspects allow and which ones hinder the adoption of integration strategies.

Regarding the predictors, our results confirmed hypothesis 2 and 4. Specifically, in terms of acculturation strategies (hypothesis 2), it was found that as predicted and in line with prior studies, integration strategies predict higher school adjustment (Berry et al., 2006a; Fang et al., 2016; Lee, 2019; Schachner et al., 2017a, 2018), nonetheless our results also found that assimilation to Catalan culture has the same effect. The results of the linear regression corroborate the ANOVA results which show that high school students who adopt an integration or assimilation to Catalan culture have higher levels

of school adjustment.

It is interesting to note, that once again the results point out that not only integration but also one type of assimilation (assimilation to Catalan culture), predicts better school adjustment. Previous studies have found how assimilation is erroneously used to refer to integration in educational settings (Petreñas et al. 2019; Sáenz et al. 2021), making students of immigrant origin feel pressure to assimilate. This emphasizes the need to make changes in the educational system so immigrant students do not need to adopt assimilation strategies to fit in, but rather can build integration preferences which will benefit them not only at an academic level but also to their wellbeing (Berry, 1997; 2001; 2006).

Confirming hypothesis 4 and previous studies, our results showed that contact with peers of the majority group, predicts higher levels of school adjustment (Calderón & Navas, 2015; Phalet & Baysu, 2020; Baysu et al., 2014). These results indicate the importance of promoting and enabling genuine contact among students of the majority group and the minority group, so they can learn from each other.

In reference to perceived discrimination, hypothesis 3 was not confirmed. Opposite to what previous literature has found, perceived discrimination did not show to have a negative effect on the levels of school adjustment. The above could be caused by the low levels of perceived discrimination (M= 2.12, SD = 1.09) found in this study. Nonetheless, these low levels of perceived discrimination not necessarily means that actual discrimination is low, in fact different factors, both individuals (e.g. socioeconomic level, origin, parents' schooling level, etc.) as contextual factors (e.g. intergroup valuation, migration policies, etc.) may affect the perception of discrimination, creating a gap between actual levels of discrimination and what the individual perceives (Hartung & Renner, 2013). In this regard, further work should be

focused on determining whether there is a gap between actual and perceived discrimination in educational settings and what could be done to reduce both of them and raise awareness of discriminatory behaviours.

Lastly, it should be noted that although origin was not significant, there is a trend to statistical significance showing that being a student from African origin could predict higher levels of school adjustment in comparison to students from Latin America. Although Latin Americans are the most valued minority group within Spain (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013; Briones et al., 2012; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013; Oliveau et al., 2019), their valuation and moreover their academical performance within educational settings may be affected by their use and attitude towards Catalan, which is the instructional language at schools. Previous research has proved that Latin Americans have more unfavourable attitudes towards Catalan than other students from immigrant origin (i.e. Africa, Eastern Europe, European Union, Asia), and lower linguistic competences in Catalan (Huguet, 2014; Huguet, Chireac, Navarro, & Sansó, 2014; Navarro, Huguet, & Sansó, 2014). Low levels in both attitudes as well as linguistic competences ends affecting their academic performance (Huguet & Navarro, 2006).

Conclusions & future studies

The results of our study provide deeper understanding on the school adjustment and the factors that shape it on immigrant students in Western Catalonia. In this sense, the results allowed us to argue the importance of enabling and designing not only specific activities but rather designing a curriculum and building a school environment which facilitates intergroup contact and friendship, where students have a genuinely relationship with their peers allowing them to learn and build from the other. This positive intergroup contact will not only play the role of a positive aspect for the development of immigrants' students, as it increases their support network and works as

an identity protector, but it will also help to decrease prejudices and misconceptions which are the main cause of discriminatory behaviours. Higher intergroup friendships and lower discrimination experiences will help to further promote integration acculturation strategies, which according to our results are also necessary, as assimilation strategies are still the ones which predominate.

Furthermore, our results also point out that although origin was not a predictor as expected, there are still some differences according to the minority group's origin, which should be considered when designing and implementing educational policies and practices.

Besides its contributions, this study counts with some limitations that must be considered and improved in future research. In first place, its reduced sample may not allow to generalize its results and hence needs further research which includes research with larger samples and also including the data of other provinces of the same region or even carry comparisons between provinces and minority groups.

Moreover, our results point towards the importance of considering the developmental stage of individuals when analysing acculturation conditions and outcomes. To have a better understanding of this aspect, future studies could deepen in this topic by carrying comparison between subjects that belong to different developmental stages and identify the variables that affect the most and the least in each stage. This type of research jointly with a qualitative approach could help to identify which strategies can promote better adjustment for migrants in different developmental stages.

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CHAPTER 8: Discussion

The upcoming paragraphs discuss and contrast the results retrieved in each of the scientific articles presented in chapters 4 to 7. For a better understanding, the discussion has been organized and analyzed according to four themes, which at the same time matches with the main objectives of this doctoral dissertation.

Linguistic and general acculturation orientations of the majority group

The overall results point a trend towards assimilation both in linguistic and general acculturation orientations of the majority group as well as for acculturation orientations. Additionally, it is worth noting that two types of assimilation were identified: assimilation to Spanish and Catalan and assimilation to Catalan. This typology highlights the role of Catalan (and Catalan culture) within the educational domain, as assimilation to Catalan by itself was the most adopted type of assimilation and both types of linguistic Assimilation include Catalan. The overall tendency towards assimilation puts in evidence the need to continue working towards an intercultural education which genuinely recognizes and builds on the knowledge of minority cultures and languages. Moreover, this tendency does not only oppose to research on acculturation which has consistently found a relationship with integration or multilingualism and positive school and social adjustment (Berry et al., 2006a; Schachner et al., 2018; Szabó et al., 2020), but it also goes against the core principles promoted by the Catalan educational system (Generalitat de Catalunya 2005, 2018).

While this general trend towards assimilation could apply to all minority groups present in the Catalan educational system, the results of each article show differences between minority groups that are worth analyzing and discussing. Regarding linguistic acculturation orientations of the majority group, it was found that local students endorse almost the double of multilingual orientations towards their Latin Americans peers in

comparison to their Moroccan peers. This difference between groups, which favors Latin Americans, could be interpreted as a higher acceptance of Latin American culture in comparison to Moroccan culture. Previous studies in Spain have found a higher valuation towards Latin Americans due to its cultural closeness with Spain and Spanish as a common language between both (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013; Martinez-Brawley & Gualda, 2016).

Nonetheless, both studies differ to the present study in terms of location and domain analyzed, as both of them are not located in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia nor are focused on the educational domain. Both are key aspects to consider, as particular characteristics of the Catalan educational system such as the fact that Catalan is the language of instruction at schools and the history of repression of this minority language (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2014) shapes the dynamics and use of it. As Catalan is promoted by the educational system as the symbol and instrument towards social cohesion, its use and hence the acculturation orientation towards assimilation is highly likely within this domain. Even more, previous studies have found that the use of Spanish by students from Latin American descent may be perceived as a threat towards Catalan revitalization (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2014).

Regarding general acculturation orientations of the majority group, differences were also found between the two groups that were analyzed: Romanians and Moroccans. Local students endorsed higher assimilation and integration orientations towards their Romanian peers, meanwhile marginalized and diffused orientations were higher towards Moroccans than to Romanians. Again, the differences between both groups disfavors Moroccans in comparison to students of Romanian descent. Corroborating a lower valuation towards Moroccans due to higher cultural differences, which has also been found in other studies within Catalonia (Sáenz- Hernández et al.,

2020).

The differences found among minority groups allows us to confirm that valuation towards the minority group shapes the linguistic and general acculturation orientations endorsed by local students. Thus, this finding highlights the need to design and implement specific educational measures which addresses the needs of the different minority groups and that also recognizes their differences and how these pose certain groups in higher vulnerability. Acknowledging these differences will also lead to more complete and better designed awareness campaigns which aim to deconstruct prejudices and build on the knowledge that each cultural group could share to the educational system.

Predictors of Linguistic acculturation

This study goes a little bit further in understanding the linguistic acculturation orientations of local students as it identifies which factors may shape and predict the adoption of certain orientations. The results are focused on the linguistic acculturation orientations towards two minority groups: Latin American and Moroccans. The differences between groups reiterates how the different valuation towards each group shape the orientations and also the need to design specific measures to address the needs of each group.

In the case of Latin American peers, only one variable was found as a predictor of multilingual orientations (i.e. attitudes towards minority languages), meanwhile in the case of Moroccans it was five variables which predict it (i.e. Spanish use with teachers, self-identification with Spanish, attitudes towards minority languages, Catalan use with classmates). Two aspects are worth noting. On the one hand, it is worth clarifying that the predictors towards Moroccan peers are distributed between two types of linguistic acculturation orientations: assimilation to Catalan and assimilation to

Spanish and Catalan. Having that into account, the predictors towards this minority group indicate that local students who somehow embrace or use both Spanish and Catalan are more likely to endorse a multilingual acculturation. Having in mind that previous studies have found a competitive relationship between Spanish and Catalan (Ianos, Huguet, Janés, & Lapresta, 2017), and the fact that Catalan revival has been one of the major principles of linguistic and educational policies after Franco's dictatorship, the results point towards the need to break the dichotomy of leaning towards the protection and hierarchy among languages and in contraposition acknowledging the value and creating spaces where all languages, both official languages as well as heritage languages are recognized and moreover valued.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that for both groups the variable attitudes towards minority languages indicate more likelihood of endorsing a multilingual acculturation towards the minority group. In line with the previous paragraph, it seems that local students who tend to use more than one language and specially, embrace minority languages, have a higher likelihood to endorse multilingual orientations. In this sense, these findings highlight the need to re-think the role of languages within the Catalan educational domain and modify or design new policies and educational strategies which recognize and value all languages. As mentioned in chapter five, translanguaging and language architecture are suitable educational approaches to embrace the whole linguistic repertoire of all students. In order to implement these types of strategies it is necessary a change of approach which clearly understand the power and racial dynamics behind constructs such as academic language and language appropriateness. Both discourses are embedded in raciolinguistic ideologies which inherently consider students of minority groups as deficient speakers. This deficiency is not assessed by empirical and objective linguistic parameters but

rather by social constructions based on colonial thinking which places a hierarchy placing whiteness and Europeanness in the top of it.

Approaches such as translanguaging and language architecture entail a mindset change in teachers and educational staff. The main aim of these approaches is to promote social justice by favoring equality to students which belong to linguistic minorities (García et al., 2021). Therefore, teachers who promote these approaches must truly belief on equality and social justice. To do so, it is necessary that teachers reflect on their own cultural beliefs and cultural backgrounds, as well as to be eager to learn from other cultures by placing students as the center of their learning experience and as valuable knowledge carriers. Although teachers' work is key for these strategies to work, structural changes are also needed. Bottom-up strategies are most effective when combined with Top-Down strategies. Hence the need for an educational system which aligns its educational requirements and moreover assessment system with translanguaging core values (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Mediators of general acculturation orientations of the majority group

Understanding which variables may increase the likelihood of endorsing an acculturation orientation is useful for having a better knowledge on how to change or design new educational strategies that promote multilingualism and integration. Nonetheless, to better understand this phenomenon, it is also useful to know which variables mediate endorsing different acculturation orientations of the majority group. The results of this dissertation shed light on how perceived conflict and cultural enrichment mediate the general acculturation orientations of local students towards their peers of immigrant origin.

Corroborating the analysis discussed above, the results of these two mediators clearly highlight three aspects: 1) differences between minority groups 2) trend towards

assimilation 3) integration orientations of the majority group are related with higher perception of cultural enrichment and lower perception of conflict. Regarding the first aspect, once again the results ratify a lower valuation towards Moroccans in comparison to other minority groups, in this case specifically towards Romanians (Bobowik & Basabe, 2013). In this case, the differences are not only in terms of acculturation orientations of the majority group endorsed, but also in levels of cultural enrichment and perceived conflict. Indicating the need to work on deconstructing the perception built around each minority group towards a more positive way.

In respect to the second aspect, despite valuation towards Romanians is higher than towards Moroccans, assimilation is the most adopted acculturation orientation towards both groups. Ratifying on the fact that despite valuation among minority groups may differ and favor certain groups, still students of all minority groups tend to feel pressure to assimilate. Finally, regarding the third aspect, results show that promoting integration orientations could be a possible solution for issues mentioned in aspects 1 and 2, as this will imply local students embrace minority cultures and thus perceive their peers belonging to minority groups carry valuable knowledge and can contribute to society. Promoting integration orientations will entail to carry educational practices and strategies as well as policies which value all minority groups and recognize their contribution to society.

School adjustment

The results on both general and linguistic acculturation orientations of local students as well as the variables that predicts and mediates them, depict us a well-informed panorama of the expectations of local students towards their minority peers in the province of Lleida. Therefore, the trend towards assimilation orientations explains that a great part of minority students endorse an assimilation orientation as well. It is

coherent that students from minority groups tend to assimilate if they feel the pressure (implicit or explicit) to do so. Moreover, the results show that not only integration orientations predict higher levels of school adjustment (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Schachner et al., 2017a, 2018) but also assimilation orientations have the same effect. Literature has extensively reported that integration orientations are related to school adjustment as it allows students from minority groups to have a balance between their heritage culture and the host culture (Berry et al., 2006a). In contraposition to the remaining acculturation orientations which does not allow this balance between host culture and culture of origin. Thus, once again the results, which favor assimilation, highlights the needs to continue working towards an intercultural and plurilingual educational system which reaches that so desirable social cohesion.

Finally, it is also worth discussing the role of origin in the study presented in Chapter 7. The results show a trend which predicts that students from African origin could have higher levels of school adjustment than students from Latin American. As previously discussed, this result stresses the differences between minority groups and the challenges that each group may have, despite obvious differences among all of them and moreover the role that languages, specifically Catalan plays on the integration and school adjustment of students of immigrant origin.

CHAPTER 9: Conclusions

The latest migration flows in Spain have posed challenges to its educational system, particularly to its linguistic and educational policies. In terms of linguistic issues, the Autonomous Communities with more than one official language are particularly interesting to analyze. The results of this dissertation provide empirical knowledge of the acculturation processes of high-school local students and their immigrant peers in the province of Lleida (Catalonia).

In generals terms, the results highlight four main aspects: 1) Assimilation is the preferred acculturation orientation of the dominant majority, 2) the minority groups with major presence in Catalonia (Moroccans, Rumanians and Latin Americans) have different traits and thus, the perception and treatment of the majority group towards each group varies, 3) A mismatch between the acculturation orientations of the majority group and of the minority groups, and 4) Integration (multilingualism) was proved to be the acculturation orientation which provides better school adjustment and leads to a more inclusive environment.

As discussed in the previous chapter, assimilation was found to be the preferred acculturation orientation of the dominant majority both in linguistically and culturally terms. This corroborates, that despite the efforts of the Catalan educational system to achieve an intercultural education through social cohesion (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009, 2010, 2014, 2018) these policies are not successfully working. Hence, there is the need to assess and re-think or design new educational policies which embrace and give equal value to all cultures and languages (both host cultures/languages and minority cultures/languages).

To do so, bottom-up and top-down strategies should be implemented to increase

the presence and use of minority languages and cultures. In terms of promoting cultural diversity, approaches such as culturally responsive teaching would allow that the learning process of students of immigrant background and all students in general, are more relevant and effective as it uses cultural knowledge, previous experiences, frames of reference and performance styles of all students (Geneva, 2010).

In terms of linguistic diversity, it is suggested to implement approaches such as translanguaging and language architecture which question raciolinguistic ideologies embedded in the educational system and at the same time promotes social justice by allowing students of immigrant background to use their whole linguistic repertoire in academic settings (García et al., 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). This approach would not only increase the presence of minority languages, but it will also consider them as valuable and useful as the other languages present in the educational environment.

To make these public policies work, another major aspect to consider is that each of the minority groups have different characteristics and hence, different needs in order to promote their successful integration. The results of the dissertation consistently found that minority groups differed in specific aspects. Specifically, the findings of the first and second article, found that the number of determining factors which predict the linguistic acculturation preferred by local students were significantly higher in the case of Moroccans than in the case of Latin American peers. This difference points that the expectations of local students towards their peers of immigrant origin differed depending on the origin of the minority group, translating it on a higher expectation of change towards Moroccan peers. In line with these results, the third article found that between Moroccans and Rumanians, students of the dominant majority perceive higher levels of perceived cultural conflict towards Moroccans and high cultural enrichment from Rumanians.

Altogether, the results proved that students from Moroccan origin are the ones who have more difficulties to integrate probably because of the higher cultural difference, specifically in religious and language aspects (Briones et al., 2012). Pointing out the need to design and implement educational strategies which address the differences among minority groups. In order to be effective, specific educational strategies should be implemented for both minority members as well as for majority members. In the case of majority members, we refer both to students and teachers as well as other educational professionals. The educational strategies for this group should be mainly focused on sensitization, continuous training and promotion of policies that promote equality and value in diversity (Phalet & Baysu, 2020). The sensitization should specifically address the differences between minority groups in the Catalan context and what does that entail for each group, meanwhile the training should prepare both students and educators to prevent discrimination experiences by acknowledging and recognizing the value of members of minority members. A way to enable this acknowledgment is to promote genuine intergroup contact. For it to be effective, it has to be institutionally supported from the top down, thus, educational institutions should apply multicultural and multilingual policies which are coherent with educational practices promoted by educators (Phalet & Baysu, 2020; Gaudet & Clément, 2008).

On the other hand, educational strategies targeted to students of minority groups should be mostly focused on bottom-up strategies which enable students from minority groups, to be heard, to be adequately represented and therefore, valued and empowered. Allowing them to be valued members of the educational community that share their experiences and knowledge with the rest of the educational community (Álvarez Valdivia & González Montoto, 2017). Furthermore, as already mentioned, promoting translanguaging practices is a key aspect to promote and embrace linguistic diversity

within classrooms and outside them (Rosa &Flores, 2007).

In third place, the linguistic and general acculturation orientations of the majority group do not match the linguistic and general acculturation orientations of the minority group. As stated by other authors such as Navas et al. (2005), a mismatch between acculturation orientations of the majority group and the minority group could be a source of conflict between groups and thus, negatively affect achieving social cohesion. Besides being problematic to have groups with different acculturation expectations, this mismatch makes clear the pressure that students from immigrant origin feel to assimilate and why there are also many students of immigrant origin with an assimilation orientation rather than an integration one.

In order to help students (both local students as well as students from immigrant origin) create integration and multilingual orientations is essential to move forwards to educational practices which actually respond to the contextual needs and that successfully promote integration and social cohesion, as already stablished by educational and linguistic policies (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009, 2010, 2014, 2018). As mentioned in previous paragraphs, we propose continuous training and sensitization to all the educational community as well as the implementation of culturally responsive teaching and translanguaging.

Finally, the results also indicated and corroborated previous studies which claim integration (multilingualism) as the most effective acculturation orientation and the one that fosters better social and psychological adjustment. This was proved not only in the case of students of immigrant origin but also in the case of local students. Local students who adopt an integration or multilingual orientation were more likely to perceive higher cultural enrichment and less perceived conflict towards peers of immigrant origin as well as to endorse integration orientations towards them. On the

other hand, students of immigrant origin who adopt integration orientations had higher probabilities of obtaining a better school adjustment. This result only highlights the need to foster integration rather than assimilation orientations and thus carry out educational practices which allow it.

Despite its contributions, this dissertation counts with some limitations worth noting and essential to address in future research. While the quantitative results allow us to have a general picture of the issue addressed, a qualitative approach could have been useful to capture the voices and the needs of both local students as well as students of immigrant background. Thus, it is suggested to carry out futures studies which follow a qualitative approach.

Additionally, focusing on one specific province allowed us to have in-detail information and analyze particular psychosocial characteristics of the province of Lleida. Nonetheless, the lack of information of the remaining Catalan provinces did not let us identify a general trend as well as commonalities and differences between all the provinces of the autonomous community of Catalonia. Thus, it is recommended to broaden the current findings with findings of the three remaining provinces (Barcelona, Girona and Tarragona) to be able to understand which variables may predict different acculturation orientations of the majority group as well as acculturation orientations of the minority group.

To sum up, the findings of the present dissertation confirm the need to re-assess and design educational policies and strategies to foster integration and multilingual acculturation orientations of the majority and the minority group. Further studies should broaden the current one by analyzing the remaining provinces and adding a qualitative approach.

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Annexes

Annex A. Questionnaire Form – Autochthonous students

1. Gènere (marca amb una X): Noi Noia		2. E	dat				
3. Quina és la teva llengua pròpia (la que s	sents c	com a	a més	teva)?		
CAL CONTESTAR CADA LLENGUA:							
4. Els que viviu a casa, habitualment us parleu en:	Ma	ai	Poo	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català							
Castellà							
Altres (especificar):							
						I.	
5. Amb la teva mare parles:	Ma	ai	Poo	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català							
Castellà							
Altres (especificar):							
6. Amb el teu pare parles:	Ma	ai	Poo	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català							
Castellà							
Altres (especificar):							
7. Amb el/s teu/s germans/es parles:	Ma	ai	Poo	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català							
Castellà							
Altres (especificar):							
						•	
8. Amb els teus amics (fora de l'Institut) parles:	Ma	ai	Pod	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català							
Castellà							
Altres (especificar):							
9. Amb els teus professors/es (fora de classe) parles:	Ma	ai	Pod	C	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre

		1	1	Ī		1	i	ı
Català								
Castellà								
Altres (especificar):								
10. Amb els companys al pati parles:		Mai	Pc	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastan	it	Sempre
Català								
Castellà								
Altres (especificar):								
11. Amb persones grans que no són família ni professorat parles:		Mai	Po	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastan	it	Sempre
Català								
Castellà								
Altres (especificar):								
12. Xateges, escrius mails, twits, SMS,	,	Mai	Po	С	Ni molt ni poc	Bastan	it	Sempre
Català								
Castellà								
Altres (especificar):								
13. Els mitjans de comunicació (TV / ràdio / Internet / etc.) els consumeixe majoritàriament en:	!S	Mai	Poc		i molt i poc	Basta nt	5	Sempre
Català								
Castellà								
Altres (especificar):								
14. Quins estudis té el teu pare?								
15. Quins la teva mare?								
I								
16. De què treballa el teu pare?								
17. I la teva mare?								
								<u>'</u>
18. On vius ? (indica ciutat o poble)								
								_ _

172

— > On? □

19. Has viscut en altres llocs a part d'on vius ara?

Sí

No

20.	Quin diries	que és el p	rcentatge de persones migrades al teu barri/p	ooble?

		7
1		ı
1		ı
1		ı
1		ı

21. On vas néixer?

Catalunya	
Resta d'Espanya	

22. Oi	า va	néixer	eI	teu	pare:
--------	------	--------	----	-----	-------

Catalunya	
Resta d'Espanya	

u pare: 23. On va néixer la teva mare:

Catalunya	
Resta d'Espanya	

MOLT IMPORTANT!!! QUAN A LES PREGUNTES S'UTILITZA LA PARAULA "AUTÒCTONS", HAS DE PENSAR EN PERSONES QUE HEU NASCUT AQUÍ O A LA RESTA D'ESPANYA.

TAMBÉ VEURÀS QUE MÉS ENDAVANT ET DEMANEM L'OPINIÓ SOBRE ALGUN GRUP DE COMPANYS/ES QUE HI HA A L'INSTITUT. LA RAÓ ÉS EXCLUSIVAMENT QUE SÓN ELS COL·LECTIUS MÉS NOMBROSOS ALS INSTITUTS DE CATALUNYA.

BLOC I

A CONTINUACIÓ TROBARÀS UNA SÈRIE DE FRASES RELACIONADES AMB DIFERENTS ASPECTES DE LA TEVA VIDA I DELS TEUS COMPANYS I COMPANYES. ET DEMANEM QUE LES PUNTUÏS SEGONS LA TEVA OPINIÓ.

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT:

Fins a quin punt els joves autòctons adopten/haurien d'adoptar la	LLENGUA CATALANA												LLENGUA CASTELLANA											
		AD	ОРТ	EN		HAI	URIE	N D'A	DOP	TAR		AD	OPT	EN		HAU	JRIE	N D'A	DOP	ΓAR				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1. A classe																								
2. Amb els professors/es																								
3. Al pati																								
4. A l'Institut en general																								
5. En les relacions amb els teus pares																								
6. En les relacions amb els teus germans/es																								
7. En les relacions amb els teus amics/es																								
8. En les relacions amb altres joves que coneixes (però que no són amics/es teus)																								
9. Amb persones adultes que no coneixes (a botigues, si has de demanar l'hora a algú, etc.)																								
10. En activitats en el teu temps lliure (esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)																								

* PASSAREM ARA A QÜESTIONS RELACIONADES AMB ELS **JOVES D'ORIGEN IMMIGRANT.** RECORDA QUE ET PREGUNTEM SOBRE **COM T'AGRADARIA QUE FOSSIN LES COSES SI POGUESSIS ESCOLLIR.**

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD, llegeix cada frase i puntua d'1 a 5:

		(OVES	5			J	OVE	S		JOVES								
	١	//AR	ROQ	UIN	S	LLA	ATINC	DAME	RICA	NS		RON	1ANI	SOS	•				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1. HAURIEN DE MANTENIR els seus																			
costums culturals a Catalunya																			
2. HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR els costums																			
culturals de Catalunya																			
3. HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR els costums																			
culturals d'Espanya																			
4. HAURIEN DE PARTICIPAR en la societat																			
catalana (en associacions, actes culturals,																			
etc.)																			
5. HAURIEN DE MANTENIR la seva																			
llengua																			
6. HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR el català																			
7. HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR el castellà																			

I fins a quin punt <u>HAURIEN DE MANTENIR</u> ELS SEUS COSTUMS CULTURALS?

	N	J ИAR	OVE ROQ	_	S	LL	_	OVE	S RICA	NS	JOVES ROMANESOS								
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1. A classe																			
2. Al pati																			
3. A l'Institut en general																			
4. A l'educació que els donen a casa																			
(sobre com comportar-se, etc.)																			
5. En les relacions amb els seus pares																			
6. En les relacions amb els seus																			
germans/es																			
7. En les relacions amb els seus amics/es																			
8. En les seves creences i els seus																			
costums religiosos																			
9. En les seves formes de pensar:																			
principis, valors, forma de veure la vida																			
10. En activitats en el seu temps lliure																			
(esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)																			

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS D'ACORD i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD

			JO	VES	MA	RRO	QUI	NS			LLATINOAMERICANS											JOVES ROMANESOS											
	со	HA 'ADC stum le CA	ns cu	AR EI	als	_	HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR ELS					HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR ELS costums culturals de CATALUNYA						HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR ELS costums culturals d' ESPANYA						EN AR El ultur UNY	als	HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR ELS costums culturals d' ESPANYA				als			
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
1. A classe																																	
2. Al pati																																	
3. A l'Institut en general																																	
4. A l'educació que els donen a casa																																	
(sobre com comportar-se, etc.)																													<u> </u>				
5. En les relacions amb els seus pares																													<u> </u>				
6. En les relacions amb els seus																																	
germans/es																																	
7. En les relacions amb els seus amics/es																																	
8. En les seves creences i els seus costums religiosos																																	
9. En les seves formes de pensar:																																	
principis, valors, forma de veure la vida																													<u> </u>				
10. En activitats en el seu temps lliure																														i			
(esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)																																	

* Passarem ara a altres qüestions relacionades amb les llengües. Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT, fins a quin punt creus que <u>HAURIEN DE MANTENIR</u> la seva llengua:

	N	JOVES MARROQUINS				JOVES LLATINOAMERICANS				JOVES ROMANESOS					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A classe															
2. Amb els professors/es															
3. Al pati															
4. A l'Institut en general															
5. En les relacions amb els seus pares															
6. En les relacions amb els seus germans/es															
7. En les relacions amb els seus amics/es															
8. En les relacions amb altres joves que coneixen (però que no són amics/es seus)															
9. Amb persones adultes que no coneixen (a botigues, si han de demanar l'hora a algú, etc.)															
10. En activitats en el seu temps lliure (esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)															

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT, fins a quin punt els/les:

			JO	VES	MA	RRO	QUI	NS				J	OVES	S LLA	LLATINOAMERICANS JOVES ROMA					MANESOS										
	[D'AD	AURI OPT ATAL	AR e	el	ı	D'AD	URI OPT STEI	AR e	el	ı	D'AD	URII OPTA ATAL	AR e	I	[D'AD	URI OPT STEL	AR e	I	[HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR el CATALÀ			HAURIEN D'ADOPTAR el CASTELLÀ			:l		
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A classe																														
2. Amb els professors/es																													<u> </u>	
3. Al pati																														
4. A l'Institut en general																														
5. En les relacions amb els seus pares																														
6. En les relacions amb els seus																														
germans/es																													1	
7. En les relacions amb els seus amics/es																														
8. En les relacions amb altres joves que																														
coneixen (però que no són amics/es																													1	
seus)																														
9. Amb persones adultes que no																														
coneixen (a botigues, si han de demanar																														
l'hora a algú, etc.)																														
10. En activitats en el seu temps lliure																														
(esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)																													1	

BLOC II

ARA CONTINUAREM AMB ALTRES QÜESTIONS RELACIONADES AMB COM ET SENTS I LES TEVES RELACIONS.

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT:

Fins a quin punt ET SENTS :	1	2	3	4	5
1. Català					
2. Espanyol					

Fins a quin punt et sents ORGULLÓS/A de sentir-te:	1	2	3	4	5
1. Català					
2. Espanyol					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. La llengua catalana					
2. La llengua castellana					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. La cultura catalana					
2. La cultura espanyola					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. El moviment independentista					
2. El moviment NO independentista					

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 MOLT DOLENTA i 5 MOLT BONA , com creus que és:

MOLT DOLENTA	1	2	3	4	5	MOLT BONA
1. La influència de la cultura marroquina sobre la catalana						
2. La influència de la cultura llatinoamericana sobre la catalana						
3. La influència de la cultura romanesa sobre la catalana						

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 MAI i 5 SEMPRE, fins a quin punt ET RELACIONES EN LA TEVA VIDA QUOTIDIANA amb:

	N	JOVES MARROQUINS				JOVES LLATINOAMERICANS				JOVES ROMANESOS					JOVES AUTÒCTONS					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A classe																				
2. Al pati																				
3. A l'Institut en general																				
4. Com a companys de classe																				
5. Com a amics/es																				
6. Com altres joves que coneixes (però que no són amics/es teus)																				
7. Persones adultes que no són els teus pares o família																				
8. En el teu temps lliure (activitats esportives, altres activitats, etc)																				

|--|

I d'aquests, la **MAJORIA** són:

	_		
1. Autòctons			
2. Marroquins			
3. Llatinoamericans] '	\geq	NOMÉS 1
4. Romanesos			
5. Altres orígens			
	・ ノ		

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 CAP i 5 TOTAL:

Hi ha **CONFLICTE** <u>entre els joves autòctons i</u>:

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Joves MARROQUINS					
2. Joves					
LLATINOAMERICANS					
3. Joves ROMANESOS					

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 MAI i 5 SEMPRE,

si has notat que et tractessin malament (insultant-te, dient-te que has de parlar un altra llengua, mirant-te malament, etc.):

			PAR ATAL					PAR STEL		
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A l'Institut										
2. Pels companys/es de classe										
3. Per altres joves fora de l'Institut										
4. Pels professors/es										
5. Per persones adultes que no són familiars teus										
6. A bars, discoteques, etc.										
7. En botigues										
8. En el teu temps lliure (fent activitats esportives, altres activitats, etc)										

BLOC V

PASSAREM ARA A ALTRES QÜESTIONS SOBRE LES QUALS ET DEMANEN LA TEVA OPINIÓ.

Llegeix cada frase i puntua d'1 a 5, sent

1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase:

	1	2	3	4	5
1. És bona idea que es casin persones de diferents ètnies o cultures					
2. Les persones immigrants només haurien d'anar a llocs on se'ls vol					
3. Si els empresaris només volen contractar a determinant grups de gent, és cosa					
seva					
4. Em molesta quan escolto dir a persones immigrants que haurien de tenir els					
mateixos drets que els ciutadans catalans					
5. L'opinió dels immigrants sobre el futur de Catalunya s'hauria de tenir tant en					
compte com la de les persones catalanes					
6. És positiu que persones de diferent grups ètnics o nacionals convisquin a					
Catalunya					
7. Hauríem de promoure la igualtat entre tots els grups de persones, sense distinció					
per l'origen ètnic o nacional					
8. Simplement, hi ha gent que és inferior a un altra					
9. Si es tractés a la gent amb més igualtat, tindríem menys problemes a Catalunya					
10. Per tirar endavant a la vida, hi ha cops que és necessari "xafar" a d'altres					
persones					
11. És important que tractem a tots els països de la mateixa manera					

Sent **1 CAP i 5 TOTAL**, puntua de l'1 al 5 quin és el coneixement que tens de les següents llengües en les següents habilitats?:

		Entendre'l				Parlar-lo				Llegir-lo				Escriure'l						
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. CATALÀ																				
2. CASTELLÀ																				
3. ANGLÈS																				
4. ALTRES LLENGÜES (especificar):																				

Llegeix la frase i puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Em sembla bé que tots els nens/es de Catalunya estudiïn català					
2	És desagradable aprendre català					
3	És inútil aprendre català perquè segurament no el faré servir mai					
4	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots per fer servir més el català					
5	És més important aprendre anglès o francès que català					
6	Visc a Catalunya i per això he de conèixer, estudiar i parlar en					
	català					
7	El català, només l'han d'estudiar els catalans					

8	El català és una llengua que sona malament			
9	M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar en català			
10	M'agrada sentir parlar en català			

Igualment,

		1	2	3	4	5
1	El castellà és una llengua bonica					
2	Totes les persones que vivim a Catalunya, hauríem de saber parlar castellà					
3	El castellà només l'haurien d'aprendre i estudiar als països on es parla					
4	M'agrada sentir parlar en castellà					
5	A Catalunya s'haurien d'estudiar altres idiomes abans que el castellà					
6	L'anglès és més important que el castellà					
7	El castellà és una llengua fàcil d'aprendre					
8	És avorrit aprendre castellà					
9	El castellà l'haurien d'ensenyar a tots els països					
10	A Catalunya s'hauria de parlar menys castellà					

Continuem,

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Hauríem de reconèixer que la diversitat ètnica i cultural és una característica fonamental de Catalunya					
2	A Catalunya hauríem d'ajudar a conservar l'herència cultural de les minories ètniques i culturals					
3	El millor per a Catalunya és que totes les persones oblidin les seves herències culturals					
4	És més fàcil resoldre problemes quan en una societat hi ha diferents grups ètnic i culturals					
5	La unitat de Catalunya és més dèbil perquè hi ha gent de diferents cultures que no oblida els seus costums					
6	Si la gent de diferent origen cultural i ètnic vol conservar la seva cultura, ho ha de fer en privat					
7	Una societat amb molts grups culturals té més problemes per conservar la unitat que les societats que només en tenen un o dos					
8	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos més en aprendre els costums i cultures dels grups minoritaris que viuen a Catalunya					
9	Els pares dels nois i noies dels grups culturals minoritaris haurien d'animar als seus fills/es a mantenir els seus costums i cultura					
10	Les persones que arriben a Catalunya haurien d'esforçar-se per assemblar-se més als catalans					

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	З	4	5
1	L'anglès és una llengua bonica					
2	Totes les persones que vivim a Catalunya, hauríem de saber parlar anglès					
3	L'anglès només l'haurien d'aprendre i estudiar a Anglaterra o en països on es parla					
4	M'agrada sentir parlar en anglès					
5	A Catalunya s'hauria d'estudiar més el francès que l'anglès					
6	El castellà és més important que l'anglès					
7	L'anglès és una llengua fàcil d'aprendre					
8	És avorrit aprendre anglès					

9	L'anglès l'haurien d'ensenyar a tots els països			
10	A Catalunya s'hauria de parlar menys anglès			

Igualment,

		1	2	3	4	5
	Estaria bé que en les escoles i IES de Catalunya, on hi ha alumnes					
1	que parlen una llengua diferent del català i/o el castellà,					
	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), es pogués estudiar aquesta llengua					
2	Ha de ser desagradable aprendre una llengua diferent del català					
	i/o el castellà (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.).					
	És inútil aprendre una llengua diferent del català i/o el castellà,					
3	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), perquè segurament no					
	la faré servir mai.					
4	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots en promocionar més l'ús de les llengües					
	diferents del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					
5	És més important aprendre anglès o francès que una llengua diferent					
٦	del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.).					
6	Si la meva família provingués (o prové) d'un país que no fos					
	Espanya, hauria de conèixer bé la llengua que parla.					
	Les llengües diferents del català i el castellà,					
7	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), només l'han d'estudiar qui					
	les parlen.					
8	Les llengües diferents del català i el castellà,					
0	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), són llengües que sonen malament					
9	M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar una llengua diferent					
9	del català o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					
10	M'agrada sentir parlar en una llengua diferent					
10	del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	És important saber parlar dues o més llengües					
2	Conèixer dues llengües fa que les persones siguin més intel·ligents					
3	Aprendre dues o més llengües crea confusió als nens/es					
4	Parlar dues o més llengües facilita trobar feina					
5	És important saber escriure en dues o més llengües					
6	És difícil saber parlar dues o més llengües					
7	Conèixer dues o més llengües és un obstacle					
8	No m'agrada el fet que hi hagi persones que no parlin més d'una llengua					
9	Les persones que parlen dues o més llengües tenen més facilitat per fer amics					
	que les que només en parlen una					
10	Les persones només necessitem saber una llengua					

Igualment,

	1	2	3	4	5
1. En la majoria dels sentits, la meva vida està molt a prop del que m'agradaria que					
fos					
2. Les condicions de la meva vida són excel·lents					
3. Estic satisfet/a amb la meva vida					

4. Fins ara, he aconseguit les coses importants que vull a la vida			
5. Si hagués de viure la meva vida de nou, no canviaria gairebé res			

En general, COM ET SENTS? (marca 1 opció)

1. Totalment infeliç	
2. Infeliç	
3. Igual de feliç que d'infeliç	
4. Feliç	
5. Totalment feliç	

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Quan he de parlar en català per telèfon, em sento poc segur/a					
2	No tinc cap problema en utilitzar el català quan he d'indicar la direcció a una					
	persona					
3	Em sento tranquil/a i segur/a quan estic amb persones catalanoparlants					
4	Normalment em sento incòmode/a quan he de parlar en català					
5	Quan he de parlar en castellà per telèfon, em sento poc segur/a					
6	No tinc cap problema en utilitzar el castellà quan he d' indicar la direcció a una					
	persona					
7	Em sento tranquil/a i segur/a quan estic amb persones castellanoparlants					
8	Normalment em sento incòmode/a quan he de parlar castellà					

Llegeix la frase i indica el teu **GRAU D'ACORD**:

	GENS D'ACORD 1	2	3	TOTALMENT D'ACORD 4
Sento que sóc una persona que mereix que se l'apreciï , al menys de la mateixa manera que a la resta de gent				
2. Estic convençut/da que tinc bones qualitats				
3. Sóc capaç de fer les coses tant bé com la majoria de la gent				
4. Tinc una actitud positiva vers a mi mateix/a				
5. En general estic satisfet de mi mateix/a				
6. Sento que no tinc gran cosa pel qual estar orgullós/a				
7. En general tendeixo a pensar que sóc un fracassat/da				
8. M'agradaria poder sentir més respecte per mi mateix/a				

9. Hi ha cops que penso que realment sóc un/a inútil		
10. Hi ha cops que penso que no sóc		
bona persona		

Canviant de tema (marca 1 SOLA RESPOSTA EN CADA PREGUNTA),

Fins a quin nivell educatiu MÀXIM vols arribar?

Fins ON CREUS que arribaràs?

1. No acabar l'ESO	1. No acabar l'ESO	
2. Acabar l'ESO	2. Acabar l'ESO	
3. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Mitjà	3. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Mitjà	
4. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Superior	4. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Superior	
5. Acabar el Batxillerat	5. Acabar el Batxillerat	
6. Acabar una carrera Universitària	6. Acabar una carrera Universitària	
7. Altres (especificar):	7. Altres (especificar):	

De què t'agradaria treballar? (Indica-ho)	De què creus que treballaràs? (Indica-ho)

Llegeix la frase i puntua, d'1 a 5, sent **1 GENS D'ACORD** amb la frase i **5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD**:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Tinc molt bons amics/es a l'Institut					
2	Estic molt insatisfet amb les relacions que tinc a l'Institut					
3	Gaudeixo molt amb els meus amics/es a l'Institut					
4	Puc parlar de gairebé tot amb els meus amics/es a l'Institut					
5	En general, gaudeixo de les classes a l'Institut					
6	En general, trobo que les classes són avorrides					
7	En general, les classes a l' Institut són motivadores					
8	En general, les classes em fan entrar ganes de treballar dur					
9	Estic insatisfet/a amb la meva relació amb els professors/es de l'Institut					
10	És possible parlar de moltes coses amb els meus professor/es de l'Institut					
11	En general, em sento còmode/a parlant amb els meus professors/es de l'Institut					
12	En general, sento que els meus professors/es són propers					
13	Em sento orgullós/a de ser estudiant del meu Institut					
14	Em sento feliç de ser estudiant del meu Institut					
15	Ser estudiant del meu Institut forma part de la meva identitat					
16	Si no pogués anar al meu Institut em sentiria molt trist/a					

Quina és la teva religió?

1. La meva religió és (especificar):	
2. M'és indiferent	
3. Cap	

Quin és el teu grau de pràctica religiosa?

Gens practicant	
Poc	
Ni molt ni poc	
Bastant	
Molt practicant	

MOLTES GRÀCIES PER LA TEVA COL·LABORACIÓ

Annexes

Annex B. Questionnaire Form – Students of immigrant origin

1. Gènere (marca amb una X): Noia 2. Edat					
3. Quina és la teva llengua pròpia (la que s	sents com	a més teva	a)?		
CAL CONTESTAR CADA LLENGUA					
4. Els que viviu a casa, habitualment us parleu en:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
5. Amb la teva mare parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
6. Amb el teu pare parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
7. Amb el/s teu/s germans/es parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
8. Amb els teus amics (fora de l'Institut) parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
9. Amb els teus professors/es (fora de classe) parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					

10. Amb els companys al pati parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt	Bastant	Sempre
			ni poc		
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
11. Amb persones grans que no són família ni professorat parles:	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
			III poc		
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
12. Xateges, escrius mails, twits, SMS,	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Català					
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
ràdio / Internet / etc.) els consumeixes majoritàriament en: Català	Mai	Poc	Ni molt ni poc	Bastant	Sempre
Castellà					
Altres (especificar):					
14. Quins estudis té el teu pare?					
·					
15. Quins la teva mare?					
16. De què treballa el teu pare?					
17. I la teva mare?					
I					
18. On vius ? (indica ciutat o poble)					
·					
19. Has viscut en altres llocs a part d'on viu	us ara?				
19. Has viscut en altres llocs a part d'on viu	us ara?				
Sí On?	us ara?			Г	

~ 4	_		/ •	_
21.	()n	vas	néixe	r

Catalunya	
Resta d'Espanya	
A un altre país (especificar):	

22. On va néixer el teu pare:

23. On va néixer la teva mare:

24. A quina edat vas arribar a Catalunya?

(Indica quants anys tenies)	ANY	'S:
Vaig néixer a Catalunya		
Vaig néixer a Catalunya Vaig néixer a la resta d'Espanya		

25. Si no vas néixer a Catalunya o la resta d'Espanya, vas anar a l'escola al teu país d'origen?

Sí	$\qquad \qquad \qquad \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\$	26. Quants anys vas anar-hi (indica el número)
No		

BLOC I

A CONTINUACIÓ TROBARÀS UNA SÈRIE DE FRASES RELACIONADES AMB DIFERENTS ASPECTES DE LA TEVA VIDA. ET DEMANEM QUE LES PUNTUÏS SEGONS LA TEVA OPINIÓ

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent **1 GENS D'ACORD i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD** les següents frases:

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) MANTENEN els seus costums culturals a Catalunya					
2. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) ADOPTEN els costums culturals de Catalunya					
3. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) ADOPTEN els costums culturals d'Espanya					
4. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) PARTICIPEN en la societat catalana (en associacions, actes culturals, van a votar, etc.)					
5. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) MANTENEN la seva llengua a Catalunya					
6. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) ADOPTEN el català					
7. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) ADOPTEN el castellà					

Ara ens referim al MANTENIMIENT DELS TEUS COSTUMS CULTURALS (O ELS DE LA TEVA FAMILIA SI HAS NASCUT AQUÍ) en diferents llocs.

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT, fins a quin punt:		MANTENS ELS TEUS COSTUMS CULTURALS		CO	STUN	PTES IS CU TALA	LTUR	ALS	ADOPTES ELS COSTUMS CULTURALS ESPANYOLS				ALS		
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A classe															
2. Al pati															
3. A l'Institut en general															
4. A l'educació que et donen a casa (sobre com comportar-te, etc.)															
5. En les relacions amb els teus pares															
6. En les relacions amb els teus germans/es															
7. En les relacions amb els teus amics/es															
8. En les teves creences i els teus costums religiosos															
9. En les teves formes de pensar: principis, valors, forma de veure la vida															
10. En activitats en el teu temps lliure (esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)											-				

Ara passarem al **MANTENIMIENT DE LA TEVA LLENGUA** (O LA DE LA TEVA FAMILIA SI HAS NASCUT AQUÍ).

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 MAI i 5 SEMPRE, fins a quin punt:	MANTENS LA TEVA LLENGUA		ADOPTES EL CATALÀ				ADOPTES EL CASTELLÀ								
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A classe															
2. Amb els professors/es															
3. Al pati															
4. A l'Institut en general															
5. En les relacions amb els teus pares															
6. En les relacions amb les tus germans/es															
7. En les relacions amb els teus amics/es															
8. En les relacions amb altres joves que coneixes (però que no són amics/es teus)															
9. Amb persones adultes que no coneixes (a botigues, persones al carrer, etc.)															
10. En activitats en el teu temps lliure (esportives, culturals, de lleure, etc.)															

BLOC II

ARA CONTINUAREM AMB ALTRES QÜESTIONS RELACIONADES AMB COM ET SENTS I LES TEVES RELACIONS.

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent **1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT**:

Fins a quin punt ET SENTS:	1	2	3	4	5
1. Català					
2. Espanyol					
3. Del teu país de naixement (o del país de la teva família si has nascut aquí)					

Fins a quin punt et sents ORGULLÓS/A de sentir-te:	1	2	3	4	5
1. Català					
2. Espanyol					
3. Del teu país de naixement (o del de la teva família)					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. La llengua catalana					
2. La llengua castellana					
3. La llengua del teu país de naixement (o del de la teva família)					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. La cultura catalana					
2. La cultura espanyola					
3. La cultura del teu país de naixement (o del de la teva família)					

Fins a quin punt T'IDENTIFIQUES amb:	1	2	3	4	5
1. El moviment independentista					
2. El moviment NO independentista					

Puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 MAI i 5 SEMPRE:

Fins a quin punt ET RELACIONES A LA TEVA VIDA QUOTIDIANA:	PERSONES DEL TEU PAÍS (o del de la teva família)				PERSONES CATALANES							
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
1. A classe												
2. Al pati												
3. A l'Institut en general												
4. Com a companys de classe												
5. Com amics/es												
6. Com altres joves que coneixes (però que no són amics/es												
teus)												
7. Persones adultes que no són els teus pares o família												
8. En el teu temps lliure (activitats esportives, altres activitats, etc)												

Quants bons amics/es tens? Compta'ls i	indica	un NÚMER	0:	
I d'aquests, la MAJORIA són:				
1. Del teu país (o del dels teus pares)				
2. D'altres països (NO CATALANS)		≻ NO	MÉS 1	
3. Catalans				

Hi ha CONFLICTE entre els joves del teu país (o del dels pares) i els joves catalans (puntua sent 1 CAP i 5 TOTAL)?

CAP 1 2 3 4 5 TOTAL

Sent **1 GENS i 5 TOTALMENT**, puntua en quina mesura creus que els **joves del teu país** (o del dels pares) **SÓN PITJOR TRACTATS** que els catalans:

	1	2	3	4	5
1. A l'Institut					
2. Pels companys/es de classe					
3. Pels professor/es					
4. Quan van a buscar feina					
5. Quan van a llogar i/o comprar un pis					
6. A bars, discoteques, etc.					
7. En botigues					

Sent 1 MAI i 5 SEMPRE, puntua si has notat alguna vegada que et tractessin malament per parlar la teva llengua/català/castellà (insultant-te, dient-te que has de parlar un altra llengua, mirant-te malament, etc.) a:

	LA TEVA LLENGUA				CATALÀ					CASTELLÀ					
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. A l'Institut															
2. Pels companys/es de classe															
3. Per altres joves fora de l'Institut															
4. Pels professors/es															
5. Per persones adultes que no són familiars teus															
6. A bars, discoteques, etc.															
7. En botigues															
8. En el teu temps lliure (fent activitats esportives, altres activitats, etc)															

PASSAREM ARA A ALTRES QÜESTIONS SOBRE LES QUALS ET DEMANEN LA TEVA OPINIÓ.

Al començament hem parlat del què opines sobre alguns aspectes de la vida dels joves del teu país (o del país de la teva família si has nascut aquí). PENSA ARA <u>COM T'AGRADARIA</u> QUE FOSSIN LES COSES SI POGUESSIS ESCOLLIR.

COM T'AGRADARIA

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD, llegeix cada frase i puntua d'1 a 5:

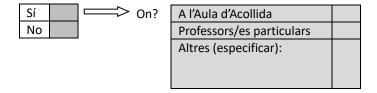
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien de MANTENIR els seus costums culturals a Catalunya					
2. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien D'ADOPTAR els costums culturals de Catalunya					
3. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien D'ADOPTAR els costums culturals d'Espanya					
4. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien de PARTICIPAR en la societat catalana (en associacions, actes culturals, anar a votar, etc.)					
5. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien de MANTENIR la seva llengua a Catalunya					
6. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien d'ADOPTAR el català					
7. Els joves del teu país (o del de la teva família si has nascut aquí) haurien d'ADOPTAR el castellà					

BLOC III

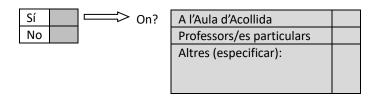
Com creus que és LA INFLUÈNCIA de la cultura catalana en la teva cultura?



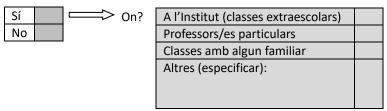
Has rebut suport específic per aprendre català?



Has rebut suport específic per aprendre castellà?



Has rebut suport específic per aprendre la teva llengua?



Sent 1 MOLT DOLENT i 5 MOLT BO, puntua de l'1 al 5:

Quina creus que és la valoració dels teus professors/es com a estudiant:

1 2 3 4 5

Quina creus que és la valoració dels teus companys/es de classe com a estudiant:

1	2	3	4	5
_	_	_		_

Reps algun tipus de suport específic per a millorar el teu rendiment acadèmic?

Sí	
No	
No, però el	
necessitaria	

Quin tipus de suport reps?

Formo part del grup de diversitat	
Assisteixo als grups de reforç	
Un professor/es em treu de l'aula unes hores per rebre suport individual	
Altres	

BLOC V

Llegeix cada frase i puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase:

	1	2	3	4	5
1. És bona idea que es casin persones de diferents ètnies o cultures					
2. Les persones del teus país (o del de la teva família) només haurien d'anar a llocs on					
se'ls vol					
3. Si els empresaris només volen contractar a determinant grups de gent, és cosa					
seva					
4. Em molesta quan escolto dir a persones del meu país (o del de la família) que					
haurien de tenir els mateixos drets que els ciutadans catalans					
5. L'opinió de les persones del meu país (o del de la família) sobre el futur de					
Catalunya s'hauria de tenir tant en compte com la de les persones catalanes					
6. Es positiu que persones de diferent grups ètnics o nacionals convisquin a					
Catalunya					
7. Hauríem de promoure la igualtat entre tots els grups de persones, sense distinció					
per l'origen ètnic o nacional					
8. Simplement, hi ha gent que és inferior a un altra					
9. Si es tractés a la gent amb més igualtat, tindríem menys problemes a Catalunya					
10. Per tirar endavant a la vida, hi ha cops que és necessari "xafar" a altres persones					
11. És important que tractem a tots els països de la mateixa manera					

Sent **1 CAP i 5 TOTAL**, puntua de l'1 al 5 quin és el **coneixement** que tens de les següents llengües en les següents habilitats?:

		Entendre'l				ndre'l Parlar-lo			Llegir-lo				Escriure'l							
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1. CATALÀ																				
2. CASTELLÀ																				
3. ANGLÈS																				
4. ALTRES LLENGÜES (especificar):																				

Llegeix la frase i puntua d'1 a 5, sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Em sembla bé que tots els nens/es de Catalunya estudiïn català					
2	És desagradable aprendre català					
3	És inútil aprendre català perquè segurament no el faré servir mai					
4	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots per fer servir més el català					
5	És més important aprendre anglès o francès que català					
6	Visc a Catalunya i per això he de conèixer, estudiar i parlar en català					
7	El català, només l'han d'estudiar els catalans					
8	El català és una llengua que sona malament					
9	M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar en català					
10	M'agrada sentir parlar en català					

Igualment,

		1	2	3	4	5
1	El castellà és una llengua bonica					
2	Totes les persones que vivim a Catalunya, hauríem de saber parlar castellà					
3	El castellà només l'haurien d'aprendre i estudiar als països on es parla					
4	M'agrada sentir parlar en castellà					
5	A Catalunya s'haurien d'estudiar altres idiomes abans que el castellà					
6	L'anglès és més important que el castellà					
7	El castellà és una llengua fàcil d'aprendre					
8	És avorrit aprendre castellà					
9	El castellà l'haurien d'ensenyar a tots els països					
10	A Catalunya s'hauria de parlar menys castellà					

Continuem,

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Hauríem de reconèixer que la diversitat ètnica i cultural és una característica					
	fonamental de Catalunya					
2	A Catalunya hauríem d'ajudar a conservar l'herència cultural de les minories					
	ètniques i culturals					
3	El millor per a Catalunya és que totes les persones oblidin les seves herències					
3	culturals					
4	És més fàcil resoldre problemes quan en una societat hi ha diferents grups					
4	ètnic i culturals					
5	La unitat de Catalunya és més dèbil perquè hi ha gent de diferents cultures que					
)	no oblida els seus costums					
6	Si la gent de diferent origen cultural i ètnic vol conservar la seva cultura, ho ha					
6	de fer en privat					

7	Una societat amb molts grups culturals té més problemes per conservar la			
_ ′	unitat que les societats que només en tenen un o dos			
8	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos més en aprendre els costums i cultures dels grups			
0	minoritaris que viuen a Catalunya			
9	Els pares dels nois i noies dels grups culturals minoritaris haurien d'animar als			
9	seus fills/es a mantenir els seus costums i cultura			
10	Les persones que arriben a Catalunya haurien d'esforçar-se per assemblar-se			
10	més als catalans			

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	L'anglès és una llengua bonica					
2	Totes les persones que vivim a Catalunya, hauríem de saber parlar anglès					
3	L'anglès només l'haurien d'aprendre i estudiar a Anglaterra o en països on es parla					
4	M'agrada sentir parlar en anglès					
5	A Catalunya s'hauria d'estudiar més el francès que l'anglès					
6	El castellà és més important que l'anglès					
7	L'anglès és una llengua fàcil d'aprendre					
8	És avorrit aprendre anglès					
9	L'anglès l'haurien d'ensenyar a tots els països					
10	A Catalunya s'hauria de parlar menys anglès					

Igualment,

		1	2	3	4	5
	Estaria bé que en les escoles i IES de Catalunya, on hi ha alumnes	_	_			
1	que parlen una llengua diferent del català i/o el castellà,					
	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), es pogués estudiar aquesta llengua					
_	Ha de ser desagradable aprendre una llengua diferent del català					
2	i/o el castellà (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.).					
	És inútil aprendre una llengua diferent del català i/o el castellà,					
3	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), perquè segurament no					
	la faré servir mai.					
4	Hauríem d'esforçar-nos tots en promocionar més l'ús de les llengües					
4	diferents del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					
5	És més important aprendre anglès o francès que una llengua diferent					
3	del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.).					
6	Si la meva família provingués (o prové) d'un país que no fos					
U	Espanya, hauria de conèixer bé la llengua que parla.					
	Les llengües diferents del català i el castellà,					
7	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), només l'han d'estudiar qui					
	les parlen.					
8	Les llengües diferents del català i el castellà,					
٥	(àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.), són llengües que sonen malament					
9	M'agrada (o m'agradaria) parlar una llengua diferent					
3	del català o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					
10	M'agrada sentir parlar en una llengua diferent					
10	del català i/o el castellà, (àrab, romanès, xinès, fula, etc.)					

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	És important saber parlar dues o més llengües					
2	Conèixer dues llengües fa que les persones siguin més intel·ligents					
3	Aprendre dues o més llengües crea confusió als nens/es					
4	Parlar dues o més llengües facilita trobar feina					
5	És important saber escriure en dues o més llengües					
6	És difícil saber parlar dues o més llengües					
7	Conèixer dues o més llengües és un obstacle					
8	No m'agrada el fet que hi hagi persones que no parlin més d'una llengua					
9	Les persones que parlen dues o més llengües tenen més facilitat per fer amics					
9	que les que només en parlen una					
10	Les persones només necessitem saber una llengua					

Igualment,

	1	2	3	4	5
1. En la majoria dels sentits, la meva vida està molt a prop del que m'agradaria que					
fos					
2. Les condicions de la meva vida són excel·lents					
3. Estic satisfet/a amb la meva vida					
4. Fins ara, he aconseguit les coses importants que vull a la vida					
5. Si hagués de viure la meva vida de nou, no canviaria gairebé res					

En general, COM ET SENTS? (marca 1 opció)

1. Totalment infeliç	
2. Infeliç	
3. Igual de feliç que d'infeliç	
4. Feliç	
5. Totalment feliç	

Sent 1 GENS D'ACORD amb la frase i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD amb la frase, puntua d'1 al 5:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Quan he de parlar en català per telèfon, em sento poc segur/a					
2	No tinc cap problema en utilitzar el català quan he d'indicar la direcció a una					
	persona					
3	Em sento tranquil/a i segur/a quan estic amb persones catalanoparlants					
4	Normalment em sento incòmode/a quan he de parlar en català					
5	Quan he de parlar en castellà per telèfon, em sento poc segur/a					
6	No tinc cap problema en utilitzar el castellà quan he d' indicar la direcció a una					
	persona					
7	Em sento tranquil/a i segur/a quan estic amb persones castellanoparlants					
8	Normalment em sento incòmode/a quan he de parlar castellà					

Llegeix la frase i indica el teu **GRAU D'ACORD**:

	GENS D'ACORD 1	2	3	TOTALMENT D'ACORD 4
1. Sento que sóc una persona que				
mereix que se l'apreciï , al menys de la				
mateixa manera que a la resta de gent				
2. Estic convençut/da que tinc bones				
qualitats				
3. Sóc capaç de fer les coses tant bé com				
la majoria de la gent				
4. Tinc una actitud positiva vers a mi				
mateix/a				
5. En general estic satisfet de mi				
mateix/a				
6. Sento que no tinc gran cosa pel qual				
estar orgullós/a				
7. En general tendeixo a pensar que sóc				
un fracassat/da				
8. M'agradaria poder sentir més respecte				
per mi mateix/a				
9. Hi ha cops que penso que realment				
sóc un/a inútil				
10. Hi ha cops que penso que no sóc				
bona persona				

Canviant de tema (marca 1 SOLA RESPOSTA en cada pregunta),

Fins a quin nivell educatiu MÀXIM vols arribar?

Fins ON CREUS que arribaràs?

1. No acabar l'ESO	1. No acabar l'ESO	
2. Acabar l'ESO	2. Acabar l'ESO	
3. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Mitjà	3. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Mitjà	
4. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Superior	4. Acabar un Grau Formatiu de Grau Superior	
5. Acabar el Batxillerat	5. Acabar el Batxillerat	
6. Acabar una carrera Universitària	6. Acabar una carrera Universitària	
7. Altres (especificar):	7. Altres (especificar):	

De què t'agradaria treballar? (Indica-ho)	De què creus que treballaràs? (Indica-ho)

Puntua d'1 a 5 el teu GRAU D'ACORD amb les següents frases, sent 1 GENS D'ACORD i 5 TOTALMENT D'ACORD:

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Tinc molt bons amics/es a l'Institut					
2	Estic molt insatisfet amb les relacions que tinc a l'Institut					
3	Gaudeixo molt amb els meus amics/es a l'Institut					

4	Puc parlar de gairebé tot amb els meus amics/es a l'Institut			
5	En general, gaudeixo de les classes a l'Institut			
6	En general, trobo que les classes són avorrides			
7	En general, les classes a l'Institut són motivadores			
8	En general, les classes em fan entrar ganes de treballar dur			
9	Estic insatisfet/a amb la meva relació amb els professors/es de l'Institut			
10	És possible parlar de moltes coses amb els meus professor/es de l'Institut			
11	En general, em sento còmode/a parlant amb els meus professors/es de			
11	l'Institut			
12	En general, sento que els meus professors/es són propers			
13	Em sento orgullós/a de ser estudiant del meu Institut			
14	Em sento feliç de ser estudiant del meu Institut			
15	Ser estudiant del meu Institut forma part de la meva identitat			
16	Si no pogués anar al meu Institut em sentiria molt trist/a			

Quina és la teva religió?

1. La meva religió és (especificar):	
2. M'és indiferent	
3. Cap	

Quin és el teu grau de pràctica religiosa?

Gens practicant	
Poc	
Ni molt ni poc	
Bastant	
Molt practicant	

MOLTES GRÀCIES PER LA TEVA COL·LABORACIÓ